Peace, Justice and Demilitarisation in South Asia

A Regional Status Paper

About SAAPE

The South Asia Alliance for Poverty Eradication (SAAPE) is a network of like-minded NGOs, mass-based organisations, academics, trade unions, community based organisations and the like from Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, working together towards the eradication of poverty and protection of human rights and social justice in the region. SAAPE was established in the year 2000 against the backdrop of rising poverty and escalating human rights abuses. Various civil society actors from across the region, together with representatives of civil society organisations from Europe convened a consultation in 2000 in Manesar, India to discuss the problems facing the region and to come up with possible solutions. As an outcome of this meeting an alliance to fight against poverty and injustice in South Asia was formed as a form of a loose network. This led to the creation of the SAAPE. It was formalized later at the South Asia Civil Society Network meeting on poverty eradication in Kathmandu in December 2001.

SAAPE's main focus is poverty eradication through policy research, advocacy, lobbying and campaign works on five key themes, which are priority concerns for civil society in all countries of the region. The major thematic areas are:

- Food sovereignty, livelihood and employment;
- Peace, justice and demilitarisation;
- Gender;
- Labour rights; and
- Just and democratic governance.

About Peace, Justice and Demilitarisation Thematic Group

Peace, Justice and Demilitarisation Group is one of the major themes of SAAPE. Currently, coordinated by National Alliance for Human Rights and Social Justice Nepal (Human Rights Alliance), the network has focal points in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Please see annex in this report for the detail about the country focal points and other members.

Acronyms and Abbreviation

AMC	Army Medical College
APL	Army Pathological Laboratory
BAF	Bangladesh Armed Force
BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
CA	Constituent Assembly
CHT	Chittagong Hill Tract
CPN	Communist Party of Nepal
DOHS	Defence Officer's Housing Society
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GREF	General Reserve Engineer Force
HSZ	High Security Zone
ICC	International Criminal Court
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IMET	International Military Education and Training
IMTRAT	Indian Military Training Team
ISGA	Interim Self Governing Authority
JMB	Jamiatul Mujahedin Bangladesh
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam
MIST	Military Institute of Science and Technology
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organsation
NPT	Non Proliferation Treaty
PA	Progressive Alliance
PJD	Peace, Justice and Demilitarisation Thematic Group
RAB	Rapid Action Battalion
RBA	Royal Bhutan Army
RMA	Revolution in Military Affairs
SAAPE	South Asia Alliance for Poverty Eradication
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SSR	Security Sector Reform
ULFA	United Liberation Front of Assam
UN	United Nations
US	United States

Chapter I
Introduction

1.1 Issues and Context

In South Asia, all the states see themselves as threatened and vulnerable. In these nation states Demilitarisation has been the classical response to sub-national, ethno-religo-upsurgence and ethno-regionalism. It has been legitimised by focusing on cross-border support for **insurgencies and secessionism**. All are losing more men in fighting internal conflicts than in interstate wars. Particularly, India and Pakistan have fought major four interstate wars - first in 1948, second in 1962, third in 1971-72 and fourth in 1999. Both countries are continuing the so-called proxy wars labelling 'terrorist' outfits of each other. They keep the potential of nuclear confrontation between two permanent adversaries. Currently, they seem to be in a no war, no peace status as a result of nuclear weaponised powers.

The assertion of **communal politics** on the one hand has resulted in the rise of communal violence, and on the other hand it has seen fuelled rise in violence against *dalits* and women in India. The post Babri Masjid demolition riots in many places rocked the nation and its impact on the social fabric was adverse. Another major event, which disturbed the national psyche, was alive burning of Pastor Graham Stains along with his two innocent sons. At the same time a scattered anti Christian violence started in which the Christian minorities were targeted. At some places nuns were sexually assaulted, copies of Bible were burnt and an atmosphere of intimidation against Christian community as a whole commenced. Now in different Adivasi or tribal inhabitant regions programme of imposition of the so-called upper caste values and religious practices on tribal are going on with a propaganda that Christians being foreigners should be thrown away. Large sections of Christian minorities in the remote places are living in constant insecurity and fear. The increasing trend of forcible conversion of

the Christian tribal to Hindu religion, partially in right wing force ruled states, is one of the major problems in South Indian provinces like Orisha, Gujarat and Karnataka.

The violence against Muslim community saw its peak in the Gujarat carnage, which not only was state, sponsored but also resulted in the massive loss of lives and properties. The legal process has been overshadowed by the communal intimidation resulting in many parts of the Gujarat society. The insecurity and alienation of Muslim minorities is on the rise in other places too. Many of the victims of Gujarat have not been able to return to their residents and resume their normal economic activities. In fact Muslim minorities are facing social economic life. During last fifty years of violence more than 80 percent victims of communal clashes were Muslims giving them a shocking message that they are being targeted and are unsafe in the society. Regular happenings in dalit villages are subject to humiliation which sometimes comes in the form of gendered violence of stripping naked dalit women. While the employment and agricultural scenario is getting more and more adverse against dalits in India, the violence against them to the overall worsening social situation also adds to the social violence.

The **ethnic problem** of Kashmir though is showing some signs of respite, its deeper issue remains and creates the ground for fresh threat of occurrence of violence. So far over 80,000 people have lost their lives in the valley. To make the matters worse the presence of Indian army in large number has added to the problem in no mean way. Different political outfits have offered different solutions. The geographical location of Kashmir has added to this vexed issue.

The ethnic violence in North East has shown no sign of abating. The problem began with the formation of Indian states despite ethnic diversity of this region. The military solution pursued by the Indian states suppress armed resistance in North East has further versioned the human resistance. The number of deaths has been rising without any respite. Manipur and Assam in particular have been the hot beds of 'terrorist attacks'. At present whole Indian mind set is stunned by Mumbai attack.

There are many inter-related factors that have led Pakistan as slow, still defective and unstable democracy. In Pakistan, each of the four of the **military coups** - October 1957, 1969, July 1977 and October 1999 - the international legitimacy did come on several excuses. The support of the American imperialism was always on the waiting list for the military successive coups in the history of Pakistan. Another predictable pattern of all four military regimes is the initial hype of development and economic growth that they create thus trying to cool down the anger among the masses. All the successive military regimes were in bond with the idea of basic democracy, local government and democracy at grassroots level. This was used to finding new partners and there were plenty of them to support such ideas. Military dictators have always used the local government system to avoid an election that could take away power from them.

In this respect, military rule in Pakistan has also come at a considerable cost to the country's sovereignty. During military rules in Pakistan, the country has aligned itself with Western interests (e.g. Pro-West military alliances in 1950s and 60s, Afghan Jihad in 1980s, and War on 'terrorism' in the beginning of the twenty first century) that may have taken a heavy toll on the country's social fabric. What is also worth-noting is that these alliances have often been undertaken without much thought to the costs and benefits to the people.

Despite many lows, democracy in Pakistan has survived for a decade. Gradually, the democratic idea is permeating to the grassroots, supported by the vibrant media and lawyer's movement occurred in the year 2008. The army's decision to stay in the barracks after Mumbai terrorist attack on 26/11 and nationalist gesture of India-Pakistan governments has, of course, been vital to the survival of democracy. This has been further challenged by the attack on Sri Lankan cricketers on the first week of March 09. In this sense, the decision to give the armed forces a constitutional role in governance may well be a guarantee against a more direct intervention.

The lingering of tensions between India and Pakistan favours no country but the blame game has started. India has insisted to extradite the 'terrorists' but Pakistan argues that it will punish them in its own court of law if found culpable. India has amply tried to show Pakistan to the international communities as a country which institutionally supports 'terrorism' and Pakistan, as a response to it, charges India threatening of military attack.

If we look upon the latest developments, there are the **'non-state actors'** as stated by the Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari, who have been playing a crucial part in jeopardising Indo-Pak relations. The xenophobic media of their respective countries precipitate the situation rather than help normalize it. Escalation of tensions between India and Pakistan not only impinge upon the remaining South Asian states but also, invariably, hinder the US interests in this region as well as Afghanistan.

In Bangladesh, there have been concerns among sections of citizens about **hidden military expenditures** that are not reflected in the published defence expenditure. According to Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) definition of defence expenditure, cost of raising and maintaining the Bangladesh Border Rifles that is shifted to the Home Ministry can be construed as hidden defence expenditure. Defence sector may have shifted some of its expenditures to RAB and Ansar by way of sending defence officers to hold positions in these two forces. There may be other kind of hidden cost but that can not be revealed from published documents.

Some people have expressed concerns about the cadet colleges being used as mechanisms for shifting defence expenditures to the education ministry. However, it does not seem so any more. Even if there is some hidden cost involved here, it will not be as big as it would have been in the past. Some people tend to believe that children of defence personnel get free or nearly free education at colleges. However, it could not be proved. They have to pay a fixed minimum cost per month that is quite substantial. Introduction to this system of minimum charge in cadet colleges is rather promoting discrimination against families of low ranking or low paid defence personnel. Besides, the published budget documents substantiate that budget for operation and establishment of cadet colleges are included in the defence sector budget.

The land along the southern Bhutan remained barren until 19thh century due to fear of malaria and the ferocious carnivores. This has been revealed in the history of Bhutan written by eminent scholars like Lopon Nado and Lopen Pemala. That is why the original name of Bhutan was 'Ridrag' and the people were called 'Ridragpas' - meaning 'People of Rocky Mountains'[1]. However, Lhotshampas (Bhutanese of Nepali origin) dared to clear the forest and settle there. Gradually they prospered and land yielding was high.

The Bhutanese community enjoyed peace and harmony. There existed trade relation amongst the various communities like Ngalong, Sarchops, Kheng and Lhotshampas. Even the government at one point of a time encouraged inter-community marriage with incentives of ngultrum of 10,000[2]. However, there was ban on Unions, Associations and Political Parties. There was an attempt by some lhotshampa leaders to establish constitution and democratic system of governance in early 30s and 50s but both movements were curved by the then king.

More organised movement for constitutional monarchy took shape when the Government of Bhutan enforced 1985 Citizenship Act in the southern Bhutan. This Act was neither passed nor introduced in the National Assembly (Parliament) in Bhutan[3]. This Act was bias against the southern Bhutanese. Perhaps, first time in the world, citizens of a same country were divided into seven categories. Late Sita Mothey of Chirang district hanged herself to death when she found that her husband was categorized as non Bhutanese.

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[1] Mr. T.N.Rizal and Thinley Penjore, BMSC ,Unveiling Bhutan 2007

[2] Marriage Act 1977

[3] Mr.T.N. Rizal's petition to King April 1988.

This **ignited sentiment** of the people prompting to join the voice for human rights and democratic transformation.

The term **New Nepal** is frequently used to denote the fundamental change that the country has witnessed. For the first time we have seen the ascendance of a CPN (Maoist) power through the ballot. Nepal's Constituent Assembly (CA) is made better inclusive as seen. For instance, one third of the women members are representing the CA, breaking all the records in South Asia. The socially and culturally backwarded communities like dalit, Janjaatis and Madhesis are also representing the CA in a significant number. Nepal is declared federal republic and a secular state. The state restructuring process will be started after promulgation of the new constitution, being drafted by the people and their representatives (the CA members).

