

**INTERNAL ARMED CONFLICT IN SOUTH ASIA AND
IMPLICATION TO NEPAL**



**A P F Command and Staff College Sanogaucharan,
Kathmandu**

A Thesis Submitted to

**The Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences,
Department of Security, Development and Peace Studies,
Tribhuvan University**

**In Partial Fulfillment of Masters Degree in Security, Development and
Peace Studies**

Submitted by

Binod Raj Khanal

February, 2019

INTERNAL ARMED CONFLICT IN SOUTH ASIA AND IMPLICATION TO NEPAL



**A P F Command and Staff College Sanogaucharan,
Kathmandu**

A Thesis Submitted to

The Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences,

Department of Security, Development and Peace Studies,

Tribhuvan University

**In Partial Fulfillment of Masters Degree in Security, Development and
Peace Studies**

Submitted by

Binod Raj Khanal

February, 2019

DECLARATION

Me, Binod Raj Khanal, hereby declares that the subject matter of this research paper entitled “Internal (Intra-State) Armed Conflict in South Asia and Implication to Nepal,” submitted to the Armed Police Force Command and Staff College, is entirely my original work prepared under the guidance and supervision of my supervisor. I have made due acknowledgements to all ideas and information borrowed from different sources in course of preparing this research paper. The result of this thesis has not been presented or submitted anywhere else for the award of any degree or of any other purposes. I assure that no part of the content of this thesis has been published in any form before. I shall be solely responsible if any evidence is found against my thesis.

Signature:

Name: Binod Raj Khanal

Date: February, 2019

LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

I certify that this thesis entitle “Internal (Intra-State) Armed Conflict in South Asia and Implication to Nepal,” was prepared by Mr. Binod Raj Khanal under my supervision. The researcher has fulfilled the criteria prescribed by the Central Department of Masters in Security, Development and Peace Studies. I hereby recommend this thesis for the final evaluation and approval.

.....

Dr. Naresh Rimal

Supervisor

Date: February, 2019

LETTER OF APPROVAL

This thesis entitled “Internal Armed Conflict in South Asia and Implication to Nepal” submitted by Binod Raj Khanal has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Master’s Degree in Security, Development and Peace Studies.

EVALUATION COMMITTEE

.....

Supervisor: Dr. Naresh Rimal

Date: February, 2019

.....

Internal Examiner: Prof. Dr. Ramesh Raj Kunwar

Date: February, 2019

.....

External Examiner: Prof. Dr. Sushil Raj Pandey

Date: February, 2019

.....

External Examiner: Rabi Raj Thapa (AIG Retired)

Date: February, 2019

.....

External Examiner: DSP Netra Bahadur Karki

Date: February, 2019

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This research paper entitled “Internal Armed Conflict in South Asia and Implication to Nepal”, has been prepared with the consultations of various books, research papers and websites. First of all, I would like to express my sincere thanks and profound gratitude to all the people who helped me in gaining knowledge and valuable information in due course of writing this research paper.

I have tried my best for giving this research paper a complete shape but still it is very difficult to find perfection in anything because nothing is perfect as room is always there for improvement. Therefore, despite my maximum effort and care some scope of improvement in this research is there. Hence, I would like to welcome all the comments, suggestions and advices for further improvement ahead in my research work.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to supervisor Dr. Naresh Rimal for his supervision and constructive comments throughout the preparation of this research. I must express deep sense of appreciation to Rabi Raj Thapa (AIG Retired), DSP Netra Karki, DSP Rajendra Khadka, DSP Madhav Paudel and DSP Dhirendra Neupane for their outstanding guideline, support, assistance and for providing conducive environment and information for this study.

I am indebted to all faculty members, other officer, library management and administration team of APF Command and Staff College for their support. I also take pleasure in extending my thanks to all colleagues of 3rd APF Command and Staff Course for their cooperation, benevolence and friendly support during the course.

ABSTRACT

Intrastate conflicts have been deeply rooted in most of the South Asian countries and became a great security challenge. Intrastate conflict is the main cause of South Asian countries which greatly hampering the development and prosperity of the region. The development activities are hugely paralyzed due to conflict. Almost all countries are victim of armed conflict though current situation of some countries is an exception. Terrorism, separatist movements, extremism, ideological conflicts and Maoists-Naxalites' movements with other several campaigns have imposed huge obstruction in the prosperity and development of the entire South Asian region. All South Asian countries directly or indirectly inflected with armed conflicts and had huge negative impact of those conflicts and large amount of money is spending to fight against terrorism and armed conflicts.

South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is passive in the subject of intrastate conflict in South Asian and its initiation to fight against terrorism and organized crime is futile. Economic cost of violence, physical destruction, forced migration, displacement, local conflict, exploitation of child and woman are some of the negative impact that play vital role for the instability of the region. Similarly, Poor governance, poor representation, lack of accountability, lack of ethos in public service, role of big man, poor policing, rigged election, discrimination, poverty, global and local aspiration, development induced displacement, land and natural resources, social-structural and cultural system, population, family dispersal, distortion on government spending, power of corporate actor, regional imperialism, economy, gender bias, identity politics, low legal literacy, media bias, prevalence of arms, militarization, history and culture are some of the factors that are contributing and strengthening internal armed conflicts in South Asia.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page	ii
Declaration	iii
Letter of Recommendation	iv
Letter of Approval	v
Acknowledgement	vi
Abstract	vii
Table of Content	viii
List of Table	xii
List of Figures	xiii
Abbreviation/Acronyms	xiv
Chapter I: Introduction	1-6
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	3
1.3 Research Questions	4
1.4 Objectives of the Study	5
1.5 Significance of the study	5
1.6 Limitation of the Study	5
Chapter II: Review of the Literature	7-10
Chapter III: Research Methodology	11-15

3.1	Background	11
3.2	Research Design	11
3.3	Study Area and Site Selection	13
3.4	Nature and Sources of Data	13
3.5	Data Validation, Processing, Analysis and Presentation and write-up	13
3.6	Conceptual Framework	14
3.7	Ethical Consideration	15
Chapter IV: Armed Conflicts in South Asia		16-40
4.1	Background	16
4.2	Afghanistan	17
4.2.1	National civil war	17
4.2.2	National Political Conflict	19
4.2.3	Transnational terrorism	20
4.2.4	Separatism and autonomy	20
4.3	Bangladesh	21
4.3.1	National civil war	22
4.3.2	National political conflict	22
4.3.3	Large-scale communal and ideological conflicts	23
4.4	India	25
4.4.1	Transnational terrorism	25

4.4.2	Separatism and autonomy	27
4.4.3	Naxal/Maoist movement	30
4.5	Pakistan	33
4.5.1	Transnational Terrorism	33
4.5.2	Separatism and autonomy	35
4.6	Sri Lanka	37
4.6.1	National civil war	38
4.7	Nepal	39
4.8	Maldives	39
4.9	Bhutan	40
Chapter V: Regional Stability , Factors and Impact		41-61
5.1	Regional Stability	41
5.1.2	Economic cost of violence	43
5.1.3	Physical destruction	44
5.1.4	Forced Migration	44
5.1.5	Destabilizing effects of displacement	45
5.1.6	National Impact of Local Conflict	45
5.1.7	Impact on Child	46
5.2	Factors That Contribute to Conflict in South Asia	46
5.2.1	Governance	46

5.2.2	Economy	52
5.2.3	Socio-Structural & Cultural Factors	54
5.3	Regional Cooperation, the Only Way Out	57
5.4	Impact on Nepal	59
Chapter VI: Summary and Conclusion		62-67
6.1	Summary	62
6.2	Conclusion	65
References		68-77
Appendix		78
Appendix "A" Interview Questions		

LIST OF TABLES

Tables		Pages
Table 1	Number of Civilians Killed in Afghanistan from 2001 to through 2015	19
Table 2	Fatality estimates from political violence in Bangladesh (2001–2016)	23
Table 3	Repression against religious minorities in Bangladesh (2007–2015)	24
Table 4	Trends in terrorist violence in Jammu and Kashmir	27
Table 5	Numbers of militants, security forces, and civilians killed in insurgencies in the Northeast	30
Table 6	Naxal violence, by state (2011–2016)	32
Table 7	Sectarian violence in Pakistan (2010–2016)	35
Table 8	Economic cost of violence in South Asia in 2017	43

LIST OF FIGURES

Figures		Pages
Figure: 1	Research design	12
Figure: 2	Conceptual framework	14

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

APA	American Psychological Association
AL	Awami League
AQIS	al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent
ARCF	Asif Reza Commando Force
ATTF	All Tripura Tigers Force
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
CPEC	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
CorCom	Coordination Committee
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
HNLC	Hynniewtre National Liberation Council
HuM	Hizb-ul-Mujahideen
HuJI	Harkat-ul-Jehad-i-Islami
CPN-M	Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNLA	Garo National Liberation Army
ICG	International Crisis Group
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IM	India Mujahideen
IMU	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
IS	Islamic State
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
JeM	Jaish-e-Mohammed

J&K	Jammu and Kashmir
JKLF	Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front
JMB	Jama'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh
KCP	Kangleipak Communist Party
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
KLO	Kamtapur Liberation Organisation
KYKL	Kanglei Yawol Kanna Lup
LeO	Lashkar-e-Omar
LeT	Lashkar-e-Tayyeba
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MCCI	Maoist Communist Centre of India
MPLF	Manipur People's Liberation Front
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NACTA	National Counter Terrorism Authority
NDFB	National Democratic Front of Boroland
NLFT	National Liberation Front of Tripura
NSCN	National Socialist Council of Nagaland
NSCN-IM	National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Isak-Muivah
NSCN-K	National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Khaplang
NSCN-KK)	National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Khole-Kitovi
PACT	Pakistan Action to Counter Terrorism
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PREPAK	Peoples' Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak
RPF	Revolutionary People's Front

SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SATP	South Asia Terrorism Portal
SIMI	Students Islamic Movement of India
TTP	Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan
ULFA	United Liberation Front of Assam
UNLF	United National Liberation Front
UN	United Nation
UNAMA	United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
US	United State
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

South Asia is the world's most densely populated region with the richest varieties of flora and fauna found anywhere on the planet. South Asia as a region consists of eight countries, namely, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Bhutan, Nepal and Afghanistan. The Human Development Index of the region is not something that its inhabitants can be proud about. The region is in a geopolitically key position because of its many land and sea links with the Middle East, Central Asia and East Asia. As a result, South Asia is very influential with regard to international politics and economic activity. Countries in this region have many religions, ethnic groups, cultures and languages, making South Asia a region with sources of instability that include income disparities, religious conflicts and other problems (Oliker & Szayna, 2002).

Eck (2005) defines armed conflict as an armed conflict is a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year. Comment: 'Armed conflict' is also referred to as 'state-based conflict', as opposed to 'non-state conflict'; in which none of the warring parties, is a government.

Ferraro (2015) explains the definition of armed conflict as an armed conflict exists whenever there is a resort to armed force between States or protracted armed violence between governmental authorities and organized armed groups or between such groups within a state. As we analyze the definition of armed conflict and contextualize the concept with the study of non-international armed conflict, the primary focus of the study is confined to the ongoing-armed struggle where one of the parties of the conflict is state and it is limited within the territory of the state. Accordingly, the study highlighted on the armed conflicts that are internally going on in the South Asian countries.

Thayer (2009) explains that ensuring economic and social stability and progress in South Asia is vital to the stability and advancement of the entire Asian region. The social, political and economic development of South Asia has been seriously hindered by internal or intra-state conflicts. The region is one of the most ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse, as well as most populous, in the world. However, it is also host to deeply entrenched ethnic hostility, communal violence and numerous wars, both inter- and intra-state.

Ayoob (1980) highlights that mutual suspicions, distrust and the desire to influence others are the main causes for a conflict in South Asian Region. Although the whole world is now for co-operation rather than conflict, the trend is still quite far away from the South Asian Region. The South Asian States are still busy in armed conflict despite the fact that the region is the world's largest concentration of poverty. The region is affected by various types of armed conflict from insurgencies, separatist movements to Jihad. Mutual distrust, the parochial political culture, the domestic political situation, the weak economic linkage among the nations, the emergence of India as a regional power and lack of a deterrence based security system are the contributing factors for the internal armed conflict in the region. Armed conflict is a serious problem in this region as most of the countries are directly or in affected with the consequences of armed conflict. Nepal, being one of South Asian countries, cannot remain untouched from the effect.

The nature of conflicts in South Asia varies within and among the countries in the region. There are bilateral conflicts that have their roots in historical and geo-political imperatives and economic necessities, some of which take on characters of intractable conflicts. Many conflicts in South Asia are non-military in nature but some conflicts possess potential to ignite the region into dangerous military conflicts with unprecedented consequences.

According to the South Asian Muslim league, Jihad means struggle. It calls for fight against oppression but not to propagate Islam. Jihad also includes the fight against the self – the voices of an individual. Only an Islamic state can declare a jihad and there can be no deception in its declaration. It should be overt and not covert. Jihadi organizations' claim that jihad can be declared by individuals is incorrect. Most of

these organizations use jihad to achieve an Islamic state. Neither Mullah Omar nor Osama bin Laden can declare jihad, as they are individuals. Jihadi groups consider jihad as the sixth pillar of Islam. The Arab concept of jihad is very different. For them, jihad is not a means to end, but an end in itself. They prefer to keep fighting, whether or not they achieve anything. For them, jihad is not territorial (Muni, 2015).