There are some dark and black pictures as well. Nepal is still passing through a transition phase. CPN (Maoist) that fought with 'people's war' for almost 12 years in recent days is charged of being failed in their commitment to multiparty democratic principles, as had shown in several peace accords. Continuous discrepancies between Maoist words and actions made them more suspect in the last couple of months. Those who were involved in peace process now are sidelined in one and several instances. Statements like going for an **armed revolt or capturing power** by force is intensifying the scepticism about their past commitment.

Sri Lanka happened to be a peaceful country for more than 23 centuries, up to 1950s, without **internal crisis** as Sri Lankan people Sinhala, Tamil and Muslims. Our forefathers fought with colonizers as Sri Lankans and not as ethnic groups.

But, the situation drastically changed after independence and ethnic minority groups felt that they were considered as **second class citizens** and not with the equity and social justice, by the majority Singhala regimes of the country. After peaceful demonstrations for long period of time, the Tamil citizens, and specifically **radical youth militant groups** felt, that there is no more use having such peaceful way of demanding their rights as citizens and took arms

demanding a separate state. This has been ongoing for more than 24 years since 1983.

Before the Tamil youth took up arms, the majority Sinhala youth in the southern parts of the country, also felt that their issues were neglected by the governments and ruling class in the country Southern people experienced the brutality of the situation as the southern governments crushed the youth uprising by destroying the leaders and militant youth, university students, religious leaders and many more in the south.

1.2 Rationale

The global military environment is influenced by the unilateralism of the sole super power, United States of America (USA); war on 'terrorism'; the vast potential of the information revolution; the growing potential of regional powers, particularly China and India; the spread of religious fundamentalism; and the social upheaval in many developing countries due to the expectations of their people. The scenario is further complicated by a rise in **trans-border 'terrorism'**, sponsored **ethnic strife** and **low intensity conflicts**.

It is an unfortunate fact that people have found it impossible to live in a state of peace. Instead, throughout their history, most nations have had to make elaborate preparations for their defence. Of course, it may be argued that equal efforts have been put into offensive preparations, but whatever the real purpose, **expenditure on military hardware, facilities and personnel** is immense. Yet it is only recently that geographers have began to examine the effects of this preoccupation in terms of its wider effects with particular attention being paid to the spatial economic effects of defence spending, for instance. It would of course be misleading to suggest that geography has ignored the military. The contribution of geography to warfare, as opposed to defence per se, was recognised very early and spawned texts devoted to so called '**military geography**'.

Asia's power structure continues to be polycentric, with the power centres being China, India, Japan, Russia, and, to a certain extent,

Pakistan. **Regional groupings** are exerting their influence on strategic issues, particularly economic ones. East, South and West Asia, have ongoing **bilateral and multilateral conflicts**, which impact on the overall military environment. In addition to 'terrorism', the world continues to be plagued with **conventional military as well as non-military threats**. The Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) has also impacted heavily on the global security environment. Militaries are now focusing on rapidly imbibing the latest technological tools, so that they are not left behind and are able to field modern military forces.

These developments have also posed many new and largely **unexpected challenges** for the United Nations and its agenda for **global security**. It has further impacted as the non-state actors in international politics concerned with establishing a more peaceful and just world order. John Kettle has rightly said ongoing problems relating to arms control; trade in armaments-both legal and illegal, poverty and underdevelopment, third world debt, large scale environmental degradation, population pressures, resource exploitation and distribution, and human rights abuses remain matters of pressing concern (Kettle and Smith, eds., 1992:22). These were the more commonly accepted as a legitimate item on the agenda of global security during the early nineties of the last century.

In confronting with this array of urgent problems, it is generally acknowledged that policy-makers have been limited in their ability to respond effectively not only because of the existing **bureaucratic machinery**, but also of the particular **'mind-sets'**. Both of these elements were developed in the different environments of the Cold War's bipolar order. Indeed, hopes for the establishment of a stable, peaceful international community have been declared very firmly which place the United Nations at the heart of such a community: 'The world needs a centre, and some confidence that the centre is holding and the United Nations is the only such a credible centre.

Traditional security approaches have been state centric. Their sole concern has been the protection of the state from threats. Such approaches focused exclusively on **political - military dimension**. There is an emerging consensus that the **military threat** is only one of the many threats that a state has to face. Therefore, all forms of threats both internal and external must be taken into account to ensure security. In this sense, **state security** is synonymous with **individual security**. Economic vulnerability, ecological threats, and natural disasters are important sources of insecurity for people. Freedom from these threats is what comprises security. This larger conception of security is what has been identified as **human security**. Human security, therefore, is crucial for global security and sustainability, and by extension of global governance (Mattoo, Bajpai, and Cortright 1999:162).

The sub-region South Asia becomes the most vulnerable for internal and external threats after **nuclear tests** conducted by India and Pakistan in May 1998. This nuclear standoff situation enhanced instability in the region and constructs a unique problem for the international system because all other nuclear states are the members of the **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)** regime. The end of Cold War heralded two major aspects in security affairs and thus in military affairs. The first one is large scale rise in internal and inter-state conflicts. And, the second aspect is that these internal and intra-state conflicts are motivated by ethno-regional, ethno-political or communal-religious or socio-economic factors. The expression of these instabilities, however, has taken the form of insurgency movements and terrorist activities, apart from conflict by domestic groups against the state.

According to the SIPRI, military expenditure includes all current and capital expenditure on: (a) the armed forces, including peace keeping forces; (b) defence ministries and other government agencies engaged in defence projects; (c) paramilitary forces when judged to be trained, equipped and available for military operations; and (d) military space activities. Such expenditures should include: (a) personnel costs (all expenditures on current personnel, military and civil; retirement pensions of military personnel; social services for personnel and their families); (b) operations and maintenance

costs; (c) procurement costs (d) military research and development costs; (e) military construction costs; and (f) military aid (in the military expenditures of the donor country). At the same time, military related expenditures excluded from the defence expenditure are (a) cost of civil defence; (b) current expenditure for previous military activities (c) cost of veterans benefits (d) demobilization cost; (e) cost of conversion of arms production facilities; and (f) cost of destruction of weapons (SIPRI, 2005).

1.3 Objectives

The main objective of this paper is to analyse government priorities and their policies towards common people in South Asia with regard to security issues. Specifically, this attempt aims at identifying how the governments of South Asian countries are militarizing their societies rather than empowering providing and fulfilling basic needs like education, health and livelihood.

This paper, furthermore, attempts to locate the leadership and the process of governance as being crucial to policymaking for human security in the region. It looks at the challenges for contextualising human security in a situation of burgeoning violent conflicts around the sub region and crisis of state sharpening insecurities of the people in physical as well as material terms. It aims at identifying how far the people of South Asia have to go for justifiable, peaceful and demilitarised society.

1.4 Methods/Processes

This paper is an anthology of the situation reviews made by country focal points[4] in the respective countries – Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. One of the five thematic

[4] They are Bangladesh Development Partnership Centre, BDPC, (Bangladesh), Democratic Youth Bhutan (Bhutan), BMMA (India), Human Rights Alliance (Nepal), Labour Education Foundation (Pakistan) and Centre for Development Alternatives (Sri Lanka).

groups of South Asia Alliance for Poverty Eradication (SAAPE) - Peace, Justice and Demilitarisation Thematic Group (PJD) coordinated by Human Rights Alliance based in Kathmandu consulted all the country focal points for reflecting the situation of security issues in the respective countries. In several meetings and e-communications made for the past three years, it was agreed that at least one position paper regarding military issues of each of the countries of South Asia is needed. A consensus was made that each of the country focal points would produce a country position paper. Once drafted last year (2007-08), the country position papers were reviewed by the experts in respective countries and given the final shape.

These finalised country position papers were compiled by the Thematic Focal Organisation (Human Rights Alliance). An expert was hired to prepare the regional position paper based on the country papers. This report is an outcome of this whole effort.

This study draws considerably from a range of primary as well as secondary source materials. In each country experts in related field were hired and based on a given guideline, the individual experts reviewed the scenario on increasing militarisation in the respective countries. They furthermore analysed why increasing militarisation in terms of budget, human resources as well as other resources has a negative impact to do with the people of the respective countries. These people get less social security in the sense that they get less or completely no access to health, education, employment and are deprived of basic needs like food, cloth and shelter. It's not a matter of basic need but more importantly the dignified life of the people for which there should be no compromise by any body.

Chapter II
Scenario of Peace and Demilitarisation

2.1 Concept of Peace and Militarisation

Peace is a state of harmony, the absence of hostility and absence of violence. This term is applied to describe a cessation of or lapse in violent international conflict. In this international context, peace is the opposite of war. Peace can also describe a relationship between any parties characterised by respect, justice and goodwill. To some ideal rulers, peace can be established by hegemony, terror and deterrence but this kind of peace cannot be long lasting. Peace lies in the balance of power in any state and international system. Peace with justice and satisfaction is the need of present time in the South Asia.

Peace or absence of antagonistic, violent, or destabilising conflict is essential for existence to become life for survival to become human which can be achieved only in conditions of peace. Creativity, spirituality, individual and collective achievements attain grandeur and glory only when there is peace. Qualities of compassion, forgiveness, love, sharing and universal solidarity become cherished and sought after virtuous attributes only when a community, society or nation is at peace – within and without.

War on the other hand, internal or external, civil or military, declared or undeclared valorises bravery – the capacity to kill or be killed and the destruction of human life and accomplishments. It mocks compassion and conscience; it belittles refusal to erect artificial walls that divide human beings in the name of one identity. Furthermore, it glorifies the destructive principle and devalues the principles of creation and life. The war mongers are invariably persons with few qualms of conscience, ever ready to eliminate and exterminate human life, emotions, thought, ideas, and achievements.

The concept of militarisation is being used here not merely to denote a large, standing army equipped with the latest nuclear and conventional weapons. Militarisation, in a wider and more comprehensive sense, entails the effects of militaristic thinking on an entire society. This happens when the whole society becomes so permeated by violent imagery, thought, emotion, cognition and imagining, that it becomes inconceivable to solve any conflict without resorting to the force of arms. All institutions of society become saturated with violence and ideas of combat, battle, fighting, blood, martyrdom, victory, defeat, heroes and traitors become a part of everyday life even in civilian matters. In such cases, even the language of the military is borrowed and internalised by the civilian institutions, for example, words such as 'strategy', 'plan of action', 'targets' have become part of common usage in the departments of population, education and social welfare. Violence becomes so much a part of everyday consciousness that its brutal effects, its painful consequences and its tragic outcomes are obliterated.

Militarisation has been defined as an increased emphasis on military power by states to further their national interests, with the option using military threats and war as an extension of politics. Militarisation is the use of military to solve political problems. It implies the growing dominance of the military over civilian institutions, with a simultaneous decline in democratic institutions and the freedoms and rights of citizens. This definition of militarisation emphasizes its physical attributes but ignores the ideological and cultural aspects of the phenomenon. The process of militarisation absorbs too much material wealth of a nation, dominates national politics, and strains the economic life of a country. Moreover, stress on militarisation also hampers other social sectors as the rulers become over dependent on the military aspect of security. In order to achieve peace, army is considered as the best constituency forgetting the other non-military aspects of security are no less significant for peace. The main thrust of militarisation is the 'power over the other' and not the 'power to be able to do certain things'. The militarised societies are based on dominance.

2.2 Global Context

Global security remained a victim of 'terrorism' and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The global security agenda tended to be defined in terms of United States (US) interests and perceptions. Issues, which were important to the US, on the one hand, dominated the entire security discourse and United Nations could achieve the basic objectives of global peace and security on the other hand. The unilateralist pronouncements of the United States became a major source of concern to the rest of the world, which gradually learnt to live with them because of the overwhelming power of the United States and the highly indispensable economic and strategic interdependences (Kumar, 2004:4).

Globalisation has had a profound effect in making the world smaller and more accessible. It has also had a major effect on the military environment. Military force factors continue to retain their significance in international relations, increasingly economic, political, technological, ecological, information and energy factors. These all play a dominant role in the shaping of the security environment. These factors are also responsible for regional conflicts, proliferation and transfer of weapons, advancements in military technology, the changing nature of war, and a recent addition, 'terrorism'. These developments have also posed many new and largely unexpected challenges for the United Nations and its agenda for global security, as well as non-state actors in international politics concerned with establishing a more peaceful and just world order.

2.3 South Asian Context

Cross border ethnic, religious and linguistic links have made mutually vulnerable all the countries of South Asia. At the same time cross border 'terrorism', arms trafficking, women and child trafficking, unwanted flux of migration are some other areas of serious concern. People of the all South Asian states-in-the-making has felt threatened by India's hegemony and size in every aspect. India's move to merge of Sikkim in 1972 was a lesson in the ability to use a politically non dominant ethnic community-the Nepali in Sikkim-to change the politico-demographic reality there.

India's conflict of interest with all neighbours includes minor disputes over territory, like Kachchatiuv with Sri Lanka, Kalapani, Susta, Pashupatinagar and some other places bordering with Nepal, Tin Bigha and New More Islands with Bangladesh, Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan and some regions of Auranchal Pradesh of North East India with China. But much more central problems over sharing of resources, cross-border population movements, ideological and identity politics in the name of caste, religion, gender, language and regions. For these fragile nation states, their identity rests on asserting their differences from India-their nationalism takes the form of anti Indians. The advent of democracy in most of the South Asian countries offers both and opportunity to built new South Asia. Alongside, there is growing public awareness about cooperation in every sector. But the high defence expenditure is one element. Much more insidious has been the obsession with a national security ideology which has undermined people's security.

The people of South Asia are concerned about increasing speed at which militarisation is taking place in the region. Even though the threat of war in Europe may have receded at least for the immediate and foreseeable future, but the armament industries and establishments of the developed industrialised countries have not seen a comparable contraction. This military technology and production, finds its ways into other regions and into the developing countries. The consequences of this are a militarisation of different countries and regions. The rationale for such militarisation is, of course, the escalation of local and regional tensions. The arms race, armamentisation and militarisation in the region are a product of the unstable situation in most countries in South Asia which all face intense violent social conflicts, 'terrorism' and secessionism.

2.3.1 Bangladesh

Bangladeshi defence planners have long regarded India as a regional bully, a perception that has been widely shared by the Bangladeshi public and perhaps the basis for strong anti Indian sentiment among sections of the citizens. Aside from the potential threat of direct military intervention, Bangladeshi leaders also believed India had the capacity to destabilise the country by extending covert assistance to tribal insurgents, the Bangladeshi Hindu minority, or the regime's domestic political opponents. Because the Army was in power almost continuously from 1975 to 1990, and recently for three years, the military was in a position to channel substantial resources to the defence sector. During the period, the defence establishment became virtually unaccountable and appropriated a disproportionate share of resources for its perpetuation and enrichment. Whereas public spending increased nine-fold between 1974 and 1986, defence spending during the same period increased by more than twenty-fold. The army received the best treatment.

Bangladesh has been the object of three main Indian security concerns since independence: Bangladeshi internal stability, its strategic position in relation to China, and Dhaka's alleged involvement with Indian tribal insurgents. Since 1975 Bangladesh has cultivated close relations with China which had become Bangladesh's primary supplier of military equipment over the period. Recently Bangladesh has entered production of Chinese prototype of Kalashnikov automatic assault rifle (T 56) with a Bangladeshi weapon brand code of BD 08. This is an infantry assault rifle to be used by Bangladeshi security forces including police, border rifles, army, air force, navy and other paramilitary forces. The rifle was officially unveiled by the Chief of Army Staff in April 2008. It has been learned that the demand for primary infantry weapons like assault rifles has grown sharply for the Bangladeshi defence forces over the past five/six years with increased participation in UN peace keeping missions. On the other hand, the numbers of active personnel under the army, police, and rapid action battalion and other security forces have been growing with addition of new formations and units that requires assault weapons. Besides, Bangladesh has been providing infantry training to probable peace keepers of other countries in addition to its own contingent. In order to cope with the high demand import of infantry weapon grew substantially costing huge amount of hard-earned foreign currency. To offset this scenario the government of Bangladesh decided to produce the rifle locally under license to make it cheaper and easily available.

Since the mid-1970s, Bangladesh also sought close relations with oil-rich Arab states, most notably with Saudi Arabia. Starting in the late 1970s, the United States annually appropriated International Military Education and Training (IMET) funds to train limited numbers of Bangladeshi officers in the USA.

Probably the longest running source of insecurity and domestic violence in Bangladesh, the tribal insurgency has festered in the remote Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) since the late 1970s. Since then the rebels were still seeking autonomous status for the Chittagong Hills, the expulsion of Bengali settlers from traditional tribal lands, the restoration of tribal rights and privileges, and the withdrawal of the army from the Chittagong Hills. Through the late 1980s, military pacification efforts had been ineffective. Many international and domestic human rights organisations termed the anti-insurgent campaign in the CHT in those days as "genocide."

The greatest concern of security threat in the recent days has been the activities of the fanatic Islami Jihadis known as the Jamiatul Mujahedin Bangladesh (JMB). They have other parallel wings like the Harkat-ul Jihad, Shahdat-e-Hikma and the Hijbut Tahrir. Armed activities that undermine the overall security situation include political violence, election violence, campus violence, attack on the minorities, the judges, cultural outfits, and the intelligentsia. At the same time armed activities has deep relationship with gun running, human trafficking, extortion, sex

work, illegal occupation of land, smuggling of contraband items, drug trafficking and marketing, real estate business, money laundering, etc.

Peace and justice system of the country has been seriously undermined by the JMB and other elements that are considered as threats to democracy, human rights, national security and territorial integrity. The country has fallen into a situation of tremendous domestic and international pressures recently for addressing these security issues, particularly the one related to the JMB. The government response to the emerging security issues has been construed by many as too little too late while some important ringleaders of the fanatic armed groups still remain under shelter of some influential elements within the government.

Enormous amount of resources has been channelled through creation of the Sena Kallyan Sanstha (Army Welfare Organisation), the Defence Officer's Housing Society (DOHS) and other several service organisations for defence personnel and their families. Resource accumulation by defence forces is manifested by establishment of army farm, army medical college, army pathological laboratory, military institute of science and technology, new cantonments, and cadet colleges.

In Bangladesh, being a poor country with more than 50 percent of its population lacking basic livelihood needs, a question comes up – what should be the priority of investing the scarce resources of the country in defence or in social sectors to support basic livelihood needs for all? The aimlessness of defence strategy at times makes it difficult to justify certain expenditure particularly in relation to purchase of weapons and their procurement. Procurement of Bangladesh Armed Force planes, for example, may be justified for the training academy, but what should be done with the highly expensive modern frigate that was procured from South Korea? The country needed more gun boats and patrol boats for protection of natural resources and ensuring sovereignty of territorial waters. Some people have expressed concerns about the cadet colleges for shifting defence expenditures to the education

ministry. But in reality, the published budget documents substantiate that budget for operation and establishment of cadet colleges are included in the defence sector budget.

As regards corruption in the defence service, it appears from news reports and available information that there has been allegation of corruption and misappropriation involving big international procurements such as purchase of planes, frigates, etc. The very specific complain was the army's involvement in handling funds allocated for pacification programs in the Hill Tracts. But information is not available in details for putting more light on it. Another area of concern in terms of corruption is infra-structure development where kick backs may be involved.

Geography also limited Bangladesh's capacity to mount a conventional defence of the nation. A paucity of roads, bridges, and railroads impede cross-country military movements, particularly during the monsoon months of June through September. There are eighteen airports suitable for military transport operations, although the lift capacity of the Bangladesh Air Force is extremely limited. The country's newly built national highways and rural roads would not help slowing down an enemy advance. Bangladesh provides ideal terrain for conducting guerrilla warfare. Jungles, rivers, and isolated villages would allow locally based guerrillas to hold out almost indefinitely. There are no indications, however, that Bangladesh has developed a guerrilla war doctrine; the nation's defence rested primarily on a strategy of deterrence by conventionally equipped regular forces.

The 2,400-kilometer border with India is patrolled by a paramilitary force called the Bangladesh Rifles. During peacetime, Bangladesh Rifles commanders have authority to conduct "flag meetings" with their Indian paramilitary counterparts whenever stray firing incidents occur. Throughout its existence, the Bangladesh Army has had to contend with severe shortages of weapons, communications equipment, spare parts, and transport vehicles. On occasions reports maintained that target practice--a basic military skill--was restricted because of ammunition

shortages. Under these conditions, it is doubtful the army could fight a conventional war for more than a few days without massive assistance from a foreign power.

Because the Army was in power almost continuously from 1975 to 1990, the military was in a position to channel substantial resources to the defence sector. During the period, the defence establishment became virtually unaccountable and appropriated a disproportionate share of resources for its perpetuation and enrichment. Whereas public spending increased nine-fold between 1974 and 1986, defence spending during that same period increased more than twenty-fold. The army received the best treatment. According to 1985 data, the army received over 50 percent of defence outlays. Moreover, army personnel strength tripled in 1985 compared to 1975. Navy and air force expansion was less spectacular, although their capital outlays for such high-cost items as ships and aircraft represented an onerous economic burden. Analysts calculate that actual outlays for defence were considerably higher than published in government budgets suggested.

Defence Expenditures

Bangladesh defence expenditure has been quoted by different researchers and institutions in varied figures. It is difficult to ascertain whose information and data is correct and authentic. While one says that the defence expenditure was 1.8 percent of GDP in a particular year, the other says it was 1.2 percent for the same year. Possibly this has happened due to use of different definitions of defence spending to calculate the expenditure. So, it appears important to have some ideas on the definition of defence spending.

In understanding Bangladesh defence expenditure, the budget and allocation for the fiscal year 2005-06 has not been taken into consideration as it is still provisional and subject to revision and further adjustment, although the published budget shows allocation for the defence sector as 7.9 percent. Therefore, emphasis has been given on the immediate past year i.e. fiscal year 2004-05.

Table 2.1 refers to Bangladesh Defence Expenditure for 18 years from 1988 to 2005. It is easily visible that in international currency budget was 313 million USD in 1988 and it has grown up to 750 million USD in 2005. In the perspectives of Bangladesh it really does not matter much as to what it stands in terms of the percentage of GDP. The fact is the defence budget over this period has doubled in absolute term. Generally the defence budget never exceeded 2 percent of GDP, assuming that there was no hidden cost involved. Bangladesh being a poor country with more than 50 percent of its population lacks basic livelihood needs, the question that comes up – what should be the priority of investing the scarce resources of the country in defence or in social sectors to support basic livelihood needs for all?