Socio-economic factors have fostered further support for radical Islamic groups in the South Asian region. Efforts to attain autonomy by Islamic movements have often either been resisted by central governments or have been implemented ineffectively. The Asian financial crisis since 1997 has also put pressures on regional governments and spending on crucial areas such as education has been restricted. This has increased the attraction of religious schools. Furthermore, well-funded Islamic radical movements have been able to offer financial support to both adherents and their families (for example in the event of death in combat). This has had considerable appeal to those in outlying and economically disadvantaged areas. Several additional factors make Southeast Asian states 'countries of convenience' for several Jihadist groups and terrorist activists (Zentrum Moderner Orient & Glatzer, 1998).

The implication of armed conflict in South Asia effects greatly to Nepal as the region is closely associated in many perspectives of language, religion, culture and politics. This research focused in the subject of internal armed conflicts of South Asia, factors that contributing armed conflicts, stability of the South Asian region and implication to Nepal has been analyzed in detail. Intra State conflict (internal conflicts) are the main focus of this research though it is difficult to distinguish the nature of conflict completely as the impact of conflict influences the neighboring countries as well and some conflicts are existing in border areas and blamed of having cross border assistance existed which makes it difficult clearly to define the nature of armed conflict.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Internal armed conflict in South Asia is a great challenge for the prosperity of the South Asian countries. The armed conflicts ongoing in South Asian countries are quite complex in nature while considering the conflict management aspect of ongoing

conflicts. Two major countries, India and Pakistan are indulging in their own internal issues and are not getting ways to come out of armed conflict. The lack of consensus between these two countries in the resolution of border disputes is helping to escalate armed conflict in this region.

Internal conflicts can be closely related to state-to-state relations. It might be argued that many of the conflicts considered internal are actually manifestations of inter-state conflicts, and that the division between the two categories is not as clear-cut. However, the case can also be made that the three inter-state wars between India and Pakistan were closely linked to unresolved internal conflicts within the region. The official Pakistani position on the wars of 1948 and 1965 is that these were sparked off by internal developments inside Indian-controlled Kashmir. Conversely, the Indian position is that these wars were the consequence of Pakistani interference in Indian internal affairs. The positions are reversed with reference to the 1971 war, where Pakistan claimed Indian interference in its domestic matters and India argued that the cause of the conflict was internal breakdown in East Pakistan. The point is that all three cases of interstate warfare can be related to some form of unresolved internal conflict. Beside India and Pakistan, other South Asian countries are also facing the problem of instability and conflicts. The gravity and implication of armed conflict is less in other South Asian countries while compared with India and Pakistan, though countries like Nepal and Srilanka have experienced major armed conflict in the history. The religious aspect of Jihad is also a great problem in South Asia and solution for this problem is uncertain. Religious and communal hostilities are the major problem, which contribute to the escalation of conflicts in this region. Afghanistan and Pakistan are the countries in South Asia that greatly affected with the Islamic movement of Jihad. Nepal, though, currently is in the stage of political stability and new governance system and no armed conflict is existed in the territory, the implication of armed conflict of the region is greatly affecting the country as the country shares open border with India.

1.3 Research Questions

The study is focused to answer the following research questions:

- 1.3.1. What are the dominant armed conflicts in South Asia?
- 1.3.2. How does the armed conflict hamper regional stability and what are the factors that contribute armed conflicts in South Asia?
- 1.3.3. What is the implication of South Asian armed conflicts in Nepal?

1.4 Objective of the Study

The general objective of this research paper is to study about the major armed conflicts in South Asia and implication of those conflicts in Nepal. The objectives are as follows:

- 1.4.1 To explore the dominant armed conflicts in South Asia.
- 1.4.2 To find out the impact of armed conflicts that contributes to the instability in the region and look at factors that contribute to armed conflicts.
- 1.4.3 To identify the implication of armed conflicts to Nepal.

1.5 Significance of Study

The research studies about the non-international armed conflicts in South Asia and implication to Nepal. The study would help to have the knowledge regarding the status of armed conflicts in South Asia and implication to Nepal. It would be more significant to explore factors, which lead to the instability of the region and foster armed conflicts. The research will enhance the knowledge for the security personnel, students and academia who are interested to study the subject of armed conflicts in South Asia.

1.6 Limitation of the Study

This research has its own limitation as it is the subject of armed conflicts and it is difficult to cover every aspect of the armed conflicts. The focus is given to only currently ongoing major armed conflicts and impact to the region. The study covered only the subject of major internal conflicts country wise in South Asia and excludes

all the inter-state and internationalized internal armed conflicts. The research is confined on the secondary data. Qualitative data is presented in descriptive way. Period is the major limitation of the study, as it has been done within the given period by the collage.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The research is conducted on the basis of review of different literatures. Numbers of books, journals and articles written on non-international armed conflicts in South Asia and implication to Nepal by various authors are major search to provide the important data and information. Likewise, special publications and other relevant documents are the source for the research paper.

The South Asian region found its first formal expression in the shape of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in 1985. The membership of this organization, and hence, the composition of the region consists of seven states: Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Taken together these states account for over one and a quarter billion people, or just under one quarter of the world's population. The sheer geographic and demographic size of South Asia points to intraregional diversity of continental proportions. The region is home to several ancient civilizations, to scores of highly evolved linguistic, literary and cultural traditions, and to ethical and spiritual movements that correspond to many of the major religions of the world (Dahal & United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, 2003a).

According to Anand Kumar & Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses (2012), today, South Asia generally evokes the image of a region that is plagued by violent religious extremism where groups like the Taliban, Al-Qaeda and Lashkar-eTayyeba (LeT) are active. This is also known to be a region where Maoists groups are running riot in large part of its territory. Groups like the LTTE who pursued their separatist agenda could only be wiped out with great effort. South Asia has hogged the limelight because of their activities. The phenomenon of terror has overshadowed the fact that a number of South Asian economies are growing at a fast pace and have the potential to grow even faster if not hampered by frequent acts of terror.

South Asia has been one of the least peaceful regions in the world. Four full-scale interstate wars and a number of other low-intensity armed conflicts, ethnic conflicts,

secessionist movements, and terrorism have mounted stiff challenges to peace in the region. Instability in the region is further perpetuated by the troubled relations between India and Pakistan, internal conflicts in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and militancy and movement for secession in Kashmir. India-Pakistan rivalry and Kashmir conflict has the potential to destabilize the entire South Asian landscape. Such a widespread threat to peace hardly emerges from the Sri Lanka Civil War, ethnic conflict in Bangladesh, secessionist movements in India's Northeast, left-wing extremism in India, and internal conflicts in Afghanistan and Pakistan. That is the reason why peaceful relations between India and Pakistan, and peace in Kashmir are crucial for regional peace and stability (Dahal & United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, 2003).

Banerjee (2000) highlighted the impact of environment in security and joined two words together as Environmental Security. Deforestation, high demand of timber and fuel wood, pollution of waterways from effluents caused health hazards. The knowledge of environment, health hazard, pollution, climate change is to be in the prime concern while shaping the policies. The massive degradation of the environment is today an unchallenged fact, which caused widespread alarm. The ecological health of each country in south Asia is affected and has negative impact due to environmental degradation. The article highlights the link between environmental scarcity, social change and conflict. It is due to poverty and environmental degradation in the region, sustainability of the biotic resources of the planet, control of pollution that impact another country, control of radiation of nuclear test and preservation of water should be the prime focus of interest to reduce environmental conflicts, which has direct impact in security. Though the concern of degrading environment may not be in the front place to cause armed conflict in South Asia, one cannot reject its negative impact in security. Environmental factors are playing dominant role to instigate the situation in security sector.

A speech given by the Prime Minister of India, Dr Manmohan Singh, to a Conference of Chief Ministers on Internal Security and Law and Order in 2005, sums up the story of conflict and development well:

“...Whatever be the cause, it is difficult to deny that extremism has huge societal costs. Investments are unlikely to fructify, employment is not likely to grow and educational facilities may be impaired. In all, the society at large and people at large suffer. Delivery systems are often the first casualty. Schools do not run, dispensaries do not open... the threat of Naxalism is geographically spread out to the more backward regions and districts of our country...”

Ghani (2010) explains that Policy choices and their implementation are critical in preventing an escalation of conflict and in post-conflict reconstruction. Economic policies should be geared not just to maximize growth, but also to address the distributional or political factors that led to the conflict. Policy choices must be structured to reduce real or perceived inequality. Aid agencies should work through the existing government institutions, be pragmatic in order to create jobs quickly, and in most cases, work on short-term economic goals first and address medium-term and longer-term efficiency considerations later. This approach calls for humanitarian treatment of conflict-affected people, closure of refugee camps, and reintegration of refugees within society. It is very important for the leaders and politicians in South Asia to come up with solid policies framework that can address the real problem of people in remote areas which would help to reduce the poverty rate significantly.

Li, Institute for Security and Development Policy, Stockholm, Paul, H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies & Central Asia-Caucasus Institute (2011) explains that Nepal was declared a republic in May 2008 by its new Constituent Assembly that lauded a decisive victory for the national political transition. It promised a optimistic prospect of achieving national unity and development in this Himalayan country after witnessing years of conflict and disarray. In retrospect, the issues in Nepal have offered observers a typical example of conflict management and resolution. The dramatic political changes in Nepal over the last few years have drawn global attention and the roles of several external powers, in terms of their influence in different directions, have equally become a focus of interest and speculation. There has been increasing concern about the association of internal synergy with outside influence despite the internal disarray and insurgency. This interstate linkage, along with the promising but uncertain prospect of addressing the conflict in Nepal, continues to necessitate synchronized constructive efforts from various concerned parties. As one of the extra-regional players, China has played a unique role in the

volatile scenario and has proven its ability to help defuse conflict in a substantial way by exerting a constructive influence on its smaller Himalayan neighbor. Thus, it is significant to trace China's options based on its defined interests in the ongoing events in Nepal.

Nepal has experienced a decade long armed conflict. In February 1996, the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) initiated a bloody war to establish a Mao-style "people's republic." A decade later, however, they signed a peace agreement with the government, joined the mainstream political parties in parliament and in an interim government, and participated in democratic elections (Gobyn, 2009). Though the country is in the process of political stability, the voices of uprising heard in different parts of the country and it will be a mistake if the necessary attention is not given to the people who are raising the voices against state mechanism. There is always fear of negative implication of armed conflicts of neighboring countries to motivate the people to initiate the armed rebellion though there is not any symptom or possibility of armed conflict currently in Nepal.

The waves of separatist movements spreading in and around the world, voices of autonomy rose in different periods in South Asia and implication of armed conflicts going around the world, especially in South Asia, can fuel the peaceful movements to armed conflict in any South Asian countries. State should address the legitimate voices of different parties timely and neutralize the illegitimate voices of parties or people with legal parameter. It is difficult to remain untouched from the regional happenings to the country like Nepal as the country shares long open border with India and information communication technology brings the close association of Nepalese with the people of other South Asian countries.

The research paper brings forward the armed conflicts in south Asia currently going on with detail analysis of those conflicts and tries to show the factors that contribute to conflicts with the implication of those conflicts in South Asia.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Background

Methodology is the systematic, theoretical analysis of research problem. Methodology is concerned with the logic of scientific inquiry, in particular with investigating the potentialities and limitations of particular techniques or procedures. Research methods are understood the techniques or procedures used to collate and analyse data.

The present study depends on secondary sources of data collection for the fulfilment of its objectives. The research design is analytical and descriptive. Non-international armed conflicts in South Asia and implication to Nepal required both quantitative and qualitative data in order to conduct the explorative research. Basically, qualitative data are used in the research.

3.2. Research Design

Research design is the plan, structure and strategy of investigation conceived so as to obtain answer to research questions. The research design refers to the overall strategy that we choose to integrate the different components of the study in a coherent and logical way, thereby, ensuring us to effectively address the research problem. The prime objective of this study is to explore internal armed conflicts in South Asia and implication to Nepal. This study describes and explores about challenges associated with these issues. So, descriptive and analytical methods were combined, as the study demands, for the best results. The research design is thus being an integrated frame of analytical study and descriptive study.

Qualitative data analysis is the main instrument for this study. But quantitative data also is used in some extent. So, overall research is carried out in mixed approach. All data are collected from primary and secondary source and analysed in qualitative method.