Table 2.1: Bangladesh Defence Expenditure (18 Years)

Year	Military expenditure in local currency in m. taka	% of Military expenditure as percentage of gross domestic product
1988	9104	1.4
1989	10563	1.1
1990	11143	1.0
1991	12071	1.0
1992	14396	1.1
1993	16105	1.2
1994	19021	1.4
1995	21582	1.4
1996	23076	1.4
1997	25863	1.4
1998	28436	1.1
1999	31277	1.4
2000	33377	1.4
2001	34020	1.3
2002	34105	1.2
2003	36150	1.2
2004	38560	1.2
2005	49726	1.3

Expenditures are divided into two categories such as revenue expenditure and development expenditure. Development expenditures under the defence budget are mainly welfare oriented such as infra-structure development and providing basic services in terms of housing, water supply, building education institutions and hospitals, new cantonments (meaning facilities of all sorts), roads and electricity in the cantonment areas, etc. In a sense it is not bad as it helps meeting the basic needs of the service men and their dependents, but ensuring improved services for a particular group keeping the poorest of the common citizens waiting for the same services may be construed as a discriminatory approach. The planners need to think as how the same services can be made available to the overall population of the country.

Cost Effectiveness of Defence Expenditure

The aimlessness of defence strategy at times makes it difficult to justify certain expenditure particularly in relation to purchase and procurement. Procurement of Bangladesh Armed Force (BAF) planes, for example, may be justified for the training academy, but what should we do with the highly expensive modern frigate that was procured from South Korea, while the country needed more gun boats and patrol boats for protection of natural resources and ensuring sovereignty of territorial waters.

The peace treaty in the Chittagong Hill Tracts has substantially reduced the military expenditure related to internal insurgency, and as per the peace agreement it is important to go for demilitarization of the hilly region in order for minimizing further expenditure.

Cost effectiveness of the Army Medical College, Military Institute of Science and Technology, Cadet Colleges, etc. are subject to scrutiny. But this can not be done from the published information while details information is not available. Thus it is difficult to reveal as to what is happening. Further study and analysis is needed to be correct and authentic in making comments on the cost effectiveness of the expenditures involved with these institutions.

It is important also to know the cost effectiveness of peace keeping, training foreign cadets and officers at the air force academy at Jessore and the Defence Staff and Command College in Mirpur, Dhaka.

The issue of "Hidden Costs" in Defence Expenditure

There have been concerns among citizens about hidden military expenditures that are not reflected in the published defence expenditure. According to SIPRI definition of defence expenditure, cost of rising and maintaining the Bangladesh Border Rifles that is shifted to the Home Ministry can be construed as hidden defence expenditure. Defence sector may have shifted some of its expenditures to Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) and Ansar by way of sending defence officers to hold positions in these two forces. There may be other kind of hidden cost but that can not be revealed from published documents.

Some people have expressed concerns about the cadet colleges as they see these colleges as mechanisms for shifting defence expenditures to the education ministry. However, it does not seem so any more. Even if there is some hidden cost involved here, it would not be as big as it would have been in the past. Some people tend to believe that children of defence personnel get free or near free education at cadet colleges. It could not be proved as children of defence personnel who study in cadet colleges these days do not get free education any more. They have to pay a fixed minimum cost per month that is quite substantial. Introduction to this system of minimum charge in cadet colleges is rather promoting discrimination against families of low ranking or low paid defence personnel. Besides, the published budget documents substantiate that budget for operation and establishment of cadet colleges are included in the defence sector budget.

The allegation that the defence services have been taking medicines free of cost from the government central medicine store could not be verified. Except for shifting the expenditures incurred for the

BDR to the Home Ministry, hidden expenditures of the defence sector seems low and insignificant in Bangladesh compared to other countries, particularly those of South Asia.

As regards corruption in the defence service, it appears from news reports and available information that there has been allegation of corruption and misappropriation involving big international procurements such as purchase of planes, frigates, etc. The very specific complain was the army's involvement in handling funds allocated for pacification programs in the Hill Tracts. But information is not available in details for putting more light on it. Another area of concern in terms of corruption is infra-structure development where kick backs may be involved as a matter of usual practice in contracting out construction works. But it needs mentioning that corruption in the defence sector in general, except for big international purchases, is low in Bangladesh in contrast with the overall corruption trend in the country. This may be reflection of the fact that they are well fed.

Defence Earning

It appears from the published budget documents that the Bangladesh defence sector has some income. Although detail information is not available in head-wise break up of such income, it has been understood that the major income earning activities included international peace keeping under UN invitation and proceeds from training foreign officers at BAF academy at Jessore, Bangladesh Military Academy at Chittagong and the Defence Command and Staff College at Mirpur in Dhaka. There might be some savings as well from the UN Peace Keeping Training Centre at Rajendrapur. The other initiatives that bring in some revenue for the defence sector may be the Army Medical College (AMC), Cadet Colleges, Army Pathological Laboratory (APL), Military Institute of Science and Technology (MIST) and the like.

Foreign officers regularly attend one-year courses offered at the Bangladesh Military Academy near Chittagong and the Defence Command and Staff College at Mirpur. The United States, Britain,

Indonesia, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and several small Asian and African states have sent military personnel to Bangladesh for staff courses.

Table 2.2 represents the revenue earned by the defence sector in FY 2004-05 and the projected defence sector earning for 2005-06. The projected defence sector income for 2005-06 seems very high and it can not be ascertained before the fiscal year is over as to how much of the income target has been achieved.

Table 2.2: Defence Earning (in m. taka)

Year	Income
2004-5	2280
2005-6	6320*

* Estimated figure

Bangladesh has been associated with the UN Peacekeeping efforts since the 1980s. Its commitment to international peace and security gets adequately reflected in the number of troops which Bangladesh has contributed to various UN Peacekeeping missions around the world. Bangladesh has emerged as one of the largest troop contributing countries. It has a very active Department of Peacekeeping. It was recently recommended that it was important to consolidate the triangular partnership between the Security Council, troop contributors and the UN Secretariat. A demand was also made by the Bangladesh government to the UN Security Council to make it a full participant in decision-making on the peacekeeping missions as a major stakeholder. Bangladesh is currently the second largest contributor of troops to the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, with some 4,500 soldiers in various missions worldwide. Bangladesh also has a UN Peacekeeping Training Centre in Rajendrapur.

Information, however, has not been available for ascertaining the investment return ratio of the defence sector income. No doubt the income from peace keeping generates surplus over expenditure but nothing can be said about the other defence sector income earning

enterprises in the absence of information. Also there are concerns about the justification of having own medical college and institute for educating and training defence doctors and engineers.

Comparative Analysis of Allocation for Defence Sector and Social Sector (Health-sanitation, Education and Social Welfare)

If one looks at the comparative budget allocation or in other words expenditure of the defence sector and the social sector (Table 2.3), it appears that budget allocation for education, health and social welfare is low even by the third world standard. The allocation for health and social welfare is far less than the allocation for the defence sector. The table further shows that allocation for education is higher than that of defence by percentage. It should not be construed as righteousness of the allocation. One has to assess justifications of allocations on the basis of needs and priorities and in this case the question is whether the allocation for education has been up to the needs and standard as to what it should be.

Table 2.3: Comparative Analysis of Allocation between Defence and Social Sectors (FY 2004-5 Revised and Adjusted Budget (in m. taka))

Head of Exp.	Defence	Education	Health	Social Welfare
Revenue	46100	51710	18020	4220
Development	480	21140	13720	790
Total	46580	72850	31740	5010
% of Budget	6.4	10.1	4.4	0.7

Table 2.3 represents the revised budget of the defence and social sectors for FY 2004-05. Revised budget is the real budget finalised after mid-year adjustments. Table 2.4 represents the primary allocations for defence and social sectors in the budget that was passed by the parliament for FY 2004-05 before revision and mid-year adjustment. If one compares these two tables, it can be seen that the allocation for defence was increased in the revised budget from 41510 million taka to 46580 million taka, while primary

allocations for the social sectors was reduced from 121030 million taka to 109600 million taka. This pattern of budget revision indicates the perceived priority and dominance of the defence sector over the social sector.

Table 2.4: Comparative Analysis of Allocation between Defence and Social Sectors (FY 2004-5 Primary Budget (in m. taka))

Head of Exp.	Defence	Education	Health	Social Welfare
Revenue	41160	47060	16520	4160
Development	350	31530	20790	970
Total	41510	78590	37310	5130
% of Budget	5.7	10.8	5.1	0.7

2.3.2 Bhutan

The land along the southern Bhutan remained barren until 19thh century due to fear of malaria and the ferocious carnivores. This has been revealed in the history of Bhutan written by eminent scholars like Lopon Nado and Lopen Pemala. That was why the original name of Bhutan was 'Ridrag' and the people were called 'Ridragpas' –meaning 'People of Rocky Mountains'. However, Lhotshampas (Bhutanese of Nepali origin dared to clear the forest and settled there. Gradually they prospered and land yielding was high.

The Bhutanese community enjoyed peace and harmony. There existed trade relation amongst the various communities like Ngalong, Sarchops, Kheng and Lhotshampas. Even government at one point of a time encouraged inter-community marriage with incentives of ngultrum of 10,000. In 19th century, Lhotshampas (Bhutanese of Nepali origin) dared to clear the forest and settled there. Gradually they prospered and land yielding was high. However, there was ban on Unions, Associations and Political Parties. There is no freedom of expression and advocacy for human rights. There was an attempt by some Lhotshampa leaders to establish constitution and democratic system of governance in early 30s and 50s but both movements were curved by the then king.

More organised movement for constitutional monarchy took shape when the Government of Bhutan enforced 1985 Citizenship Act in the southern Bhutan. This Act was neither passed nor introduced in the National Assembly (Parliament) in Bhutan. This Act was bias against the southern Bhutanese. Perhaps, first time in the world, citizens of a same country were divided into seven categories. Late Sita Mothey of Chirang district hanged herself to death when she found that her husband was categorized as non Bhutanese. This ignited the sentiment of the people prompting to join the voice for human rights and democratic transformation.

In 1990, the government declared state of emergency to suppress its own people who are demanding for democratic rights. Army was deployed in the villages under the leadership of brutal officers. The army had taken over the district administration and they were allowed to manage law, enforce curfew and shoot suspicious people. Large numbers of innocent citizens were vehemently expelled form the country. The northern and eastern students, youths and able women were mobilized for militia training to create psychological terror in the southern Bhutan. Around hundred thousand people were displaced and forcibly thrown to Nepal border by Indian security personnel and became refugee. Many political party leaders were sent to jail and exiled.

Military

Royal Bhutan Army (RBA) was constituted in 1950. In 1958, it had 2,500 poorly equipped soldiers recruited in response to China's take over of Tibet. After the first five year plan was commissioned with support from Government of India in 1968, RBA gradually started getting modernized with number increased to 4,850. It operates from four divisions. Right from the inception of RBA, India was extending all technical and material support including training by Indian Military Training Team (IMTRAT)[5].

In 1990, the government declared state of emergency and armies were deployed in the villages under the leadership of brutal officers.

[5] www.photius.com/countries/bhutan/.../
bhutan_natnal_security_armed_forces

The army had taken over the district administration and they could manage law, enforce curfew and shoot suspicious people. Large numbers of innocent citizens were forcefully evicted form the country[6]. The northern and eastern students, youths and able women were mobilized for militia training to create psychological terror in the southern Bhutan. The ex-servicemen below the age of fifty years were called back to service. However, many conscious youths especially from Paro and Thimphu refused to join as they knew that government was desperately trying to inflict communal terror.