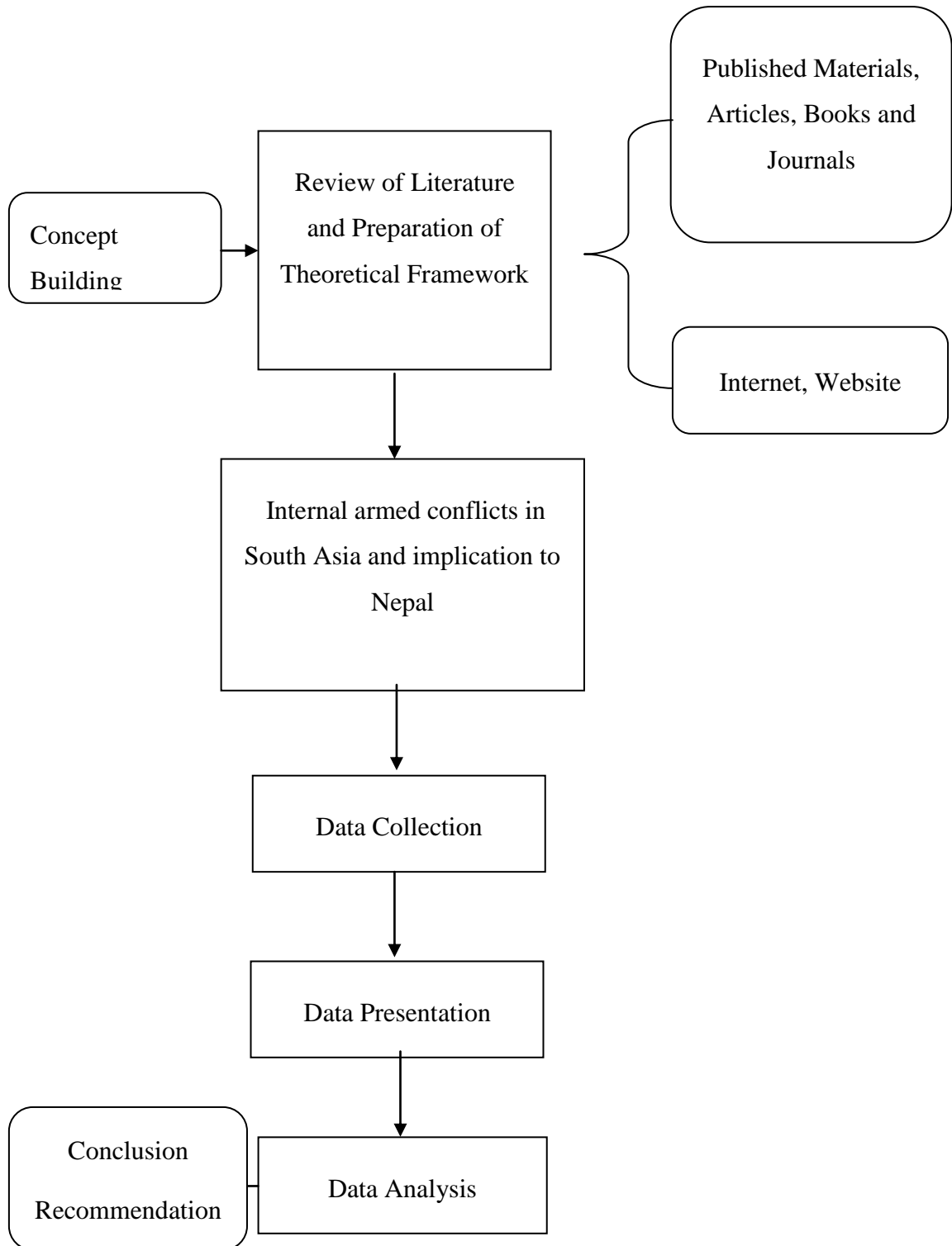


Figure 1: Research Design

Source: Designed by researcher

3.3 Study Area and Site Selection

As the study completely related with non-international armed conflicts in South Asia and implication to Nepal, the study area is South Asian Region. The study tries to have the coverage over all as not specific sites selected but the mailed interview questions and expert interviews were conducted in more accessible areas.

3.4 Nature and Sources of Data

The study is mainly based on secondary data. Much of the data were taken from different documents, books, reports, publications, online portal and other internet sites etc. The primary source of data collection was through interview questions. The research was done without going to the site, mailed questions were used for the interview and the data are collected with the use of open ended discussion. The Interview was done with some experts.

3.5 Data Validation, Processing, Analysis and Presentation and Write-up

Interview through Questions were the tool for collecting the primary data which is also the mailed interview (see detail in Appendix “A”). Qualitative data collected from primary sources were validated with the data collected form secondary sources. The information collected through interview was analyzed by using simple analytical tools. Qualitative data collected from secondary source is analyzed by narrative and descriptive method. Data from both the sources are analyzed and presented concurrently. This study investigates and explores the non-international armed conflicts in South Asia, factors of those conflicts and implication to Nepal, some ways out to drive toward effective security through primary and secondary qualitative data and secondary quantitative data descriptively.

3.6 Conceptual Framework

The research is developed to understand the causal or correlation patterns of interconnections across ideas, observations, concepts and other parts of experience. Basically, it is designed to show the real scenario of existing armed conflicts in South Asia. I focused on a good critical literature review. It took one key concept, idea or term at a time and brainstorm all the other things that might be linked and then go back and select (based on a good justification) those that seem most appropriate.

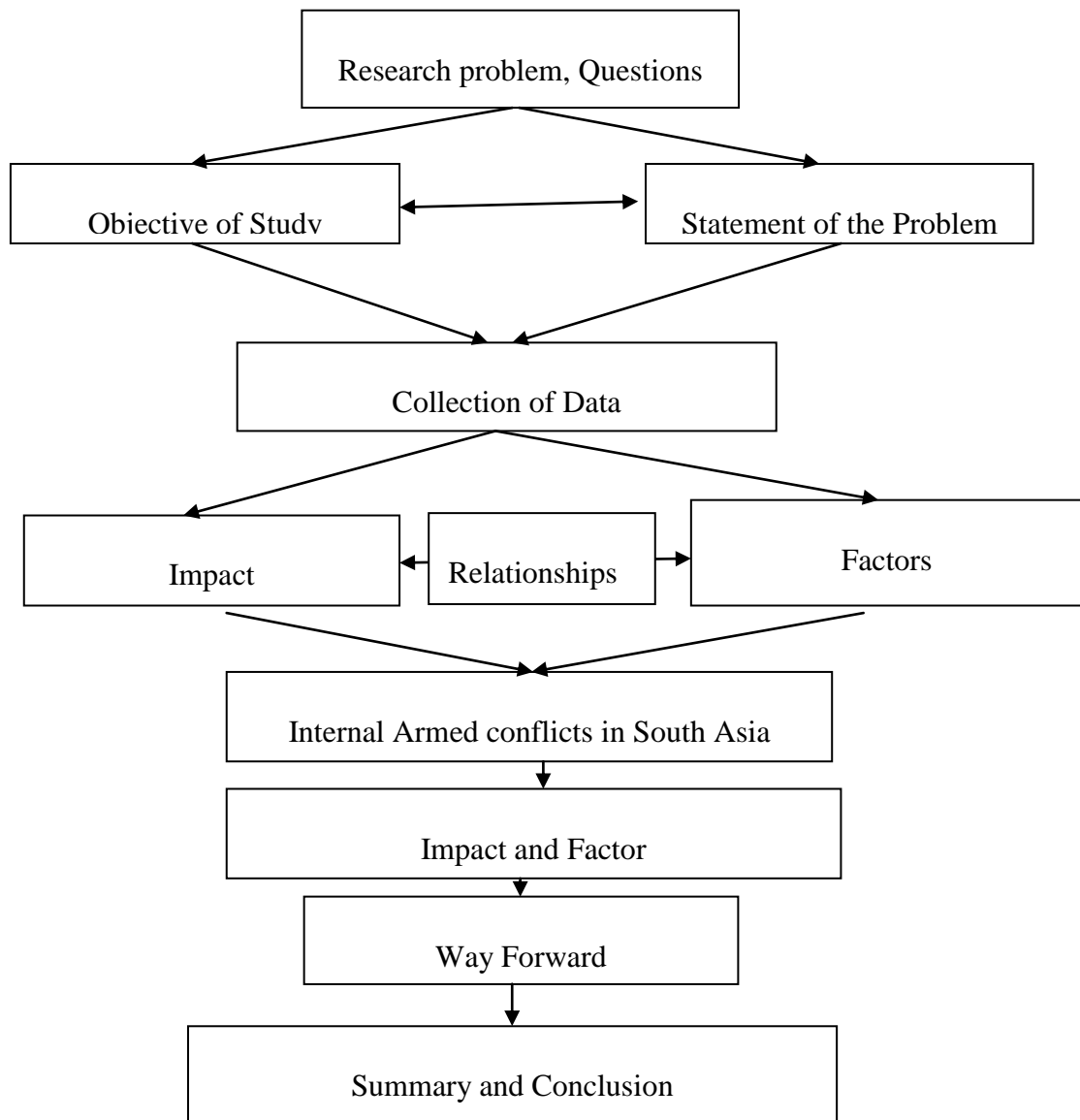


Figure 2: Conceptual Framework

Source: Designed by researcher

3.7 Ethical Consideration

The standards prescribed by American Psychological Association (APA) 6th edition are followed. The ideas and quotations of different authors are cited properly without altering the meaning of the subject matters. There is not any ill-intention of the researcher in the outcome of the research. Any mistakes or lapses that remain are mine own.

No discrimination to Respondents on the basis of their cast, ethnicity and status is considered. The respondents were given a choice of negotiating a better time and place for the interview according to their convenience and explained the purpose of the research clearly and their identities are kept anonymous.

CHAPTER IV

ARMED CONFLICTS IN SOUTH ASIA

4.1 Background

The nature of armed conflict and internal disturbances has brought forth South Asia into the lime light of the world. Most problems the South Asian states are facing today are related with grievances of the people that are being manifested through the use of armed conflict or other types of low intensity conflicts and rebellion. Terrorism is another dominant factor that is hindering the prosperity of the region. South Asia has witnessed some very serious inter and intra-state conflicts causing political and economic environment negatively. The region remains at the mercy of international powers politics disturbing domestic and external policies. In general the security of South Asia greatly depends upon the stable and progressive internal environment of the states.

In South Asia intra-state conflicts have enlarged in the last few decades. Whether there are communal riots in India, sectarian and ethnic violence in Pakistan, rivalry and conflict between the main political parties in Bangladesh or the power struggle in Afghanistan after Soviet withdrawal, South Asia faces regional security threats because of internal crisis and conflicts of the states. Being one of the most ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse regions, it has witnessed many inter-state and intra-state conflicts and war which have disturbed the overall security of the region. Within states, the ethnic and religious composition of the population is also very diverse. Apart from a large number of ethnic and religious minorities in a state, there are also significant cross-border connections between ethnic and religious communities in the different states. The state boundaries cannot control or enclose ethnically and religiously harmonized regions. The cooperation and coordinate measures of the South Asian countries for the prosperity of the region is not effective and the role of regional organization SAARC is ineffective in the areas of peace and

security. The current ongoing internal armed conflicts in South Asian Countries are discussed differently as follows:

4.2 Afghanistan

Due to decades of civil war, Afghanistan is the most fragile and volatile country in the region. The ongoing conflict is fueled by support to Taliban insurgents from Pakistan and poor governance, including well-established investment systems, corruption, and weak rule of law. Despite the U.S.-led international intervention since 2001, violence has continued between antigovernment insurgents and the security forces. Since the gradual withdrawal of international combat troops from 2011 onward, the security environment in the country has further deteriorated, with increasing attacks by the Taliban and other insurgent groups. Civilian casualties hit a record high in 2016; with 3,498 dead and 7,920 injured (European Asylum Support Office, 2017a). Transnational terrorist networks also continue to operate. The Islamic State (IS) is building up its presence in the country through its affiliated groups, and claimed responsibility for several large-scale deadly attacks against civilians in Kabul. As IS often targets religious minorities, a new flow of sectarian violence against the Shia community is reported. Security and personal safety continue to be major concerns among Afghan citizens (European Asylum Support Office, 2017b).

4.2.1 National Civil War

Afghanistan has experienced several phases of civil war in its modern history, the guerrilla war waged against the Soviet-backed Communist government (1978–1992), subsequent fighting among rival mujahedeen factions (1992–1996), and half a decade of Taliban control over the state (1996–2001). The decades of civil war and unrest resulted in the deaths of over half a million to as many as 2 million people between 1978 and 2001 (Goodson, 2001). The lack of institutional and structural mechanisms for accommodating ethnic and cultural diversity led to social injustices and suppression of minorities, which further contributed to political instability and conflict. The country's diverse ethnic composition has been politicized by warlords who consolidated their power bases along tribal lines.

Following the September 11, 2001, attacks, the U.S. government accused the Taliban of providing a safe haven for the Islamic terrorist group al-Qaeda. The U.S.-led coalition forces under Operation Enduring Freedom invaded Afghanistan, and drove the Taliban from power by December 2001 (Borsari, 2018). The civil war persisted, and the UN-mandated International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), with troops mainly from North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member states, remained until 2014 to assist Afghanistan in rebuilding key government and security institutions and to engage in combat operations. With the NATO combat mission officially over, the number of international troops declined significantly, from 140,000 in 2011 to just 13,000 in 2015 (European Asylum Support Office, 2017a) As of March 2017, only 8,450 U.S. troops were still based in Afghanistan, focusing on counterterrorism and training domestic security forces. President Trump's administration is currently reviewing U.S. Afghanistan policy, including the question of whether remaining troops should be withdrawn or augmented. The withdrawal of international combat troops left a fragile security environment. The Taliban and other groups have continued to attack civilians and the security forces. Recent reports by the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) indicate that violence is growing, resulting in an increase in civilian casualties caused by Taliban militants and other antigovernment groups (Table 1). It is estimated that over 100,000 people lost their lives between 2001 and 2016 (Crawford, 2016).

Since the US-led invasion in 2001, Afghanistan is constantly becoming the one of the most terrible areas in the world. The Taliban still control more territory and constantly conducting their activities even after the removal of their regime. The Afghan war has already become the longest war in US history. With the passage of time, the conflict has not only become more intense - it has also become more complicated. The attacks are becoming bigger, more frequent, more widespread and much deadlier. Both sides - the Taliban and the US/Nato-backed Afghan government are trying to gain the upper hand. The attack upon on civilian population is a grave question in the field of human rights. The development of the country is severely affected by the armed conflicts and terrorism. The resolution of the conflict is unknown till the period as violence and terrorism are in the same pace as it was during the initial period of US invasion to Afghanistan.