Bhutan has military tie up with India. India has large presence of military personnel in Bhutan in the name of Indian Military Training Team (IMTRAT), General Reserve Engineer Force (GREF) and DANTAK under Border Roads Organization. These forces construct and maintain roads in Bhutan to China border and train Bhutan forces.

One important aspect of Bhutan army is that Bhutan doesn't have full fledged army general. Until 1981, it was headed by a Makchi Hom (Colonel). It has Goonglan Hom (Major General) as the Chief of army staff now. The rank of Brigadier was abolished in 60s when the Prime Minister Palden Dorji was assassinated. Late Chabda, a brigadier was a key conspirator involved then in assassination theory who was later shot dead publicly in Chamlimithang ground, Thimphu.

Military Operation

The chief of army staff commanded the entire other forces like Royal Bhutan Police, Royal Body Guard and Bhutan Forest Guard. During the emergency in 1990s, they took total control of civilian administration in close coordination with the king, who is considered to be the supreme commander. The king in 1990s revamped army to suppress the human rights and democratic movement. Lt Colonel Batoo Tshering, who is also the chief of

[6] For detail account of forcible eviction as well as forced displacement by government of Bhutan, see Amnesty International, Bhutan Forcible Exile, ASA 14/04/1994.

army staff at present, took control over southern Bhutan. Many houses were burnt down; innocent citizens were evicted at gun point and many taken into prison.

In 1991, the king gave away his old Mercedes Benz cars to RBA to use them in state of emergency. The king also gave Pajero car to all the officers in the rank of Lingpon (Major). In addition, many foreign vehicles were given to army and police during the emergency. They also took control of oil depot (pumps) in the south and Thimphu – the capital region. The most surprising thing was that Indian military personnel, under the command of RBA officer drove tank from village to village to inflict terror amongst the innocent citizens. Indeed for some, it was an opportunity to see tank first time in their lives.

Bhutan undertook military operation against United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) and Kamtapuri Liberation Organization in 2003. These organizations were sheltering in Bhutan since 1990s[7]. Indeed the government of Bhutan herself gave them shelter in order to bargain with India to equip her army. These militant organizations were put in the lands owned by the refugees back in Bhutan.

Bhutan grabbed its golden opportunity to train and increased her military size in the pretext of dealing with above organizations. They were given anti-insurgency training in Mizo Hills in Mizoram and Kolkotta, India. The Bhutan armies were supplied with AK47 series and other sophisticated machines. The SLR series Bhutan army used to handle were passed on to Bhutan police and the police handed over their 303 series to forest guards. Many schools and government buildings in the southern Bhutan have been turned into military barracks with sophisticated arms in reserve. Thus, Bhutan got enough reasons to justify its modernization of army.

Comparing the size vis-à-vis India and China, Bhutan has no reason to maintain army. She doesn't have any international commitment to send UN peacekeeping force either. Indeed, Bhutan's strategical location demands for advocacy of peace zone for balancing race for militarization in the region.

The present trend of radicalization of army is major threat to the people and the nation herself. There is ethnic divide and all Bhutanese have not been given their due right to serve in defence department. Bhutanese of Nepali ethnicity have been terminated from their services. There is no recruitment policy for Lhotshampas (Bhutanese of Nepali ethnicity, in southern Bhutan).On the other hand, Bhutan has been drawing nationwide campaign to give militia training to youths and students, belonging to north and eastern Bhutan. This has generated fear and insecurity amongst the large southern Bhutanese. The state dividing citizens in ethnic ground and giving militia training to some of the ethnic groups can be a fodder for unrest in the region.

Table 2.5: Figure of Military in Bhutan

Names	1958	1968	2008
Royal Bhutan Army (RBA)	2,500	4,850	18,000
Royal Bhutan Police (RBP)		700	8,000
Royal Body Guard (RBG)		300	3,500
Total			29,500

Besides these above figures, there are about 3,000 forest guards and equal number of youths and students who have undergone militia training. Table 2.6 shows the figure of defence personnel in exile who have either been terminated from service or deserted to join popular democratic movement. Therefore, a solution must be worked out by Bhutan to resolve refugee impasse seeking peaceful intervention of International community- especially India[8].

Table 2.6: Figure of Defence Personnel in Exile

Names	No
RBA	1,700
RBP	170
RBG	38
Total	1908

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[7] http://www.tribuneindia.com/2003/20031219/main6.htm

[8] Human Rights Watch, last Hope: The Need for Durable Solution for Bhutanese Refugees in Nepal and India, Vol. 19 May 2007.

In our campaign for peaceful south Asia, we the members of civil society appeal the Government of Bhutan to immediately stop radicalisation of army. An initiative for civil army relation must be explored to build up harmony and peace. Bhutan with its small population can be a model of peace in the region if she engages the army into welfare activities and win the confidence of all Bhutanese citizens. Although, Bhutan's total budget itself is very small, a comparative study shows, defence spending is increasing.

Table 2.7: Economy and Military Expenditure[9]

GDP (purchasing power parity)	$3.359 billion (2007 est.)
GDP (official exchange rate):	$1.308 billion (2007 est.)
Budget:	revenues: $272 million expenditures: $350 million note: the government of India finances nearly three-fifths of Bhutan's budget expenditures (2005)
Public debt	81.4% of GDP (2004)
Defence Expenditure	2002 - 9.3 million US$ 2007 - 13.7 Million US$ Note: Besides the above budget, India provides other necessary support like training, food materials and arms.
Combined defence forces (RBA/RBP/RBG/Forest Guard	More than 30,000, group study estimate.

Bhutan doesn't show defence budget in its annual budget allocation. Even the official date regarding the size of the population of Bhutan was fluctuating[10]. In 1990, it showed 1.4 million but later in 1998 official figure came down to 7,00,000. In the same way the size of RBA is fluctuating. The government figure shows 12,000 and after terminating 3,000 Lhotshampas soldiers, it maintains only 9,000 armies. CIA fact book shows 21,000. But actual figure of combined defence forces is more than 30,000.

Howsoever, continuous mobilisation of youths, students and able women has raised many questions. Bhutan has refused to

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[9] https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bt.html#Econ
[10] Government statistics on the size of population are source of considerable controversy, and much of data may be inaccurate (Tessa Piper, 'The Exodus of Ethnic Nepalis from Southern Bhutan', April 1995,www.refworld.com)

sign/accept Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and International Criminal Court (ICC). This is an ambitious indication so far as peace is concerned. Bhutan has already created large refugees and still continues to ignore the multi-ethnicity of the country. The minority groups are at great risk and eventually they may also be forcefully evicted using the army of Drukpa (ruling) elites.

2.3.3 India

With the five nuclear tests in May 1998 and the event euphorically dubbed as "technology day" India's nuclear technology has thus an official rationality. How could a government in less than three weeks in office make a total strategic defence review, take a decision of such significance and give the scientist the saffron light on April 10 when Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) led coalition formed the government? India since then has made many hysterical claims but failed to produce any credible proof that the tests were necessary. Instead, it justifies and then attempts to rationalize the tests, concealing it under the cloak of "national security" simultaneously intimidating the public into believing that a nuclear bomb is the need of the hour for the "nation's" best interest. Those opposing are dubbed "anti-national". This is nothing but mimicry of the prevailing nuclear mentality, a prominent mental state of the military - industrial complex of the US, NATO among others.

This nuclear mentality exhibits a deliberate disregard for human life and environment. The accumulation of a nuclear arsenal that is sufficient to wipe out the entire world many times over is in itself an indication of an insatiable hunger for power. The expansion and promotion of nuclear weapons for "stability" and domestic "growth" exposes the fabrication and madness of such a mind frame.

The latest scenario of Indo-US Nuclear deal will have an adverse impact mainly on three areas – the strategic political, the nuclear weapons related and the energy dimension. The 'deal' as and when, and if at all, comes through will grievously undermine the current

global regime of nuclear non-proliferation and thereby also the prospects of global nuclear disarmament. It is also likely to further aggravate tensions and accelerate arms race in the region. So it's a very serious negative development for global and regional peace and security.

The deal also will act as a booster for nuclear energy industry and a considerable dampener for efforts to develop ecologically benign renewable sources of energy - nationally and also globally and it would also accelerate the nuclear arms race in South Asia severely undermining the objectives of a peaceful nuke free South Asian region. It would also act as a serious dampener for the pursuit of renewable and environmentally benign energy like wind power, solar energy and such other alternatives. It would not only weaken the efforts of making India take a lead role in the struggle for nuclear weapons free South Asia but also weaken global peace movement for nuclear free world.

In India one of the major issues is ever burgeoning defence expenditure that has many serious consequences like massive displacement of development concerns. Since defence expenditure is placed under different heads and the cost of making and maintaining nuclear weapons has never been made public by the Indian government it is very difficult to ascertain the exact figures. However, various studies have established the consistent steep rise in India's overall military spending from 1998-99 onwards and the resulting diversion of funds from priority social and economic programs thus exploding yet another myth that nuclearisation leads to saving in conventional defence expenditure.

India's current defence budget has been raised to what the Finance Ministry it calls "defence expenditure" by 10 percent to US $ 217 million at a time in comparison to US $ 164.60 million in 2007/08. This figure of US $217 million, however, is misleading. It only covers "defence services" (army, navy, air force, ordinance factories, defence research and development and capital outlay, mainly for arm purchase.) It hides the true magnitude of spending by illegitimately excluding what are officially called "defence"

incurred exclusively to service the military. These include Defence pensions, coast guards, canteen stores and housing costs is US $ 37.36 million.

If these are added, the military budget even in the narrow sense equals US $ 254.36 million or 2.95 percent of India's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). This gives the lie to the claim that India only spends a modest 2 to 2.5 percent of its GDP on the military. This defence budget is over twice the amount US $125 million of farmers' loans written off. It is also 3.6 times more than the India's budgeting expenditure on education and 5.6 times than the combined allocation to public health.

Furthermore, in a broad sense, and more realistically, using the definition recommended by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, which includes some components of the Central paramilitary budget, and expenditure on nuclear biological and chemical defence, etc, military expenditure turns out even larger: US $ 285.41 million, which is a sizeable 3.3 percent of GDP. In addition, the government directly or indirectly subsidizes various public sector companies (like Bharat Dynamics, BEL, BEML, BHEL etc.) involved in defence production. There is also the defence component of the servicing of the rupee debt owed from its old strategic ally Russia. With their inclusion, total military spending will probably turn out to be US $ 291.66 million or more, the same as India's entire public spending on health and education.

The hike sparked off a hostile response to each other India-Pakistan that threatened the acquirement of new and more sophisticated weaponry to blunt India's new fire power. Such a situation would well balloon into a dangerous arms race in South Asia. Scandalous as this budget is there is the shocking revelation of the totally warped priority of the policy makers. Instead of prioritizing the social development goals, defence spending is given 'top priority'. That is, instead of concentrating first on people's health and sanitation, on education and culture, and on agriculture food production and food security the rulers prioritize defence and defence spending.

Scandalous as this Budget is there is the shocking revelation of the totally warped priority of the policy makers. Instead of prioritizing the social development goals, defence spending is given "Top Priority". That is, instead of concentrating first on people's health and sanitation, on education and culture, and on agriculture food production and food security the rulers prioritise defence and defence spending. This is justified and rationalized in the name of defence of "our national borders" from perceived "internal" and "external threats" and to "patriotism".

The following highlights the misplaced Budget priorities:

- Education   - Rs.8.65 b

The budget for education has been increased by 20 per cent. It appears to be impressive but the bulk of it is accounted for by allocations to higher education, up90 percent, and by a new stream of 6,000 "high-quality" model schools to be established, besides the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan.