Table: 1**Number of Civilians Killed in Afghanistan from 2001 to through 2015**

SN	Year	No. of Civilian killed
1	2001	2375
2	2002	400
3	2003	450
4	2004	230
5	2005	413
6	2006	929
7	2007	1582
8	2008	2118
9	2009	2412
10	2010	2792
11	2011	3133
12	2012	2769
13	2013	2969
14	2014	3701
15	2015	3545

Source: UNAMA

4.2.2 National Political Conflict

In the midst of the prolonged civil war, Afghanistan has held several democratic elections in the post-Taliban era, including presidential elections in 2004, 2009, and 2014 and parliamentary elections in 2005 and 2010. They were marred by widespread electoral violence, fraud, and corruption. Figures on electoral violence reported by NATO and UNAMA show approximately 300–500 violent incidents have occurred

on election days since the 2009 elections (Giustozzi, Mangal, & United States Institute of Peace, 2014).

4.2.3 Transnational Terrorism

After decades of war, a governance vacuum and regional instability created conditions conducive to transnational terrorism, especially along the porous Afghan-Pakistani border. Foreign fighters who arrived during the Soviet occupation later joined several Islamic terrorist groups. Afghanistan became a base for international Islamic terrorism activities in the mid-1990s under the Taliban regime. Osama Bin Laden moved al-Qaeda's base of operations from Sudan to Afghanistan in 1996, where he planned the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States and established camps to train fighters to support the Taliban. Since the death of Bin Laden in 2011, al-Qaeda has maintained its presence in Afghanistan. Two of its training facilities in Kandahar were raided by U.S. special operation forces and their Afghan allies in October 2015. Al-Qaeda- and Taliban-affiliated groups of foreign origin operating, training, and hiding in Afghanistan include al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent (AQIS), the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), Lashkar-i-Janghvi, Harakat ul-Jihad Islami (Movement of Islamic Jihad), and the Haqqani Network. Indian interests in Afghanistan are the main targets of the last four groups, which are allegedly linked with Pakistan's ISI. The Islamic State (IS) also has a military presence in Afghanistan, recruiting new fighters from disaffected Taliban factions such as the TTP, LeT, and IMU (Borsari, 2018).

4.2.4 Separatism and Autonomy

While there is no significant separatist movement in Afghanistan, and formal state authority is highly centralized, much of the country is governed in practice by local tribal and ethnic leaders. Due to weak and ineffective governance at the sub national level, the central government relies heavily on traditional mechanisms and local institutions such as shuras (standing councils) or jirgas (ad hoc councils) (Lamb, Shawn, & Center for Strategic and International Studies (Washington, 2012). Confidence in local institutions such as shuras and community development councils is generally higher than in national institutions. To connect village politics to the

central government, the international community adopted a hybrid approach: it built state capacity by integrating informal powers into the government. Warlords thus were offered ministerial posts and received financial support to fight the Taliban. Limited state capacity and accountability also resulted in a governance vacuum and local fragmentation, which contributed to worsening security. With strong influence, militias, and rich resources, local strongmen have the political and economic means to challenge both the government and insurgents. In some areas, the central government cannot maintain security or provide basic services, strengthening the influence of local warlords at the sub national level (Lamb et al., 2012).

4.3 Bangladesh

Bangladesh has faced rising political violence and terrorist attacks in recent years. The national parliamentary elections in 2014 highlighted the intense political tension between the ruling and opposition parties, resulting in over 500 deaths from violent clashes. Opposition protests and the government's heavy-handed response further exacerbated the situation. Political rivalry at the national level also affected the local political landscape after the government amended the law allowing registered political parties to nominate candidates in local government elections. Even though local elections had been peaceful compared to national elections in the past, deadly violence between political opponents erupted, killing over 140 people between March and June 2016. The polarized political climate and flawed democratic process appear to be feeding violent Islamist extremism. Transnational terrorist organizations, such as Islamic State and al-Qaeda, are gaining ground utilizing local extremist groups. Bangladesh had over 450 terrorist attacks in 2015 alone. In July 2016, Dhaka had one of its deadliest terrorist attacks, which took the lives of 28 people. Foreigners, secular journalists and bloggers, and religious minorities have been the primary targets of terrorist attacks in the country. Against this political backdrop, communal violence has escalated, and religious minorities continue to be persecuted, while the government is unable or unwilling to address the underlying causes.

4.3.1 National Civil War

There has been no civil war in Bangladesh since its independence from Pakistan in 1971. During the Bangladesh Liberation War, widespread atrocities were committed, mainly against the Bengali population of East Pakistan. Bangladeshi authorities claim that as many as 3 million people died, although some independent researchers have estimated a lower toll (Dummett, 2011).

4.3.2 National Political Conflict

Political violence is a major feature of the Bangladeshi political landscape. Since the revival of the parliamentary system in 1991, tensions between the Awami League (AL) and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) have often led to violence. The parties are bitter rivals, and each tries to undermine the other when it is in power. Instead of debating issues in the parliament, opposition parties take matters to the streets, leading to violent clashes with supporters of the ruling party. Political violence intensified during the BNP-led coalition government from 2001 to 2006, taking 2,722 lives. The antigovernment movement led by the AL was the biggest instigator of violence (Table 2). The military has also played a large role. The country underwent several coups that ended in massacres of political leaders and their families, including assassinations of two heads of state: Sheik Mujibur Rahman (the first president and Prime Minister Sheik Hasina's father) in 1975; and Ziaur Rahman (former president and BNP leader Khaleda Zia's late husband) in 1981. The latest military coup took place in January 2007, when a state of emergency was declared following widespread political unrest prior to the general election. In the first month of the country's state of emergency, 29 people were killed by law enforcement agencies, and over 52,000 were arrested, including majority party leaders Sheik Hasina and Khaleda Zia and some of their senior staff. After nearly two years of the military-backed caretaker government, the ninth national parliamentary elections were held in December 2008.

Table: 2**Fatality estimates from political violence in Bangladesh (2001–2016)**

SN	Year	Fatality of political violence
1	2001	656
2	2002	420
3	2003	436
4	2004	526
5	2005	310
6	2006	374
7	2007	79
8	2008	50
9	2009	251
10	2010	220
11	2011	135
12	2012	169
13	2013	504
14	2014	190
15	2015	197
16	2016	215
17	2017	77

Source: Prepared based on political violence statistics provided by Odhikar

4.3.3 Large-scale communal and ideological conflicts

Religious and ethnic minorities in the country suffer from frequent threats, assaults, torture, and displacement. While the marginalization of and discrimination against

religious minorities goes back to colonialism and the legacy of Partition, violence against them has escalated due to recent political developments and the rise of violent Islamist organizations. Attacks against religious minorities often lead to injuries and involve grabbing and looting of properties and places of worship. Deaths were previously rare: only six fatalities were recorded by Odhikar between 2007 and 2015 (table 3).

Table: 3

Repression against religious minorities in Bangladesh (2007–2015)

Year	killed	Injured	Assaulted	Arrested	Abducted	Grabbing		Attack		Idols	Looted	Miscellaneous	Rape
						Land	House	Property	Temple				
2015	0	102	0	0	0	2	14	21	17	121	0	1	0
2014	1	78	2	0	0	14	0	371	32	193	1	0	0
2013	0	118	0	0	0	4	0	441	125	322	2	13	1
2012	0	69	2	0	0	0	1	81	46	0	24	0	1
2011	0	107	2	0	0	6	2	21	25	0	13	4	3
2010	2	244	0	0	0	9	1	20	23	0	4	6	6
2009	1	502	5	0	1	12	4	5	28	0	4	6	5
2008	1	90	1	0	0	7	0	2	24	0	6	0	0
2007	1	91	4	2	6	7	5	4	14	0	0	0	0
Total	6	1,401	16	2	7	61	27	966	334	636	54	30	16

Source: Prepared based on political violence statistics provided by Odhikar

Major political events, such as national elections, have often provoked communal violence. Hindus are often threatened and attacked, because the opposition sees them as the electoral base of the AL. Post election violence in 2001 forced almost 200,000

Hindus to flee to safer areas or migrate to India (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), 2006). Leading up to and following the 2014 elections, many Hindu homes, businesses, and temples were vandalized, looted, and burned down. In addition, Hindus have been targeted in connection with the trial and execution of Islamist war criminals. For instance, the death sentence judgment of Delwar Hossain Sayeedi, the former politician of the JJ, triggered widespread violence across the country in 2013. Amnesty International reports that at least 300 Hindu homes and shops and more than 60 Hindu temples were damaged or destroyed between February and April 2013 (Faiz, 2014).

4.4 India

India is a stable democracy with regular and largely peaceful elections at the national and state levels. In the decades since independence, the Indian state has grappled with an increasingly complex set of conflicts at the national and sub national levels. These conflicts range from sub national secessionist and ethnic movements to armed conflict and violence in certain regions. There are increasing concerns about transnational terrorism. The rapid development of the economy over the past decade has sparked localized conflicts over natural resources such as land, water, and forests. Gender-based violence and crimes against women are a serious concern, and a number of high-profile rapes have generated domestic and international uproar. Given the country's religious and ethnic diversity, concerns over communal violence and religious intolerance remain omnipresent.

4.4.1 Transnational Terrorism

Tavares (2008) states that most transnational terrorism in India relates to its conflict with Pakistan over the subject of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). Even incidents outside J&K are often coordinated or facilitated by Kashmir-based groups and Pakistani intelligence. Militant movements to free J&K from India gained ground after the 1987 state assembly election. Dissatisfaction over election irregularities and perceived illegitimate government led to unrest across Kashmir, which transformed into mass

mobilizations against India, and many young protesters joined insurgent groups such as the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) and Hizb-ul-Mujahideen (HM).

The rise of militarism in Kashmir in the late 1980s coincided with the end of the Soviet-Afghan war in 1989. This allowed Pakistani intelligence to divert the support it had been giving to the Afghan mujahideen to the Kashmiri insurgents. Through its Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) agency, Pakistan began to provide arms and training to militants inside and outside Kashmir. To sideline JKLF, an armed movement formed in 1977 to fight for Kashmir's independence, Pakistan created and assisted several armed groups from 1989 on that had a different goal to join J&K with Pakistan. Many groups operating in J&K have bases in Pakistan and coordinate with each other; they also have ties with international jihadi organizations and transnational crime groups, including Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), Hizb-ul-Mujahideen (HM), Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (HuM), Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), Harkat-ul-Jehad-i-Islami (HuJI), and Lashkar-e-Omar (LeO). Some, such as LeT, HuM, and LeO, are believed to have links with al-Qaeda. According to the South Asia Terrorist Portal (SATP), there are at least 17 active and 19 inactive terrorist/ extremist groups in J&K (Anant, 2009).

Outside Jammu and Kashmir, LeT, JeM, and HuJI have collaborated with India-based jihadi groups such as the Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) and India Mujahideen (IM). SATP records show that since 2000, most terrorist attacks outside J&K with a known perpetrator have been attributed to SIMI (15 incidents) and IM (10 incidents). At least nine incidents involved LeT, including in Mumbai, where serial bomb blasts in 2003 and 2006 killed 52 and 200 civilians, respectively, and multiple attacks in 2008 left 195 dead (Mohan & Sahni, 2012). Bangladesh-based jihadi groups such as the Asif Reza Commando Force (ARCF) and Jamaatul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB) also take part in some of SIMI and IM's operations. Communal violence against Muslims (discussed below) contributed to the emergence and growth of SIMI and IM (Goswami, 2013).

Table: 4**Trends in terrorist violence in Jammu and Kashmir**

Year	Number of incidents	Security forces killed	Civilians killed	Terrorists killed
2005	1990	189	557	917
2006	1667	151	389	591
2007	1092	110	158	472
2008	708	75	91	339
2009	499	79	71	239
2010	488	69	47	332
2011	340	33	31	100
2012	220	38	11	50
2013	170	53	15	67
2014	222	47	28	110
2015	208	39	17	108
2016	322	82	15	150
Total	7,926	965	1,430	3,375

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA), Annual Report 2013–14 and 2016–17.

4.4.2 Separatism and Autonomy

Independent India combines regions with different cultural identities and political histories, such as tribal regions in the Northeast and more than 500 princely states. Several armed and unarmed movements have demanded independence and autonomy. Tamil Nadu also saw many separatist groups from the late 1980s, when the Indian Peacekeeping Force was sent to Sri Lanka after the 1987 Indo-Lanka Accord. The accord aimed to end the war between the Sri Lankan government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Some Tamils in Tamil Nadu supported the LTTE.

Groups based in the state who had advocated for an independent Tamil Nadu, like the Tamil Nadu Liberation Army and the Tamil National Retrieval Troops, became inactive in the mid-2000s. The Khalistan movement, which aimed for the independence of Sikh Punjab, turned militant in the 1980s. A bloody operation against insurgents inside the revered Golden Temple complex in 1984 led to at least 1,000 deaths (Clodfelter, 2017). The assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by two of her Sikh bodyguards led to anti-Sikh riots that killed at least 3,000 (Chopra, 2017). There are multiple demands for independence and autonomy in the Northeast. SATP lists 149 active and inactive insurgent groups in its seven states (Clodfelter, 2017). More than two-thirds are based and operate in Assam and Manipur. Their objectives vary, and include secession (e.g., NSCN, NDFB, ULFA, NLFT, KCP, GNLA), separate ethnic states (e.g., KLO, Karbi People's Liberation Tiger in Assam), tribal autonomy (e.g., HNLC, early Hmar People's Convention–Democracy), and protection of the rights and identities of religious and ethnic communities (e.g., Adivasi Cobra Forces and Muslim United Liberation Tigers in Assam, People United Liberal Front in Manipur, PREPAK, ATTF). The militant groups that the Ministry of Home Affairs considers to pose a major threat are as follows, according to Ministry of Home Affairs, Annual Report 2014–15.

4.4.2.1 Assam

- a. United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA)
- b. National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB)
- c. Kamtapur Liberation Organisation (KLO)

4.4.2.2 Manipur

- a. People's Liberation Army (PLA)
- b. United National Liberation Front (UNLF)
- c. People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK)
- d. Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP)
- e. Kanglei Yawol Kanna Lup (KYKL)
- f. Manipur People's Liberation Front (MPLF)
- g. Revolutionary People's Front (RPF)

- h. Coordination Committee (CorCom) (conglomerate of six Valley-based underground outfits)

4.4.2.3 Meghalaya

- a. Hynniewtrep National Liberation Council (HNLC)
- b. Garo National Liberation Army (GNLA)

4.4.2.4 Tripura

- a. All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF)
- b. National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT)

4.4.2.5 Nagaland

- a. National Socialist Council of Nagaland–Isak-Muivah (NSCN–IM)
- b. National Socialist Council of Nagaland–Khaplang (NSCN–K)
- c. National Socialist Council of Nagaland–Khole-Kitovi (NSCN–KK)

Along with counterinsurgency, the central government has responded by granting statehood, union territory, and autonomous areas. These approaches have yielded only limited success, however, due to ethnic complexity in the region. State demarcations do not correspond to the territories demanded by tribes. Smaller tribes and ethnic and religious minorities within states feel their interests and territorial claims are ignored by the predominant tribes or groups in power. This has led to the emergence of many armed groups and movements for ethnic unity and autonomy in every state in the Northeast. Sixteen autonomous administrative divisions were created to ease tensions in Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Tripura. However, militant secessionist movements persist in some divisions in Assam and Meghalaya. This continued militancy generally reflects the failure of these autonomous divisions to respond to the demands of dominant tribes for protection of their lands and resources from outsiders.

Overall, insurgent activities in the Northeast have declined in recent years. There are several factors. The Indian government has conducted peace talks with several major and minor militant groups. Significant improvement in counterinsurgency cooperation

with Bangladesh and Myanmar has made it harder for militants to hide, train, and smuggle arms. Many insurgent groups have degenerated into criminal and terrorist gangs that engage in extortion, abduction, and other illicit activities.

Table: 5

Numbers of militants, security forces, and civilians killed in insurgencies in the Northeast

Year	Arunchal	Asam	Manipur	Meghalaya	Mizoram	Nagaland	Tripura
2009	22	368	436	9	1	31	10
2010	13	174	147	18	0	5	4
2011	27	78	64	31	0	15	1
2012	19	91	94	53	0	74	2
2013	10	92	58	58	0	42	1
2014	11	274	47	65	0	13	3
2015	9	58	80	44	3	47	0
2016	9	84	31	23	0	5	0

Source: Prepared based on Ministry of Home Affairs, Annual Report 2014–15 and 2016–17

4.4.3 Naxal/Maoist movement

The Naxal/Maoist movement originated in 1967 in a violent peasant uprising over land reforms in Naxalbari village in West Bengal. It uses guerrilla warfare against security forces to overthrow what it perceives to be a semi colonial, semi feudal system that oppresses and exploits the masses. The insurgency ebbed and flowed during the 1970s and 1980s, but became stronger in 2004 when the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) People’s War—commonly known as the People’s War Group (PWG)—joined forces with the Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCCI)(Goswami, 2013). Violence significantly increased, and the Naxal threat became a greater security concern for policymakers than the insurgencies in J&K and

the Northeast (Singh, 2006). Whereas the Naxal movement in 2003 was active in only 55 districts in eight states, the Ministry of Home Affairs reported in 2014 that it was present in 20 states. Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Odisha, and Bihar have the highest numbers of Naxal incidents. The movement recently expanded to Assam, Uttar Pradesh, and Haryana. Weak state presence, poverty, and grievances related to natural resource management, particularly mining, help the Naxal movement recruit and secure community support. Naxal cadres are mostly tribal or low caste. The insurgency is present in districts with high poverty and low literacy rates (Suba Chandran, Chari, & Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (New Delhi, India), 2008). According to Oxford University's Multidimensional Poverty Index (2010), more than 400 million Indians living below the poverty line are in states severely affected by Naxal violence (Hoelscher, Miklian, & Vadlamannati, 2012). Naxalites have exploited local anger at underdevelopment and offered to help protect communities' rights to water, forests, and land. Mining is fueling the conflict by increasing support for the Maoists' ant capitalist and anti-foreign-investment discourse. The insurgents are also reported to have stolen explosives from mines and extorted mining companies.

Many people within the Indian society have sympathy for the root cause that the Maoists are fighting for, however the fewest agree on the violent way of struggle. Naxalism does not only threaten the flow of foreign direct investments but could destabilize the whole political order as many citizens lose their faith in the state and therefore its legitimacy is challenged. India, on its way playing a bigger role on the international level, needs to tackle its internal problems urgently.

Table: 6**Naxal violence, by state (2011–2016)**

State	2011		2012		2013		2014		2015		2016	
	Incident	Death	Incident	Death	Incident	Death	Incident	Death	Incident	Death	Incident	Death
Andra Pradesh	54/9		67/13		36/11		18/4		35/8		17/6	
Bihar	316/63		166/44		177/69		163/32		110/17		129/28	
Chhattis-garh	465/204		370/109		335/11		328/111		466/101		395/107	
Jharkha nd	517/182		480/163		387/152		384/103		310/56		323/85	
Madhya Pradesh	8/0		11/0		1/0		3/0		0/0		12/2	
Maharas h-tra	109/54		134/41		71/19		70/28		55/18		73/23	
Odisha	192/53		171/54		101/35		103/26		92/28		86/27	
Telenga na	NA/NA		NA/NA		NA/4		14/5		11/2		7/0	
Uttar Pradesh	1/0		2/0		0/0		0/0		0/0		0/0	
West Bengal	92/45		6/0		1/0		0/0		0/0		0/0	
Others	6/1		8/0		7/0		7/0		10/0		6/0	
Total	1760/611		1415/415		1136/397		1090/309		1089/230		1048/278	

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs, Annual Report 2016–17

4.5 Pakistan

Pakistan's security landscape remains volatile and complex due to sectarian and ethno political tensions and the intricate web of terrorist and militant groups in the country. In 2016, Pakistan saw 749 violent incidents that killed 1,887 people by various forms of violence related to politics and elections, terrorist attacks, security operations against terrorist groups and armed insurgents, ethno political tensions, and sectarian cleavages (Borsari, 2018). The overall number of violent incidents fell by 32 percent from 2015 to 2016, and fatalities fell by 46 percent in the same period (Clodfelter, 2017). Terrorist attacks were the most common form of violent incident reported. The decrease in violent incidents and fatalities is largely attributable to military-led operations throughout the country. Due to the heavy crackdown on terrorist and militant groups in the tribal areas, however, terrorist activities are spreading from the border region to many parts of the country. In 2016, Balochistan was the region most affected by terrorist attacks, accounting for 34 percent of all attacks and 45 percent of deaths from terrorism. Changing dynamics of unrest and insecurity in Balochistan indicate that the province faces a larger threat from terrorist and militant groups, as seen in Quetta and Khuzdar, than from Baloch nationalist insurgents (European Asylum Support Office, 2017b).

4.5.1 Transnational Terrorism

Pakistan experiences a high number of terrorist attacks. According to the 2016 Global Terrorism Index, it is among the world's top five countries most affected by terrorism (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2016). The country had over 12,000 terrorist attacks between 2009 and 2016, resulting in 16,526 deaths (Borsari, 2018). The number of terrorist attacks and consequent fatalities has been declining, however, with the exception of 2013, which saw a jump in sectarian attacks. The recent reduction in terrorist incidents can be attributed to military-led counterterrorism operations, such as Zarb-e-Azb in FATA. Zarb-e-Azb was implemented in June 2014 in response to the joint terrorist attack by the TTP and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) on the Jinnah International Airport in Karachi, which left 37 people dead, including 10 militants (European Asylum Support Office, Office of the

Commissioner General for Refugees and Stateless Persons, & Centre for Documentation and Research (Cedoca), 2016a). The government strengthened counterterrorism operations by launching the National Action Plan in January 2015, following an attack by the Taliban on the Army Public School in December 2014, which killed 136 schoolchildren and nine teachers (European Asylum Support Office, Office of the Commissioner General for Refugees and Stateless Persons, & Centre for Documentation and Research (Cedoca), 2016b). The government also started to strengthen the National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA), which launched the Pakistan Action to Counter Terrorism (PACT) program in April 2017, aiming to enhance the capacity and technical expertise of counterterrorism efforts in the country (United States Department of State Bureau of Counterterrorism, 2018). Supported by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), the program will first be piloted in KP, and then expanded across the country.

Transnational terrorism is most common in areas bordering Afghanistan. Balochistan is the region most affected by terrorist violence in the last few years, followed by KP and FATA. Balochistan accounted for 34 percent of all attacks in 2016, resulting in 412 deaths and 702 injuries (United States Department of State Bureau of Counterterrorism, 2018). This included the August 8 hospital suicide bombing in Quetta, which killed 93 people, many of them lawyers gathering to mourn the killing of the Balochistan Bar Association president the day before. KP was also significantly affected by terrorism in 2016, with 127 reported attacks killing 189 people and injuring another 355 (Clodfelter, 2017). Meanwhile, FATA had 99 attacks, which killed 163 people and wounded 221 (Clodfelter, 2017). Patterns of terrorist activity in 2016 suggest that militants who have been pushed out of the tribal regions are moving into Pakistan's urban areas, such as Karachi, Lahore, and Quetta, to carry out large-scale attacks (Borsari, 2018). There are over 40 terrorist organizations operating in and from Pakistan (European Asylum Support Office et al., 2016b). More than 60 percent of the terrorist attacks in 2016 were carried out by the Pakistani Taliban, mainly the TTP, and other groups with similar objectives, including Islamic State (IS) affiliates and supporters (European Asylum Support Office et al., 2016b). Since the key TTP leaders were killed by U.S. drone strikes in 2013, terrorist groups have experienced a period of power struggles, splits, and internal reorganizations. Since

2014, military-led counterterrorism operations against terrorist groups have significantly reduced the capability of militant groups, particularly the TTP. The presence of transnational groups such as al-Qaeda and IMU has also been largely eradicated. However, the geopolitical situation in the region complicates the country's approach to different terrorist organizations. The International Crisis Group (ICG) pointed out that the military still distinguishes between "bad" jihadi groups, which target the government and security forces, and "good" jihadi groups, which are perceived to promote its strategic objectives in India and Afghanistan (International Crisis Group, 2015). For example, anti-India outfits, such as Jamaat-ud-Dawa (formerly Lashkar-e-Tayyaba), have not been targeted in ongoing operations in FATA, while Pakistan accuses India of supporting the Baloch insurgent movement.

Table: 7

Sectarian violence in Pakistan (2010–2016)

Year	Attack	Killed
2010	152	663
2011	139	397
2012	213	563
2013	220	687
2014	144	255
2015	58	272
2016	34	104

Source: Pak Institute for Peace Studies, 2017

4.5.2 Separatism and Autonomy

Balochistan suffers from a history of separatist conflict. Baloch nationalists previously led four insurgencies against the federal government, in 1948, 1958–59, 1962–63, and 1973–77. These insurgencies were suppressed by the Pakistani army.

The fifth insurgency, which began in 2004, is still ongoing (Siddiqi, 2012). It is estimated that nearly 1,000 people were killed by insurgent attacks between 2004 and 2015 in Balochistan (Pak Institute for Peace Studies, 2017). Balochistan is the largest but least populous province of Pakistan (Talbot, 2009). It is rich in natural resources, meeting more than 40 percent of Pakistan's energy needs through its gas and coal reserves and accounting for 36 percent of the country's total gas production (International Crisis Group, 2015). However, Balochistan is the least economically developed of the four provinces of Pakistan. It has the country's lowest rate of economic growth, highest poverty rate, and lowest social indicators for health and education (Rachid, 2013). The conflict in Balochistan is driven by a number of grievances and inequities, including lack of autonomy, lack of Baloch representation in the government and military, and economic oppression. After Pakistan became independent in 1947, it adopted a highly centralized and militarized state model, insisting on a high level of central control over its provinces and imposing a top-down conception of the federation and national identity. This became a source of tension between the federal government and multiethnic Balochistan. Each time the Balochs demanded autonomy, the central government suppressed them by force, alienating the Balochs further. The Balochs are not significantly represented in government, as Punjabis dominate the central government, the Pakistani military, and the provincial administration of Balochistan. One of the primary drivers of the current conflict is the federal government's extraction of natural gas in Balochistan and its failure to distribute a fair share of the revenue to the local population. Balochistan's natural gas fields are a major revenue earner for the federal government, but the majority of Baloch benefit little. The ICG notes that Baloch anger over central control and exploitation of the province's economic resources reached new heights when the central government excluded them from the development of the Gwadar port, which aims to transform a small fishing village into a major transportation hub for Afghanistan, China, Central Asia, and the Middle East (International Crisis Group, 2015).