- Agriculture   - Rs.110 b

On the health front the outlay is merely 17 percent higher than in 2007. An important part of the National Rural Health Mission has seen its allocation decline by over 30 percent.

This gross imbalance is both morally and politically indefensible. Societies that overspend under the cover of "insecurity" from "external danger" in the face of existing cruel reality of mass poverty and misery with widespread malnutrition among Indian children in reality court real insecurity.

This perverse situation is prevalent also in Pakistan. Both India and Pakistan continually keep raising their defence budget regularly on flimsy grounds. This escalation has been particularly sharp since 1998 when both countries exploded their nuclear devices.

On the other side is the miserable state of affairs on the social development front. Both countries are virtually at the bottom of the Development Pyramid and the Human Development Index. They are also both high on the Global Corruption Index. Yet, they proudly promulgate themselves as global superpowers

The shocking state of affairs is the result of the implementation of the neo-liberal policies of economic globalization that has since led to the total collapse of the public services that has sharpened both class and caste divisions as well as state and regional inequalities as being witnessed all over the country and the world. There is now hunger, social conflicts and violence with food insecurity, unemployment, gender oppression and child sexual abuse. Predatory states treat such human insecurity as "law and order" issue to be suppressed with brute force. This becomes a self serving argument for the urgency for higher and higher defence budget!

To conclude, fiscal and economic reality as well as defence strategy must go hand in hand. An exaggerated and bloated defence outlay fails to provide national security. History is witness that spending heavily on defence than is affordable results ultimately in making the country lot more vulnerable.

2.3.4 Nepal

Now Nepal is in the process of transforming into a plural, democratic, multi-ethnic, federal, and secular state, from a feudal and unitary one. As a result, there have been significant changes in its internal and external dynamics. The definition of national unity and security has widened, and become more people-centric and based on democratic values and principles. Therefore, there are fundamental differences of a kingdom and republic, discussion about federal and unitary nation-state, and democratic and autocratic state so that the human security approach based policy is needed to be defined as per the principles of federal democratic republic. Which must address the basic needs like education, health and employment, of the people's of nation.

In Nepal civil society plays a major role to mobilize to people against royal coup and in fever of demoralized political leadership. The political leadership, which did not take sincere actions and measures to strengthen democracy during twelve years period, were

criticized by common people. So there is need to policy advocacy action programs that encourages the government to a dialogue process with the larger section of society for formulation of a realistic budget. The civil society can work closely with the ordinary people and the political leadership of the country to promote the culture of democracy, social justice, economic justice and human rights that discourages and opposes the culture of Demilitarisation of politics and the society.

Government of Nepal allocated budget on health is $ 95.58 million in 2006/07, $ 126.20 million in 2007/8 and $ 196.27 in 2008/9. This is marginally going up in the recent years. Similarly, in past three years budgetary allocations of the Government of Nepal on education sector is $ 282.03 million in 2006/07, $ 368.81 million in 2007/08 and $ 504.44 million in 2008/9. But the separation of defence, health and education expenditure on different subtopics can not be analysed from the published information while details of information are not available.

The Maoists likely behaviour as the process moves forward, therefore, will depend upon the role of other political actors as much as their own decisions. If the mainstream parties keep up a strong commitment to the constituent assembly process, the Maoists will find it hard to back out. If this route is blocked, the Maoists may find their effort at controlled rebellion slipping into renewed conflict beyond their leaders' control. If this were to happen, the Maoists themselves would be big losers. But so would the democratic parties and, even more so, the people of Nepal. The major constituents of the ruling coalition have been criticizing the government for failing to take necessary steps towards drafting the constitution. In spite of the acute internal and external problems, the coalition government led by the Unified CPN (Maoist) during its four months of governance has made not adequate attempts to win over the hearts of the Nepalese in the domestic field and also in international arena.

The main opposition party Nepali Congress, is equally to blame which is not cooperating to move toward framing the new constitution and restructuring of the state. Right from day one, they have aggressively come out against the Maoist led government. Nepali Congress yet to accept that the CPN (Maoist) is now a political party to reckon with. The Nepali Congress seems to have conveniently forgotten that they were in power for the maximum period since the restoration of the democratic order in 1990s. The Nepali Congress must allow the present government to function without creating obstacles at every step. The main function of priority should have been the preparation for framing of the new constitution but going by the present course of events, it seems that the constitution will not be drafted in time. Besides this, the partners in the government, the CPN (UML) and the Madhesi Janadhikar Forum, seem to be going diametrical contrary directions. The security situation has gone from bad to worse and there is no indication that it will get better. In such condition there are fewer possibilities to promulgate new constitution, restructuring of state, which is the logical end of peace process as rhetoric.

But one of the important achievements of the post-April, 2008 politics is the peaceful and long awaited transformation of the Nepalese state from monarchy to republic. As the Nepalese Constituent Assembly voted in favour of republican state, Nepal was declared as a democratic federal republic, and accordingly, both president and vice president were peacefully elected and have started their business in Nepal. Nepal has set the task of the restructuring centralized state into a federal state.

In Nepal, land has been associated with power and identity. Having land in personal and amount of land holding by that person determines the social and economic status. Existence of Kamaiyas (a form of boded labour, now legally abolished), haliya, Haruwa, Charuwa, and Balighare are the other forms of bonded labour. This gives the space to demonstrate deeply rooted feudal structure at social level. Long standing agenda of land reform together with agrarian reform of is the need of time for Nepal. These kinds of social relations are obstacle for democratization and sustainable peace and justice in society.

2.3.5 Pakistan

After 11 years of birth of Pakistan, in October 1958, General Mohammad Ayub Khan assumed all presidential powers and the office of the prime minister was abolished and rule by decree introduced. He in turn was replaced by General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, the commander-in-chief of the army, who re-imposed martial law. He stepped down following the civil war which resulted in independence for Bangladesh - formerly East Pakistan - and military rule came to an end - temporarily. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became the new president, introducing a new constitution which came into effect in 1973. But after elections in 1977, Bhutto's victory was challenged by the opposition, and widespread riots ensued.

The political unrest prompted the army chief of staff, General Mohammed Zia ul-Haq, to depose Bhutto in a military coup and declare martial law on 5 July 1977. This remained in force until 1985 when non political party basis elections were held mainly boycotted by the main opposition political parties. Despite the subsequent return to civilian government, the politics of Pakistan have remained closely linked to the military. After a brief cycle of civilian governments from 1988 to 1999, in October 1999, when General Pervez Musharraf came to power in a coup and declared himself the President of the country. Musharraf was the fourth in a line of army chiefs who seized power on essentially the same pretext: getting rid of venal politicians, saving the economy from bankruptcy, and preserving the security and integrity of the country. None of the past three military rulers successfully achieved these goals, and all of them left their office involuntarily. What has gone wrong with Musharraf in eight years of rule is quite reminiscent of what went wrong with his predecessors.

Each of the four episodes of military rule in Pakistan can be divided into three phases. Each of these, quite predictably, ultimately leading to the other as the regime struggles to gain legitimacy and falls under its own weight. The first phase of each of the four times military rule in Pakistan was characterized by either the rolling out of a reform agenda or promises to "clean up the mess" or return to civilian rule. Second, in each of the four of the military rule, the US imperialism was always on the waiting list for the military successive coups in the history of Pakistan. Third, is predictable pattern of all four military regimes is the initial hype of development and economic growth that they create thus trying to cool down the anger among the masses. With the civilian "controlled" democratic experiment in a state of decline, the regimes begin the last phases of their rule. This phase is marked by an intense and growing popular discontent and disillusionment with the "artificial" democracy that is being held together in place with the support and threat of a return to military rule.

All the successive military regimes were in love with the idea of basic democracy, local government and democracy at gross root level. This was used to find new partners and there were plenty of them to support such ideas. Military dictators have always used the local government system to avoid an election that could take away power from them and transfer that to the elected ones.

During all military rules Pakistan has aligned itself with Western interests (e.g. Pro-West military alliances in 1950s and 60s, Afghan Jihad in 1980s, and War on 'terrorism' in twenty first century) that may have taken a heavy toll on the country's social fabric. What is also worth noting is that these alliances have often been undertaken without much thought to the costs and benefits to the people

It is also one where the Generals has become quite insulated from the pulse of the masses and is increasingly committing blunders– sometimes blunders of immense magnitude, for instance Ayub's celebration of Decade of Development and firing of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, his foreign minister, Zia's firing of Mohammad Khan Jonejo as Prime Minister on 29 May 1988, and Musharraf's reference against Chief Justice of Supreme Court of Pakistan in an attempt to perpetuate his rule. This pattern is predictable and clearly points towards the lack of sustainability and failure of military rule in Pakistan. John Keegan's dictum proves true that martial law is the canker of all armies; the Pakistani military has become corrupted by military rule and has lost its creditability to rule.

In Pakistan after first military coup in 1958 the defence budget accounted for nearly 60 percent of the total government expenditures. It was continue till 1973. After 1973, this percentage has been reduced by half due to a growing economy, inflation, and foreign military aid. Overall including foreign military aid and budget spending, Pakistan Military has a total of over $10 Billion in expenditures. In 2006, Pakistan's military expenditures were one quarter of national budget. Total defence Budget in the year 2008 national budget was Rs.296 billion.

Pakistan lacks in social development in all aspects. The social and industrial infrastructure is in ruin. There has been an all time growth of suicides and suicidal attacks in the year 2008. Price hike and unemployment and violence is on the rise. The ruling civilian governments have learnt nothing from the distressing policies of General Musharraf. It has tried to implement the parts of neo liberal agenda that General Musharraf was even reluctant to implement.

The civilian government of Pakistan Peoples Party which came into power after nearly nine year of military rule has refused to ask even questions of why military took over and no accountability of any sort. They believe in smooth transition of power. That smooth transition of power from military to civilians had been the case in the past 63 years. No question was ever raised about the military generals who took over. No military general was ever arrested on the charges of treason, a punishment written in the constitution of 1973 for those military generals who will end a civilian government. No truth commissions and no investigation of those gentlemen who broke every aspect of the constitution. No accountability, no arrest and it is always business as usual.

The huge economic and political intervention of the military in civilian way of life has to end. Military must not do business. Military must go to the barracks. Military expenditure has to be drastically cut if the life of ordinary citizens of Pakistan has ever to improve. It is suggested by various social movements that at least 10 percent of military budget be cut every year. It must end

its traditional Indian antagonism. It must resolve all the main conflicting issue via negotiations and not by war. A new democratic culture can only prevail when the democracy works for the most exploited classes. When democracy will come forward for the help of the weakest sections of the society, only then, the danger of military take over will be reduced.

2.3.6 Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka happened to be a peaceful country 1950s, without internal crisis as Sri Lankan people Sinhala, Tamil and Muslims. But, the situation drastically changed after Independence and ethnic minority groups felt that they were considered as second class citizens and not with the equity and social justice, by the majority Singhala regimes of the country. Before the Tamil youth took up arms, the majority Sinhala youth in the southern parts of the country, also felt that their issues were neglected by the governments and ruling class in the country. In southern region educated rural youth became violent against the ruling class as they did not see any possible solution for their problems and they were also unhappy about the whole economic and political system in the country during 1971. According to the reports, there were more than 11,000 youth who died and about 25,000 were imprisoned. They fought against the military system and suppression of the government in a violent way. Government used military actions to suppress the youth voice using state of emergency, extra judiciary killings, forceful disappearances, arrests and detain in detainees camps.