In April 2015, Pakistan signed the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) agreement with China, which agreed to invest USD 46 billion in a series of energy and transport projects in Pakistan (Bhattacharjee, 2015). Trade through the corridor,

which connects Gwadar port with China's largest province, Xinjiang, had partially begun in November 2016. CPEC aims to contribute to the development of Balochistan and connect hard-to-reach areas with other parts of the country. However, it is suspected that Balochistan may not directly benefit from economic activities through CPEC, because revenue generated from ports and airports will be collected by the federal government, not the provincial government (Baloch, 2017). The political and economic marginalization of the Baloch, coupled with the increased presence of Pakistani security forces in the province, have led to further resentment and resistance by the Baloch against the federal government. Alleged foreign interventions have added to the conflict's complexity. Pakistani officials claim that India has been involved in perpetuating the conflict by providing Baloch militants with training and financial support through its 26 consulates established along the Balochistan border in Afghanistan and Iran (Imtiaz, 2010). The Pakistani parliament has made some attempts to resolve the conflict, but negotiations have fallen through, and fighting has continued. Insecurity in the province is further exacerbated by sectarian-related terrorist attacks by the TTP and other militant groups.

4.6 Sri Lanka

Despite the government's victory over the Tamil separatist movement in 2009, tensions among ethno religious groups continue in Sri Lanka. The revival of Sinhalese Buddhist nationalism is increasing ongoing communal tensions and periodic clashes between Buddhist extremists and ethno religious minority communities. While discrimination against the Tamil community persists, Muslims are also targeted by the majority Sinhalese Buddhists, as seen in the anti-Muslim riots that took place in June 2014. Following the 2015 presidential election, which removed President Mahinda Rajapaksa after 10 years of semi-authoritarian rule, the coalition government led by President Maithripala Sirisena initiated a reconciliation process to address the legacy of war and Tamil grievances, particularly through provincial devolution of power and constitutional reform. Due to slow progress, however, tensions persist in the northeast, where the military remains present (Thapa & Human Rights Watch (Organization), 2018).

4.6.1 National Civil War

Since independence in 1948, Sri Lanka has been marked by conflict between its two principal ethno linguistic groups, the Sinhalese and the Tamils. The majority Sinhalese, who are predominantly Buddhists, make up 75 percent of the population, while the mostly Hindu minority of Sri Lankan and Indian-origin Tamils represent 15 percent of the population (International Crisis Group, Working to Prevent Conflict Worldwide, 2012). The desire of mainly Sri Lankan Tamils for an independent state for themselves spiraled into a civil war that lasted from 1983 to 2009.

The conflict between the government and the LTTE began in July 1983, and ended in May 2009 when LTTE leader Vellupilai Prabhakaran and the rest of the group's leadership were killed by the Sri Lankan military. The conflict began with a deadly ambush on the Sri Lankan army by the LTTE, which killed 13 soldiers and triggered anti-Tamil pogroms and riots in response. Over 70,000 people lost their lives in the conflict between 1984 and 2009 (Melander, Pettersson, & Themnér, 2016). More than 22,000 people on all sides, one-third of all fatalities in the long-running civil war, died during the last four years of the conflict (Melander et al., 2016). Other Tamil armed groups besides the LTTE fought against the government, such as the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization and the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front. However, these Tamil and LTTE splinter groups turned against Prabhakaran, the LTTE leader, due to internal disagreements.

Since the defeat of the LTTE, and particularly since the 2015 election, some progress has been made towards addressing Tamil grievances and the legacy of the war. The coalition government led by President Sirisena initiated a process of constitutional reform in early 2016, which is to strengthen devolution to the provinces. There is, however, little agreement on decentralization among political elites. In 2015, the government cosponsored a UN Human Rights Council resolution calling for the country to establish a judicial mechanism to investigate abuses of human rights and violations of international humanitarian law, with support from the Commonwealth and other foreign judges (Thapa & Human Rights Watch Organization, 2018). Progress, however, has been slow, and the government has been unwilling to allow international involvement in investigations into war crimes supposedly committed by

security forces at the end of the war. Meanwhile, tensions remain high in the north and east, where problems such as continued military presence, conflicts over land, and resettlement of displaced Tamils and Muslims persist. Since the end of the conflict, there have been several reported cases of enforced disappearance of former Tamil militants and local activists (Amnesty International , 2017).

4.7 Nepal

Nepal is heading towards the path of stability and peace after the successful completion of all three levels of elections in 2017. For the political change the country experienced decade long civil war that killed almost 13,000 and displaced 200,000 between 1996 and 2006 (Gobyn, 2009). A peace accord has led to much progress since then. The country abolished the monarchy in 2008, carried out two Constituent Assembly elections, in 2008 and 2013, integrated former combatants from the Maoist's military wing into the Nepal Army, and promulgated a new constitution in 2015. Following the promulgation of the new constitution in 2015, violence reemerged in the Terai region between Madhesi groups and parties in Nepali government when a Madhesi-led blockade of the Indo-Nepal border worsened the humanitarian crisis and economic shortcoming caused by the devastating earthquakes in April and May. However there does not exist any significant armed group and civil war currently. The country is moving towards the path of prosperity with new hope though the concrete results to fulfill the aspirations of the people are still in the ways to come. Government need to address the issues of prosperity and development for the people to unite within the umbrella of peace and stability. The impact of South Asian armed conflict in Nepal is appreciated in subsequent chapter in detail.

4.8 Maldives

While talking about the conflict in Maldives, one can observe the rivalry among the organs of government and political demonstrations but there does not exist any armed conflict or separatist movement in the country.

4.9 Bhutan

Bhutan is a landlocked country in South Asia settled between two powerful neighbors, China and India. Bhutan is mostly mountainous and controls several key Himalayan mountain passes. The government system is a constitutional monarchy; the chief of state is the king, and the head of government is the prime minister. Bhutan has a largely traditional economic system in which the allocation of available resources is made on the basis of inheritance and primitive methods. Bhutan relies heavily on India for monetary and trade links.

While talking about the conflict in Bhutan, Bhutan is the world's biggest creator of refugees by per capita. In one fell swoop in the 1990s, the country expelled the Lhotshampa, an ethnic group with its origins in Nepal which made up one-sixth of Bhutan's population, to preserve its unique national identity. More than 20 years on, thousands still remain in camps in Nepal, lost in their own country. This is at harsh contrast with the peaceful and homely image of Bhutan. Though the problem of Bhutanese refugee is going to be resolved with the resettlement in third countries.

CHAPTER V

REGIONAL STABILITY, FACTORS AND IMPACT

5.1 Regional Stability

South Asia is considered as one of the violent regions on the world. While conflicts in Afghanistan and Pakistan have attracted global attention, parts of India, Sri Lanka, and Nepal have also experienced long-running conflict. The result is human misery, destruction of infrastructure and social cohesion, and death. The knock-on effects are huge.

Today, South Asia generally earns the image of a region that is destructed by violent communal, ideological and religious extremism where groups like the Taliban, Al-Qaeda and Lashkar-eTayyeba (LeT) are active. This is also known to be a region where Maoists- Naxalites groups are running riot in large part of its territory. Groups like the LTTE who pursued their separatist agenda could only be kicked out with great effort. South Asia has earned the image of instability because of armed conflicts going on in the name of religion and Maoism and other extremist groups. The phenomenon of terror has overshadowed the fact that a number of South Asian economies are growing at a fast pace and have the potential to grow even faster if not hampered by frequent acts of terror.

Terrorism has overwhelmed the region for the last several decades. However, counter-terrorism measures are not sufficient and the regional cooperation is not enough to fight against the terrorism. Most South Asian nations are facing the problem of terrorism, and effective cooperation is lacking to neutralize the problems created by terrorism. Terrorism has impacted domestic political structures in South Asian countries in a negative way. It has encouraged militarism, prejudice and a distinct tilt towards extremism. Though the LTTE as an organization was set up to voice the legitimate demands of the Tamil population in Sri Lanka, its degeneration into a terrorist outfit gave the Sri Lankan state the excuse to use brute force and follow militaristic policies and it finally succeeded in obliterating the LTTE (Anand Kumar

& Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, 2012). While this was welcomed, it also led to a massive expansion in Sinhala nationalism, which is now coming in the way of a political settlement between the Tamil population and Sinhala-dominated Sri Lankan government. Similar trends are seen in other states where states have boosted their military power to deal with terrorist outfits. Bhutan which had not fought a war for centuries had to organize its military to face terrorist groups that may operate from its territory and also to face the likely threat from those who were very active in neighboring country India. Bangladesh too had to create the Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) to face the growing threat from the Islamist radicals.

Terrorism, separatist movements, extremism, ideological conflicts and Maoists-Naxalites' movements with other several campaigns have imposed heavy economic costs on most of the South Asian nations. The direct costs of armed conflicts are the destruction of infrastructure, factories and standing crops and stoppage of economic activities. Its indirect costs are varied and arise out of general loss of confidence in the economy. As a result, the economy is unable to attract foreign investment and faces brain drain, enhanced military expenditure, high transaction costs and various other economic distortions. This is true of most South Asian countries that are affected by terrorism. Today, Pakistan and Afghanistan are in the grip of terror unleashed by Islamist radical groups including the Taliban. There has hardly been any industrial development in Afghanistan because the country has been involved in conflict for decades, but now even Pakistan, which was much better off compared to Afghanistan, is facing deindustrialization in certain pockets.

Regional stability is greatly hampered due to the factors of India and Pakistan mainly regarding the issues of Kashmir subject matter. Two big nations in South Asian regions, they are opposing to each other and blaming to each other to the violence going in Kashmir. It is due to mainly the rivalry role of these two countries, the cooperation among the South Asian nations is getting tough day by day. For the regional stability and to fight against Terrorism, separatist movements, extremism, ideological conflicts and Maoists-Naxalites' movements with other several armed campaigns, the strong mechanism among South Asian nations is essential but it is not

possible to make up and implement unless the bilateral ties between India and Pakistan remains the same.

5.1.2 Economic Cost of Violence

The economic cost of violence is huge in South Asian countries while compared with the countries that don't face the problems of armed conflicts. The cost of violence is greatly hampering the whole development programs of the region. The economic impact of violence includes the direct and indirect costs of violence as well as an economic multiplier applied to the direct costs. The economic cost of violence includes only the direct and indirect costs. Per capita and percentage-of-GDP results are calculated using the economic cost of violence.

Table: 8

Economic cost of violence in South Asia in 2017

Economic Cost of Violence (Rank by % GDP)	Country	Economic Impact of Violence (Millions, 2017 PPP)	Economic Cost of Violence (Millions, 2017 PPP)	Per Capita (2017, PPP)	AS % OF GDP
2	Afghanistan	67,811.1	42,662.6	1,172.9	63%
35	Pakistan	180,488.3	129,916.6	647.0	13%
59	India	1,190,509.6	806,236.9	595.4	9%
71	Sri Lanka	212,901.3	21,337.4	1,018.5	8%
76	Bhutan	853.3	536.7	656.9	8%
109	Nepal	7,287.5	4,293.3	144.9	6%
138	Bangladesh	39,728.3	24,278.2	145.9	4%

Source: Institute for Economics and Peace, 2018

While comparing the above given data with the countries like Switzerland 1.4%, Indonesia 2.2%, Burkina Faso 2.2%, Canada 2.2% and Taiwan 2.4%, that spent only the above given percentages of total GDP as the cost of violence, South Asian countries are spending huge amount of capital for the cause of violence which is directly impacting to the prosperity of the region.

5.1.3 Physical Destruction

In many cases, armed conflict results in the destruction of private and public property, of communications systems, food stocks, natural resources, livestock, water supplies, sanitation systems and practically all manufactured and natural resources. The outlay on rehabilitation and reconstruction of physical capital damaged or destroyed by fighting is often considerable, although seldom properly calculated. For the period 1983-1998 the total cost of damages of the war in Sri Lanka was estimated at 137.1 billion Rupees (Wickramasinghe, 2014). Though the cost of physical destruction is difficult to measure in exact amount, the loss of violence is huge in South Asian countries.

5.1.4 Forced Migration

Forced migration, both internal and international, is a common feature of armed conflict in South Asia, affecting countless individuals, families and communities. Displacement is fundamental to the crisis in Afghanistan which has produced the greatest number of forced migrants in the history of modern warfare. Every new offensive pushes more people to leave the country and seek refuge outside. In 2000 for instance, 30,000 refugees crossed to Pakistan as a direct result of fighting (United Nations, 2003). Others flee in the face of persecution by the Taliban (Amnesty International, 1999).

Internal displacement within Afghanistan is also widespread. In 1999 there were an estimated one million internally displaced persons, mostly settled in towns. Over half of the population of Kabul is thought to be displaced. More recently, the level of displacement within Afghanistan rose rapidly as a consequence of drought. By April

2001 an estimated 700,000 people had left their homes and moved to camps and towns in the search for food, another 170,000 had crossed to Pakistan and 100,000 to Iran and numbers continue to grow (Martin & Tirman, 2009). The social and economic consequences of displacement for families are severe. The vast majority of displaced peoples live from their own devices, often in extreme poverty and economic insecurity, in constant fear of discovery and banishment. They also generally lack any effective voice to advocate for their protection and assistance, nationally and internationally (Run, 2012).