Since 1983 Liberation Tamil Tigers Elam (LTTE) is launching violent movement. It became one of the long lasting most violent movements of the time. LTTE is facing Sri Lankan army and faced the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) with strong resistance. Hundreds of school children, university students, and their families sacrificed the lives as a result of the violent situation. The situation in south was brought totally under control after the killing of the founder leader of JVP and the brutal suppression of the people's

uprising. But the fighting and violence situation at North continued until the IPKF was sent back home. The executive president who came into power in 1988 was also strongly against the Indian military intervention hence IPKF was sent back home as a diplomatic measure.

The assassination of the former executive president Ranasinghe Premadasa, and the break out of United Nationalist Party (UNP) as one powerful party in to two parties open up the space for opposition parties to come up within the democratic frame and find solution for the ethnic crisis. In 1994, Chandrika Banadaranayake, became President with the support of vast majority in the country. But it was revealed within very short period that the people's aspirations will not be materialized under the coalition government. Although the peace negotiations were began in 1994, those collapsed in April, 1995.

The next attempt for solution for the ethnic crisis was the year 2000 constitutional reforms introduced by the Progressive Alliance (PA) government which were vehemently opposed by UNP and the opposition parties. The country continued in a "No war No Peace" situation after the LTTE unilaterally decided to move out from the negotiation table. After 20 years of struggle LTTE put forward a document proposing an Interim Self Governing Authority (ISGA), which was treated in the same way as previously. The southern extremist groups, even the government and the opposition parties were not ready to study the document and respond satisfactorily.

In Sri Lanka landlessness became the real problem for people to survive. Many farmers and peasants are evicted from their land to turn the military barracks. This is clearly the demand of the Tamil people who consider the North and East as their traditional homelands. This is also the demand of the fisher people who are being pushed out of land and the access to marine resources again for the benefit of big companies and rich investors in industrial

fishing and tourism. About 800,000 families have a right to demand for such ownership and control over land, since they have been forced to work under conditions of semi slavery to earn profits for big companies while they have had to remain in tragic conditions of hunger, poverty and absence in any participation in the planning about the use of land.

Some people have been displaced more than 10 times during war year period. Still they do not have any hope to have a permanent settlement as there is no solution for the war. People's Houses, farm lands, and coastal lands have been occupied by military forces in the name of war. People are living in those Internally Displaced People (IDP) camps and their anger is justified against the military occupation. The court order given by the Supreme Court against the situation says "Government should provide alternative land for the IDP for their settlement." This can not help people because there is no efficacy in government institutions and law enforcement agencies.

The High Security Zones (HSZ) and land mines are major obstacles to resettlement of the IDPs. Land mines are the highest priority issue as over 4000 acres covered with 700,000 land mines. The HSZ were created by evicting thousands of families from their homes, villages and means of livelihood which is violation of their rights because government did not pay any compensation to people. Now the evicted people are demanding their properties back. It would seem that the victims of HSZs have to wait indefinitely and as in the saying justice delayed is justice denied. There are very less hope for such victims because of defunct judicial system.

The highest war affected groups are the women and children in the country. There are 65,000 widows in the country due to war. There are 22,000 widows in Jaffna peninsula alone. When the breadwinner of the family lost the life, women have to run the family and feed the children. But the situation is very much difficult as culturally widows are treated as second class citizens of the

country. There are around 400,000 women living in the displaced camps due to war. Increased mothers mortality rate, high malnutrition rate in war torn areas and higher school drop out rate among children are very clear indicators of the result of the war in the country.

The military budget for war of a country is a clear indicator of the Demilitarisation of the country. The military budget increased each year since 1963. Among all the other government expenditures, military budget is the highest. In 1970 the expenditure for defence was 0.5 percent of the GDP. Even in early 1980's it was limited to 1 percent only. The defence budget was increased since 1983, which was as high as 6 percent of the GDP. In 2002, Sri Lanka became the highest percentage of defence budget out of the GDP among the South Asian countries. The total government estimated expenditure for war was Rs Billion 2451. Government has spent 28 percent of the amount for the additional military operations during this period.

Here is the strength of South Asian armies. It is comparative scenario in global term, where USA and China are also compared, in terms of military strength and defence budget.

Figure 2.1: Total Available Military Personnel in South Asia and Comparison with USA and China

(Active and Reserve)

United States of America	14,26,026
China	22,55,000
India	13,25,000
Pakistan	9,21,000
Sri Lanka	2,25,,000
Bangladesh	1,91,000
Nepal	91,000
Afghanistan	70,000
Bhutan	30,000

Source: World Fact Book 2008, www.globalissues.com

Table 2.8: A Comparative Scenario of Military Spending in 2008

Country	Dollars (billions)	% of total world military expenditure	Rank
United States of America	711	48.28	1
China	121.9	8.28	2
India	22.4	1.52	11
Pakistan	4.2	0.29	31
Bangladesh	.53	-	-
Nepal	.04	-	-
Sri Lanka	.73	-	-
Bhutan	.13	-	-
Maldives	-	-	-

Source: The Military Balance, 2009, International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS)

The military spending around the world is known as unproductive investment. When we talk about the South Asia along with China have the most nuclear weaponries in the world. Major arms and military technology purchases continue to be made by a selected few developing nations around the globe and principally Pakistan and India in the region South Asia also. The most security analyst realizes that upgrading of the military technology is costly and all most all developing countries are following this path.

Military activity is one of the most important types of economically non-contributive activity in the modern world. Whatever else can be said for it, military activity does not grow food, it does not produce clothing, it does not support public health, it does not build housing, and it does not keep people amused. Nor does it create the kind of machinery, equipment and facilities that can be used to grow food in agricultural field, produce clothing, to build housing and the like. Military activity may have other kinds of value, but it has no economic value because it does not directly contribute to material wellbeing, to the material standard of living. Military expenditures divert labour, machinery, equipment and other economically productive resources that could otherwise be directed to projects capable of raising the standard of living. But all the governments are mounting their defence budget and helping Demilitarisation of society and national psyche.

Chapter III

Approaches to Peace Building in South Asia

3.1 Human Security

During nuclear tests of 1998 many predictions were made by a number of people on both side of the border of Pakistan and India. These predictions today need to be confronted with relevant observations. It was claimed that since this would balance the equation of power, the possession of nuclear weapons would usher South Asia into an era of peace and friendship. However, Kargil happened only a year after the May 1998 nuclear tests and one year long military stand off between India and Pakistan rebuke such asserts. There were claims, South Asia has seen phase one of a nuclear arms race, it is not entering phase two. Phase one saw the development, testing and making of nuclear bombs. Phase two is purely a consequence of technology. As part of phase two, we are seeing the incorporation of Anti Ballistic Missile (ABM) system into India's defence and sure its response, Pakistan, will definitely move to achieve this system openly or clandestinely. To function properly, the ABM system detection mechanisms, that means, possession of geostationary satellites, ground based radars, and aircrafts with radars on them.

Traditional security approaches have been state centric. Their sole concern has been the protection of the state from threats. Such approaches focused exclusively on political - military dimension. There is an emerging consensus that the military threat is only one of the many threats that state face. Therefore, all forms of threat both internal and external must be taken into account to ensure security. In that sense, state security is synonymous with individual security. Economic vulnerability, ecological threats, and natural disasters are important sources of insecurity for people. Freedom from these threats is what comprises security. This larger conception of security is what has been identified as human security. Human security, therefore, is crucial for global security

and sustainability, and by extension global governance (Mattoo, Bajpai, and Cortright 1999:162).

This state-centric approach to security has fundamentally ignored the essence of security much related to the people's rights for survival. Dissatisfaction with the state-centric concept of security has led Baldwin to argue even in favour of abolishing the subfield of security of studies (Baldwin 1997:61). Security is, in essence, about survival and issues confronted, as 'posing an existential threat' (Buzan, Waever and Wilde 1998:17). The conceptual anomalies coupled with the sprouting non-traditional security issues in post -Cold War period when domestic anarchy has outshined the international anarchy has given further impetus for rethinking security defined in the traditional military mode.

Cyber-terrorism' has emerged as another way of warfare in many places of the South Asia. Great scientific, technological and economic innovations, delivered unrivalled prosperity to the world are themselves rendering the nations vulnerable to crippling, unanticipated attacks at the hand of terrorists. Terrorist groups are making use of such tactics as crude bombs, hijacks, suicide bombs, threat to aircraft security, use of hijacked airlines as weapons of mass destruction, are now increasingly depending on 'hi-tech' methods. They are using chemical and biological weapons-which use living organisms or their products to cause casualties, can be categorized as bacteria-anthrax, viruses-smallpox, and toxins-snake venom (Sharma 2003: 284). Using new information technology and the internet to formulate plans, recruit members, communicate between cells and members, raise funds and spread propaganda.

Security Sector Reform (SSR) as it is often referred to by developmental actors – is a concept that has gained increasing recognition from the international community. In assisting countries make the transition from conflict to sustainable development the United Nations (UN) engages in a wide range of SSR activities. Security sector reform in transitional societies has tended to focus on the following areas: (1) Reforming the uniformed security branches and training parliamentarians and

civil servants. (2) Supporting the establishment of structures of proper civilian control over the military (3) Training members of the in international humanitarian law and human rights and (4) Strengthening national parliamentary oversight of the security apparatus. But these areas do not necessarily address the problem of military social attitudes. A structure of civilian supremacy does not necessarily ensure a successful transformation of attitudes. Civilian control can be exercised for narrow personal or party interests and the suppression of political opposition.

Regarding to the awareness situation of human rights there has been little bit improvement in the sub region South Asia. The establishment of National Human Rights Commissions in the last decade, whose fundamental responsibility is to protect and promote human rights, and its recognition as constitutional body one of the important achievements in this direction.

3.2 Social Security

Even setting up and running a single primary school requires a lot of money, for buying land, erecting the school building, and providing for the recurrent expenditure for salaries of teachers, staff, and so on. We need to set up not just one but hundreds of thousands of primary schools; tens of thousands of high schools and colleges; and engineering colleges, technical institutes, medical colleges, scientific research centres, hospitals and libraries. Where is the money for all this to come from? Will pondering money in will foster the good governance and democratic space. It can only come from a highly welfare model economy not from the privatization and liberalization of the industry. Rapid promotion of tourism, land reform and industrialization can generate the wealth we need for the welfare of our people; abolish poverty and unemployment, which are the main causes of crime and 'terrorism'; and give us respect in the world community.

A democratic society permits freedom of speech and expression, freedom to practice one's own religion, which is based on tolerance, and freedom to dissent and criticize. These are precisely the values of the scientific community. Democracy and liberty go hand in hand with the growth of awareness, education and health care because both are based on tolerance, individual freedom, and the free flow of ideas. In democracy, as in a scientific community, there is freedom to speak, freedom to discuss, freedom to criticize, and freedom to dissent. Crime and 'terrorism' cannot be eliminated by draconian laws. They can be eliminated only by the abolition of poverty and unemployment, which are the main sources of crime.