5.1.5 Destabilizing Effects of Displacement

Some of the countries in the region (notably Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal) are host to refugee and displaced populations from neighboring states. The flight of large displaced populations across borders can transform instability within a nation into a matter of international concern. Internal displacement can be equally as threatening to national development and integration, and South Asia has an exceptionally large population of IDPs, very few of whom are in receipt of any assistance. According to recent figures, three countries in the region are amongst the ten nations of the world with the largest numbers of IDPs: Afghanistan, Sri Lanka & Bangladesh, each of which has 750,000 – 1 million (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), 2006) . The numbers of people thus affected are also growing in India and Pakistan.

5.1.6 National Impact of Local Conflict

Even the more isolated and apparently localized conflicts have the potential to destabilize fragile national politics. The economic and social effects may also be felt nationally, with special implications for wellbeing. This is revealed through the diversion of investment away from the social sector towards military expenditure, use of politicized, often racist, compulsory conscription, discrimination in the job market, revenue uncertain due to the decline in tourism and foreign investment and many other such phenomena. Deaths, casualties and emigration need also to be taken into account, as does the productivity lost due to the multiple displacement of hundreds of

thousands of people, many of whom would ordinarily be engaged in productive activities in agriculture, fishing, commerce or industry (Kelegama, 2006).

5.1.7 Impact on Child

The armed conflict in South Asia is impacting children very much, as the women and children are very much vulnerable during the period of armed conflict. Experts during the interview expressed following points while talking about the impact of children due to armed conflict in South Asia.

- a. Social Disruption
- b. Loss of service access
- c. Impoverishment
- d. Civil and political violations
- e. Threats to the physical integrity of the child
- f. Transformations in children's roles and responsibilities
- g. Differentials in children's vulnerabilities

5.2 Factors That Contribute to Conflict in South Asia

There are various factors that contribute to the armed conflict in South Asian countries. The most dominant factors are related to governance, economy and social-structural and cultural factors. During the interview to experts and study it is acknowledged that there are different dimensions which assist to the episode of armed conflicts in South Asia, the prime area under discussion are as follows:

5.2.1 Governance

Governments of conflict-affected countries frequently cling to non-state players, such as political activists from ethnic or religious minorities, to be the prime agents of violence. Certainly it is true that insurgency is more prevalent in minority communities, which generally lack the resources and power to use democratic means to bring about social justice and change in a peaceful manner. However, the research

has found that in many cases poor governance at the national and sub-national levels also plays a major part.

5.2.1.1 Poor Representation

In South Asia the participation of all sections of the population in local and national governance is generally very little. Government in South Asia is characterized by the hegemony of indigenous elites and the effective exclusion of large numbers of ethnic or religious minorities and members of the social underclass. Even in those countries which currently have democratically elected governments – Bangladesh, India, and Sri Lanka – large numbers of the citizenry have little or no influence over the decision-making processes that directly affect their lives. In Sri Lanka, the institution of multi-party democracy, following independence in 1948, made insufficient provision for the safeguarding of minority interests, notably those of the country's large Tamil population. Instead, the rural Sinhalese populations, who constitute the largest section of the island's inhabitants, have used their numerical strength to ensure that politicians enact measures that are experienced as highly discriminatory by Tamils.

5.2.1.2 Lack of Accountability

The ability of governments and their agents to act with impunity is commonly increased through the introduction of emergency measures at the onset of conflict. When these measures are directed at minority, dissident or insurgent populations, they have the potential to provoke further conflict. In 1981 the Bangladesh government introduced the 'Disturbed Areas Bill', which gave the lowest ranking security official in the Chittagong Hill Tracts the power to shoot anyone 'suspected of anti-state activity'. In Pakistan it has been reported that law-enforcement agencies committed 350 extra-legal killings in 1999, with cases of torture in custody and illegal arrest. The track record of enquiries into these incidents is poor (Mehta, Woods, & Prasad, 2007). Sometimes, high levels of corruption in the police force and the collusion of security forces result in perpetrators of violence being given impunity.

5.2.1.3 Lack of Ethos of Public Service

Throughout the region there are long-standing traditions of social and economic organization on the basis of family, caste /class, tribal, and communal ties. In such a context, the creation of government administration staffed by officials who operate in a neutral manner with a strong ethos of public service has proven hard to achieve. The tendency, instead, has been for national and local officers to use their position for the betterment of people with whom they share relationships of mutual obligation while overlooking the needs of strangers. India - a country where the role of national and state government is great but the ethos of public service is often very weak – provides one clear example of this problem. Inevitably, such behavior by government officials fuels feelings of alienation and disempowerment amongst those who do not enjoy the right connections.

5.2.1.4 Nationalism

In many cases, armed conflict is directly related to nationalist politics. It is significant that many of the conflict regions in India and Pakistan today are those where the project of nation building under colonialism was problematic. This is the case for Kashmir, the Punjab, Nagaland, Assam, and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan. All were accorded special status due to their inconsistent history or minority ethnic composition. After independence these areas were left with a weak relationship to the new state. Tensions were worsened by the process of partition, which involved dividing formerly integrated areas, as in the Punjab or in Kashmir, and mass population movement causing local ethnic tensions, as in NE India. In recent years these areas have witnessed the use of violence in the struggle for autonomy and/or a lack of state control over law and order.

5.2.1.5 The Role of Local ‘big men’

Another trend, evident in many parts of the region and associated with the limited reach of the state, is control of law and order by local power brokers, such as landowners, warlords, or criminal groups. Often this circumstance is tolerated by or

has the unspoken support of central government. The consequences for local populations, in terms of extortion, exploitation and violence can be grave. In the case of Afghanistan, the Taliban forces relied on local warlords in order to gain control of the south and their loyalty was purchased with bribes paid for with drugs' revenue. The Sri Lankan government has provided open support for Tamil militias in areas of the north and east. These groups, armed by the government, are reputedly responsible for systematic abuses of the local population and regular acts of extortion. In Pakistan, state control is severely limited in areas such as the FATA, urban slums and 'dacoit' strongholds of Sindh province, where clan leaders, criminal bosses and landlords have been known to incite violence.

5.2.1.6 Poor Standards of Policing

Practices of police deployed in local communities have directly fuelled support for armed insurgency in some cases. Extortion, harassment, physical and sexual abuse by the police has all been mentioned by villagers across the country to account for their support of the armed groups who offer protection from such abuse. Whether such behavior by the police is accepted practice or the result of poor systems of command and lack of discipline is not clear.

5.2.1.7 Rigged Elections

Although hard to prove, strong untrustworthy evidence suggests that elections held in many of the region's democratic states are commonly prey to some form of criminal activity. Whether or not this is actually the case, the common perception of election rigging in countries such as Sri Lanka and India, is a factor that inevitably heightens feelings of alienation and marginalization amongst minority groups. Offering the promise of democratic participation while, in practice, denying this may, indeed, produce greater hatred than a system of obvious autocratic rule.

5.2.1.8 Discrimination

Government discrimination towards specific population groups is widespread in South Asia and manifests in a range of ways. In Sri Lanka it has been obvious in the introduction of measures aimed at the ‘Sinhalisation’ of society which have effectively handicapped native Tamil speakers, creating obstacles for economic, educational and social advancement. In southern Bhutan it is alleged that children from the Nepali-speaking population are being systematically denied access to schooling while the limited places available are given to the children of security personnel and newly-settled citizens both of which come mainly from the country’s dominant ethnic group. The roots of the Naxalite movements, whose violence is most manifest in the Indian state of Bihar, lie in the discrimination and abuses faced by the Dalit (untouchable) communities. With the exception of a minority who have benefited from India’s policy of quotas in education and government jobs, Dalits generally live in conditions of extreme poverty and exploitation. Although political parties have long courted the Dalit vote, this rarely translates into practical reforms for their rights and dignity. Lacking access to mainstream political organisations and increasingly frustrated with the pace of reforms, Dalits have begun to resist subjugation and discrimination through both peaceful protest and armed struggle.

5.2.1.9 Distortions in Government Spending

Priority in government spending has generally been given to security and defense above the basic wellbeing of national populations. In the most extreme case, Pakistan, an average 30% of annual Central Government expenditure goes on defense – ten times more than the 3% accorded for development in the social sector. The diversion of national resources away from social services and efforts to address the basic survival needs of the populace and towards the military and public security has implications for the exacerbation of tensions that may lead to conflict. With this in mind the high level of military expenditure in South Asia should be a matter of great concern.

5.2.1.10 The Power of Corporate Actors

Large, international business interests represent a growing threat to the authority of national and local government in the region. An obvious recent example is that of Enron – a Houston-based power company – which has been involved in the construction of the world's largest electricity generating plant in Maharashtra State in India.¹⁸ Protests by local villagers and activist groups concerned about the economic and environmental costs of the project have been met with wide-scale abuses from both Enron's own privately-contracted security personnel and from the national police force. The adamant opposition of the newly-elected state government in 1995 to the project appears to have been overcome by the dispensing of bribes. This project, considered by academics, environmental activists, trade unions and local people to be highly injurious to the interests of Maharashtra's citizenry, has thus proceeded through the imposition of economic, physical and political power. This case provides a potent symbol of the might of large corporations to override normal democratic mechanisms in pursuit of profit and to enlist governments to do their bidding. To date, the protests against the electricity plant have been predominantly peaceful. However, such situations clearly have enormous potential to engender resentment and violent conflict.

5.2.1.11 Regional Imperialism

In addition to the economic and political might of large corporations, governments of smaller countries in the region are also susceptible to the dictates of more powerful neighbors. In some cases foreign and domestic policy may be strongly influenced by coercive power of neighboring governments. India, as the region's largest and most powerful nation is most commonly the object of accusations of 'regional imperialism'. In Bhutan the Indian government has played a strong role in leading the king and his advisors to adopt a more aggressive stance towards the Assamese militants encamped on Bhutanese territory, potentially to the extent of open warfare.

5.2.2 Economy

Economic hardship commonly contributes to the development of conflict. This is inevitably the case in South Asia where half a billion people - including some 250 million children - live in poverty on less than \$1 per day (UNICEF, 2005). Such a level of poverty contributes significantly to other social problems, including poor health and nutrition, exploitative child labor, HIV/AIDS transmission, trafficking of women and children, and violations of basic human rights. Although advances have been made in terms of commitments by the region's governments to addressing these problems, some countries/states and provinces have remained inactive in many key indicators, and various multi-level conflicts across the region have substantially hindered the achievement of targeted goals.

Nevertheless, the relationship between economic status and conflict is far from clear cut. It is important, for example, to consider not only absolute poverty but also relative poverty: the disparity between different sections of society and the resentment that these can create. In addition, the effects of globalised media, migration and the ever-growing reach of multi-national producers upon the expectations and aspirations of the region's citizens must also be weighed.

5.2.2.1 Poverty

In some countries the emergence of armed conflict can be clearly traced to those districts in which people struggle hardest for basic survival. In Pakistan poverty has led many families to send their sons to privately-run Madrassas to be educated. In many cases the boys receive not only free food and accommodation but are also encouraged to engage as combatants with Islamist groups fighting in Afghanistan and Kashmir. In Sri Lanka, dire economic circumstances must be seen as one reason for the military recruitment by both the government and the Tamil Tigers. In the latter case, it may also account, in part, for the recruitment of children who are, at the very least, assured of regular food by the LTTE.

5.2.2.2 Globalization and Local Aspirations

Events in the wider world beyond South Asia have had a major effect on domestic attitudes and perceptions and have in this sense been contributory to conflict. The spread of information technology, the media and the global market, together with high levels of labor migration to countries outside the region, have raised awareness of the different value systems, levels of wealth and political participation that prevail in other parts of the world. Added to this, the collapse of the Soviet Empire in 1989 and the apparent triumph of liberal democracy provided a source of inspiration to many citizens of the region, raising hopes of greater democratic involvement and prosperity. Global forces exacerbate conflict, however, when governments fail to meet expectations and deliver change.

5.2.2.3 Development Induced Displacement

Development projects are a major factor in conflict and displacement in South Asia. For example, in the hilly and fragile ecology of the Chittagong Hill Tracts injudicious resource exploitation on a massive scale has been the single main factor in conflict. This process began with the construction in 1953 of what was to become the largest paper mill in Asia. Supported by foreign funds, including a loan of US\$4.2 million from the World Bank, the mill at Chandraghona was to become a major cause of deforestation in the region and pollution in the Karnaphuli River. Nine years later came the completion of another enormous project in the area, the Kaptai dam, which alone submerged 40% of the arable land in the CHT and displaced 100,000 tribal people (Oliker & Szayna, 2002). India is the country where development-induced displacement is most marked. In fact, at a conservative estimate of 33 million, India has the largest population of development-induced displaced peoples of any country in the world. A study by the Indian Institute of Public Administration estimates that for every large dam 44,182 people are displaced (Roy, 1999).

5.2.2.4 Pressure on Land and Other Natural Resources

Another exacerbating factor in hardship and political destabilization is the extreme and growing pressure on land and other natural resources. Many of the areas that are prone to conflict also experience severe environmental problems in the form of soil erosion and degradation, deforestation and overall resource depletion. This is commonly due to intensive agricultural production, excessive population growth and associated urbanization and over-exploitation of natural resources. Areas subject to such processes, for example NE India, also become highly vulnerable to natural disasters, particularly landslides and flash floods. These pressures contribute to inter-tribal and communal tension and to open hostilities, especially towards immigrants. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts, afflicted by such circumstances, conflict over land and other resources is likely to persist for a long time to come, despite, in this case, the political settlement and the Peace Accord.

5.2.3 Socio-Structural & Cultural Factors

Most of the factors discussed above concern the role of government, directly or indirectly. However, it is also the case that conflict emerges and is exacerbated due to various factors at the societal level. The tremendous disorder witnessed at the level of family and community throughout the region, which are themselves related to ideological, economic and technological developments at the global level, have inevitably played a role in fuelling the tensions that may lead to armed conflict.