3.3 Gender Approach

Nepal has recognised that simple majority rule may not always help resolve the complex "conflict residues" that persist after years of cycles of violence. Constituent Assembly election has set an example for the entire region where 32.77 percent women are representing. This has opened up new possibilities of achieving gender equity and representative-ness hitherto unknown. But mostly the existing laws in South Asian countries are not gender balanced. Mostly there laws continue to embody unequal treatment for men and women with regard to issues of land, property, citizenship, customary laws, violence, marriage and inheritance, health and work. There are challenges of reconciling individual and community rights, with the intent to challenges the existing feudal-patriarchal norms, values and customs. For the first time in South Asia's history Nepal's Constituent Assembly has given the 33.8 percent women participation through electoral process. This must be lesson for the sub-region.

There are many questions unanswered from many dimensions for inclusion of women in state apparatuses. Is a person's religion the basis for his/her exclusion from the social, political and economic domain of liberty and equality? What is the legal status of women, internal minorities and religious minorities in Pakistan, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh? Does the legal machinery work impartially? Does it provide equal protection to everyone? Indeed, is the state impartial? What role do the police play in inter-communal violence? Are the perpetrators of communal

violence ever punished? Does the state discriminate in the distribution or provision of benefits? In civil society, is there religion-related discrimination, for example in housing, jobs, school and college admission? What role does the state play to prevent or remove it? Do members of minority groups migrate to neighbouring countries to escape severe economic or political marginalization? How does religion-based discrimination work against women and other oppressed internal groups? What is the status of personal laws? How do they discriminate against women? Civil Society of the sub-region must act to dismantle this kind of discrimination based on caste, creed and economic status.

3.4 Inclusion Approach

It is difficult, particularly in South Asia, to make a distinction between religion and culture. If religion is seen as part of culture, then all religion-related exclusions are a form of cultural exclusion. If the two are entirely indistinguishable, then too, all religion-related and cultural exclusions are identical. The term 'religion' can cover both phenomenon that is plainly religious and to those aspects of culture that have a strong bearing on religion. Will Kymlicka draws the attention to the distinction between cultural and political or economic exclusion. For him, cultural exclusion occurs when the culture of a group including its language, religion or traditional customs, are denigrated and or suppressed by the state. Conversely, cultural inclusion refers to the public recognition, accommodation and support to culture, language, religion, customs and life styles of a group.

Distinct form cultural exclusion is the phenomenon of the political exclusion - the denial of access to citizenship rights and economic exclusion - the denial of access to certain kinds of professions and employments. But cultural exclusion is irreducible to economic and political exclusions. However, one can not restrict the understanding of inclusion and exclusion to practices of the state. In this regard, cultural exclusion also occurs either when one group in society persistently mis-recognizes, denigrates, humiliates or suppresses another cultural group or when some members of a cultural group suppress, denigrate or mis-recognize members of a sub-culture of their own group. In particular, is with religion-related inclusion and exclusion.

State should treat all its citizens equally. The principle of equal treatment, in the relevant political sense, requires that the state treat all its citizens equally in relevant respect, for example in the distribution of a resource of opportunity. The principle of treating people as equals entails that every person is treated with equal concern and respect. Both the internal and external kind of exclusions for women, Dalits and other minority groups are in practice in South Asia. There has been a rise in ethnic discord, animosity and conflicts. In Sri Lanka 25 years of war, ethnic conflicts between Tamil insurgence and Sri Lankan Government, Sri Lanka is now the most militarised zone in South Asia. Similarly, ethnic violence in the North East and in Kashmir has taken a heavy toll of life and property. Apart from the daily killings, bomb blasts and targeted assassinations, blowing up human lives through land mines, the dimensions of the unfolding disaster are alarming. Conflicts in South Asia, especially between Pakistan and India creates ideal conditions for war hysteria, paranoia, armamentisation and dominance of the armed security forces and creates a wall of suspicion, hostility and intolerance.

There are many, but one of the main purposes of the perpetrators of the Mumbai attacks was to push India and Pakistan into full-fledged war has deep roots in exclusion or identity. Ramifications of such war, no doubt, favour their intents. Firstly, the severe confrontation between India and Pakistan polarize the fundamentalists on the religious ground not only within India and Pakistan but also beyond the two countries. If such polarization could be possible, the terrorists may believe that they will get overt supports from the Islamic fundamentalist echelon and it will be easier for them to commit more such dastardly crime on the one hand and the regimes especially Pakistani one will be more and more unstable on the other hand.

Elected government in Pakistan, regardless of its leverage over the army and bureaucratic apparatus, is supposed to be more

challenging for the Islamic extremists than the other kinds of the government come through unconstitutional way. The primary aim of the terrorists could be dethronement of existing government and placement of a stooge as the president of Pakistan else they want to instigate the army to take over. It can be possible by destabilize the government and war between India and Pakistan is the best means for that.

Secondly, if India and Pakistan wage war, the extremists would not miss the opportunity of taking benefit from the perplexed situation and could expand their organisational clout through out this region. More importantly, if India and Pakistan can be propelled to the war, they will be compelled to deploy their armed forces along their common boarders. Any way the extremists' main motto seems to be easy access to the territory of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Kashmir.

The movement in Nepal's Tarai is linked to but also goes beyond the social inclusion component as this has its own complex origins and dynamics and now has the potential to disrupt Nepal's roadmap to peace. The rise of Madhesi movement and the Demilitarisation of this movement will must be addressed to formulate Nepal's new constitution which aims to encourage participatory and representative. Inclusion discourse in Nepal from all marginalized sections of societies i.e. Janjaati, Dalit, Aadibasi and regions like Karnali, Seti-Mahakali and Madhesh are on the rise at the same time. So the historic and relevant socio-political tackle is needed.

The minorities in Bangladesh are virtually absent in the political process. The Bangladeshi parliament has no seats for ethno-religious minorities. The three seats reserved for the CHT can all be appropriated by Bengalis. The Garos (tribes in northern hills) do not have the wherewithal to fight elections, which is why they are not represented in the Parliament. The invisibility of the hill people is such that the government can confidently say that there are no *Adibashis* in Bangladesh. If this is the official position, how can special representation or self-government rights are even conceived? In Bangladesh, the entire electoral system reproduces ethno-religious majoritarianism.

Chapter IV
Conclusions and Recommendations

4.1 Conclusions

The time has come for new thinking in South Asia. Especially on issues of security and development, two sides of a coin inseparable and linked together because of the unique nature of the South Asian environment. Peace, justice and demilitarisation are at the core issues in the heart and mind of the masses in South Asia. For two long have sub-region remained mired in the past confronting each other wary of impending conflict. As a result the region lags behind the world in meeting the legitimate aspirations of its people. Its development indicators are low and its human development indices are way below the rest of the world. In an era when the international community is moving towards interdependence and integration, we can not ignore this.

Now it is clear security cannot be attained through military superiority. In the changing context, non traditional security challenges in rising, military force in not a legitimate instrument for resolving disputes between nations and inside the nation state. Sub-regional cooperation could be explored in several directions including river waters sharing, join development of energy sources, strengthening communication networks, environmental protections, sharing the technical and management trainings and establishing joint information sharing on anti-social activities.

All peace-loving people of South Asia must resist the designs of the global armament industry and their military collaborators in South Asia. The first step in this direction is peace and disarmament. The sheer reduction of hostility and tension in the region can release critical energies and scarce resources towards the betterment of the conditions of lives of the masses in the countries. Currently a fierce arms race is being waged in the region. Huge expenditure – that increases the indebtedness of the countries

and future deprives the people of the necessities of life – is incurred in order to develop and acquire sophisticated weapons of mass destruction that are directed against the non-combatant populations of each other's country.

The peculiar prioritization of South Asian States expenditure, spending more on defence than on development, hints military and other security forces plays a heavy role in governance and policy-making. One needs to conceptualize the factor corruption and its impact on defence sector. There is general analysis about the development, corruption and their correlation with other indicators like health and education. Countries like India defend their high defence spending by saying that they constitute a small portion of GDP. However, this is not case with other South Asian countries. Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal (up to some extant) are different because of the heavy involvement of military in internal security matters. Here, one needs to broaden the debate on defence and development and what impacts defence has on development.

In view of achieving Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) there will be much dependency on an effective peace and justice system that is supportive of continuity and sustainability of achievements towards poverty eradication, democracy, human rights and empowerment of the disadvantaged. External and internal securities are the two basic elements for a sound peace and justice system that is efficient of maintaining rule of law and an acceptable standard of democracy and human rights practices in the region. One way of helping the process of achieving an efficient peace and justice system may be is to develop a strategy for identification of key issues from civil society perspective in the areas of external and internal security, for the purpose of developing safety nets for vulnerable and disadvantaged groups at the time of any crisis and generate public debate for advocacy to this effect.

Perhaps the Mahbub ul Haq who contributed more than anyone else to the growth of the concept through the human development reports, and wrote that security is being increasingly interpreted as 'security of people, not just territory; security of individuals not just nations; security through development, not through arms; security of all the people elsewhere, in their homes, in their jobs, in their streets, in their communities and in their environment'. Amartya Sen stated 'each and everyone wishes to equally respect for the ability to conceive of freely endorse meaningful projects and to live a life that we have reason to value'.

4.2 Recommendations

For the Governments of South Asia

- US imperialism thinks global hegemony is good for world as past empires have done throughout the history. In South Asia colonial mindset does also inherit. It must be dismantled and the sub region should maintain independent foreign policies.

- Incidences of nuclear tests have been frequent in South Asia. This always challenges peace. South Asia should be Nuclear Free Zone.

- Security is for people. The national security ideology has threatened the citizens of the territory. Government must focus security of people, not just security of territory. Governments of South Asia should ensure security through development, not through arms. A comprehensive security perspective should be endorsed such as security of all everywhere, in homes, streets, community and environment.

- South Asian Governments' slogans 'Peace and Justice for all and Dignified Life' for all should be secured through human development by respecting human rights.

- South Asian governments needs to strengthen regional cooperation through regional organisations like South Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-setoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) including human security issues gender; environment; migration and natural resources sharing.

- South Asian Governments must cut down the mounting defence budget and keep investing on development, education and health.

- They must stop human trafficking and arms trade effectively or start strong measure to keep curb these activities. Policies must be complimented with vision of other succeeding polices.

For the Civil Society

- Civil Society established for a wide variety of reasons: to help those who need help; to raise public awareness of social inequities and political injustices; to further a social or political cause in which their members believe by providing information and encouraging peaceful civil action. So the informal relationships and traditions of civil society are also of great importance. Civil Society in the sub region must stand collectively to change the culture of violence and Demilitarisation.

- Whole South Asia is heterogeneous society so that civil society must declare they will fight together against any kind of discrimination based on religion, culture, politics and identity.

- Information about the military and defence spending is always overlapped in many hidden sectors. Few of them are accurate; many will be incomplete, some will be both. Civil society must work on these gimmicks to make the real information public.

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Annex

List of Members (Peace, Justice and Demilitarisation Thematic Group) as updated till 2008

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Full name of the organisations

1 CONCERN Concern for Children and Environment Nepal

2 CVICT Centre for victims of Torture Nepal

3 CWIN Child Workers Concerned Centre in Nepal

4 CWISH Children-Woman in Social Service and Human Rights

5 HUSADEC Human Rights, Social Awareness and Development Centre

6 IHRICON Institute of Human Rights Communication Nepal

7 KIRDARC Karnali Integrated Rural Development and Research Centre

8 HRCD Human Rights and Community Development

Defence Needs Not at the Cost of Human Needs

Reduce Military Expenditure by 10% every year and spend this amount on Human Development

South Asia Alliance for Poverty Eradication