5.2.3.1 Population Size and Growth

Throughout most of South Asia the size of population and the rate of population growth are issues with profound implications for the creation of conflict.

5.2.3.2 Family and Community Dispersal

Throughout the region rural-urban migration has increased rapidly in recent decades. Even where this migration involves the whole household, family cohesion often becomes much harder to maintain within the city. Unlike rural life, where the family

commonly works as a cooperative group, within cities members must often seek an income as individuals. In addition, links with extended family and with former neighbours are likely to weaken. For the many people, including children, who come to cities alone, isolation and a strong sense of alienation appear to be common problems. In such circumstances, mass mobilization towards a political end becomes relatively easy as people seek out new networks and solidarities.

5.2.3.3 Oppressive Hierarchies

In some places, the frustrated aspirations of particular sections of society have fed directly into conflict.

5.2.3.4 Gender Socialization

It is significant that South Asia is still one of the most unfair regions in the world in terms of gender, with discrimination against women widespread. It may begin at, or even before, birth, and continues at various levels and dimensions in the spheres of education, health, mobility, and control of resources and - most significantly in situations of conflict – in the realm of protection issues such as gender-based violence, rape and sexual harassment.

5.2.3.5 Identity Politics

Many of the conflicts in South Asia exhibit some element of the politics of identity. The conflicts in Jammu Kashmir, the Punjab and NE India involve the mobilization of distinct communal identities as rallying points of opposition to the state or to perceived local enemies. Grievances stated in the name of collective affiliation have particular potency: they become emotional issues, highly motivating to those concerned.

5.2.3.6 Low Levels of Legal Literacy

The ability of governments to act in a corrupt manner with impunity is enabled, in part, by the fact that ordinary citizens often have little or no knowledge of their own

rights and of legal provisions and systems which might be utilized to challenge injustices.

5.2.3.7 Media Bias and Censorship

Television, radio and newspapers exercise immense power to influence populations in South Asia. For this reason the bias and subjectivity by reporters who have their own personal agendas regarding conflict, or who are themselves controlled by higher authorities is a matter of great concern.

5.2.3.8 The Prevalence of Arms

The ready availability of arms in many parts of South Asia is a major contributory factor in conflict, facilitating resort to weaponry in the resolution of grievances and the escalation of local disputes to a larger scale.

5.2.3.9 Militarization

The militarization of society is both a cause and an obvious effect of the emergence of armed conflict. In terms of a nation's economy it involves not only a shift in governmental spending away from the social sector but also, inevitably, profound changes to everyday economic activity. The creation of large numbers of jobs, either directly within the military or in some support role, such as in the manufacture of weaponry, is an issue of great concern. When people's livelihoods become dependent on military activity then the outbreak of conflict can come to represent a financial opportunity. Conversely, the resolution of tensions and conflict and the demobilization of military forces signal an end to regular income and, for that reason, may be unwelcome.

5.2.3.10 Historical and Cultural Factors

Societies in the region vary in the extent to which participation in armed conflict figures in their history. This is an issue not only for nations as a whole but also at the local level. More generally, it is possible to speak of a "culture of violence" existing

in certain societies in the region. This does not necessarily manifest in the form of armed conflict. However, the lack of respect for human life demonstrated in sexual and physical abuse at all levels of society, violent criminality, and, as in Sri Lanka, in high suicide rates, contributes to an environment in which descent into armed conflict may be a relatively easy option. A lack of awareness about human rights, including child rights, adds to this problem.

5.3 Regional Cooperation, the Only Way Out

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is an organization of South Asian nations, established on December 8, 1985. It is headquartered in Kathmandu, Nepal. The very first proposal for establishing a framework for regional integration in South Asia was made by the late president of Bangladesh, Ziaur Rahman, on May 2, 1980. Prior to this, the idea of South Asian integration was discussed in at least three conferences: the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi in April 1947, the Baguio Conference in the Philippines in May 1950, and the Colombo Powers Conference in April 1954 (Ghosh, 2007). The governments of Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, and Sri Lanka formally adopted its charter providing for the promotion of social, economic and cultural development within the South Asian region and also for friendship and cooperation with other developing countries. Its seven founding members were Bhutan, India, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Bangladesh while Afghanistan joined the organization in 2007. Observer states include USA, Australia, China, Japan, South Korea, Myanmar, Mauritius, Iran and European Union.

Since SAARC's creation, need for collective regional effort was importantly highlighted in the SAARC agenda for security and counterterrorism.. Terrorism was at high priority in the 3rd summit of SAARC held at Kathmandu in 1987 owing to events of terrorism in Sri Lanka. All the seven countries signed the 'SAARC Regional Convention on Suppression of Terrorism.' During this session, the heads of state/government condemned all acts, methods and practices of terrorism as criminal and showed their apprehensions for future security and peace(Thakur & Wiggen, 2004). The members signed the Convention on 4th November, which came into force

on 22 August 1988 after ratification by all members. It also erected strong consensus for cooperation to counterterrorism.

This Convention led to the formation of 'SAARC Terrorist Offences Monitoring Desk (STOMD)' at Colombo in 1990 to adopt a mechanism for implementation of the Convention. The Desk was "to collect, analyze, and disseminate information about the terrorist tactics and strategies and methods"(Lama, 1998). The 12th SAARC Summit held in Islamabad on 4-6 January 2004, Council of Ministers signed the Additional Protocol to SAARC Regional Convention on Suppression of Terrorism. Its purpose was to strengthen the Convention, particularly "criminalizing the provision, collection or acquisition of funds for the purpose of committing terrorist acts and taking further measures to prevent and suppress financing of such acts" (Delinic, Pandey, 2012).

Analyzing the present situation of South Asia, it is observed that little has been achieved and no progress has been made despite passing two decades of signing the Convention. There is not a single country in the region that has been spared by terrorist attacks and armed conflicts but mutual coordinated acts, intelligence-sharing and meaningful cooperation are nowhere or work in rare cases only. This position is due to major policy failure, which requires to be revised. Apart from this, there are several other factors that characterized the relations and do not predict the mutual steps for countering terrorism. First, there is general practice among SAARC countries to accuse the intelligence agencies of each other calling them mastermind of terrorist attacks within their borders. In such a position, cooperation is a far cry and intelligence sharing or information regarding terrorist activities is out of questions. None of the provisions of the Convention or Protocol can be properly implemented in conflicting and contradicting situation. Therefore, not a single terrorist has been arrested under the Convention.

Without measuring full cooperation and trust, just committees and agreements are insufficient. As long as there is tension, anxiety, suspicion and mistrust among the members mainly between India and Pakistan, the SAARC would not be able to take any solid step. All nations should take appropriate measures to initiate full reliance and trust. Regional leadership need to build an atmosphere of trust by breaking all the

vicious cycle of terror and revenge. Only gaining the full confidence and trust among the South Asian nations, through the integrated way it will be only possible to minimize the threat of armed conflict and terrorism in the region.

5.4 Impact on Nepal

Nepal is one of the exemplary nations for the world that got success to manage the conflict in unique way. Though there is not any armed conflict currently running in the territory of country, it cannot remain untouched from the impression of South Asian nations that may have huge impact to the stability of the country.

It is due to armed conflict, social, economic and infrastructure development is hindering in South Asian region. One subject is clear that if the region comes out of the terror of armed conflict, cooperation and enhancement in the field of trade, education, development, health, mutual support and trust can be achieved and which ultimately foster the multi sectors of SAARC countries and Nepal also would not be untouched from this.

As we know the relation between Pakistan and India always remains tensed and the main cause behind this remains armed conflict mainly in the bordering areas of these two countries and both countries are suspecting each other for fostering terrorism especially in Kashmir and Baluchistan. It is the main reason why SAARC is being failed to have the prosperity and cooperation in the region. Until and unless, trust is not ensured the aims, motives and objectives of the SAARC would not be fulfilled and ultimately the entire region would fail to gain mutual support and gain. This is the reason why, Nepal also cannot get the targeted benefits from the South Asian countries. Nepal shares open border with India which provides easy access to Nepal but cooperation, assistance and Trade of Nepal with other South Asian countries is not possible as long as the tense situation of India lies in its relation with other South Asian countries as the territory of India only permits Nepal easy connectivity to other countries. Armed conflicts that are going on in the region are not only hampering the prosperity of the concerned nations but hampering the whole region in direct and

indirect ways as regional cooperation is hindered and SAARC is being only puppet in current scenario.

Relations between Nepal and India are intertwined into a single thread due to the open border, common cultural and linguistic identities. It has also unfolded the difficulties branch from open border into both government and security force of the two countries. The parties involved in illegal works are also gaining the benefit of the open border. The greater amount of trade business at the border has been underground, and the State has not been able to control such business. A dangerous trade crime of arms and ammunition is constantly growing up. This can be a great opportunity to foster the arm trade and safe shelter who involve in armed conflict as people of south Asian countries look like similar and no mechanism is still developed to check and balance of the freedom of movement along Nepal - India border. The fear of taking advantage of open border and conducting plans from border areas by the extremist group is always haunting the security measures of both countries. Protesting against their own State, some groups are taking shelter in another State. These areas have been a severe threat for border security, especially between Nepal and India. The people of both countries have freedom of movement, inhabitation and employment in the two countries. The 1950 Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship helped to maintain a special relationship between two countries. The treaty accepted that both of the countries are sovereign countries, and endowed with facilities of bilateral transit, employment and trade from one country to another.

None of the treaties between Nepal and India ever mentions the procedures for the regulation of the Nepal-India border. The trade agreement has specified the agreed routes for mutual trade. But there is no agreement regarding movement of the people and the agreed routes for movement of people of both countries along the border. As for trade, there are 22 agreed transit and customs posts along the Nepal-India border. The concept of open border between Nepal and India has still remained a mystery. Besides, there are several sub-customs posts. It is alleged that it is possible to have illegal movement of people and goods in collaboration with personnel deputed in those posts. There is no denying the fact that it is not unusual from the practical point of view to have illegal smuggling of goods, trafficking of girls to brothels in Indian

cities, trafficking in narcotic drugs, arms and ammunition and movement of criminals and terrorists and people associated in armed conflict in India. The following are some of the points which derived from the expert interview that can be resulted from the armed conflict of South Asia and can have negative impact in the security of Nepal as well.

- a. Smuggling of Drug ,
- b. Human Trafficking
- c. Kidnapping/ Looting
- d. Terrorism
- e. Money Laundering
- f. Religious & Communal Issues
- g. Different Movements
- h. Smuggling of weapon and explosives Smuggling of Gold, Silver & Precious Stones CITIES (Convention on International trade in Endangered Species of wild Fauna and Flora)
- i. Counterfeit Currency

The above mentioned are the crimes that may be generated directly or indirectly as a result of armed conflict and Nepal also cannot remain untouched from such crimes as it shares long open border with India and access control in border is very weak.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1. Summary

Intrastate conflicts have been deeply rooted in most of the South Asian countries and became a great security challenge. Intrastate conflict is the main cause of South Asian countries which greatly hampering the development and prosperity of the region. The development activities are hugely paralyzed due to conflict. Almost all countries are victim of armed conflict though current situation of some countries is an exception.

In India, the major cause of concern is the insurgency in the North-eastern states and Kashmir along with the long class struggle in the form of Left-wing Naxalite Movement. Recent rise of Islamic Fundamentalism, often expressing itself in terrorist attacks, is another cause of concern to the security establishment in India. The violent trend found much hold after the 1993 serial bomb blasts at multiple locations in Mumbai. Series of bomb blasts in different cities of India had shaken the nation. These attacks were carried out mainly by cross-border Islamist militant organizations, mainly Lashkar-eToiba. However, in 2000s decade a home-grown organization, Indian Mujahidin, sprung up and attracted much attention from the Indian security establishment for carrying out several low-intensity bomb blasts that killed hundreds of civilians.

Internal conflicts in Pakistan are a much graver source of insecurity and instability in South Asia. The rise of Islamic militancy in Pakistan, especially of terror groups, such as Al-Qaeda, Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT), Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM), led to feeling of insecurity and terrorism. Internal conflicts in Pakistan are hampering the projects of development as the expenditure in the field of conflict is very high.

Of all the conflicts in South Asia, Kashmir is the most dangerous conflict in the region, and if not resolved, may lead to a large-scale violent conflict between India and Pakistan that will put the lives of millions of people in the region to grave risk.

Kashmir conflict has a uncertain distinction of being considered among the few prolonged conflicts in the world. India and Pakistan have been at contrary over Kashmir for nearly seven decades. They both have competing claims over the territory and fought three wars over the issue. Moreover, Kashmir conflict has an internal dimension as well. Pakistan claims that people of Kashmir want to withdraw from India and form an independent state of Kashmir, a movement that India strongly opposes since it considers the territory its integral part and sovereignty over it cannot be compromised at any cost.

Afghanistan is the least peaceful country in the region. The country is perpetually under violence ever since the Soviet Union led communist movement in 1979. US-led War on Terror has hardly provided any relief to the people of Afghanistan. Contrary to the claims by US, the country remains one of the most insecure places on the earth. Several internal conflicts and factional fights pose grave challenge to peace and security in the country. Efforts are being made to rebuild the war-torn society through the establishment of democracy in the country.

Sri Lanka got out of a bloody civil war involving the ethnic Tamils and the Government led by Buddhist Sinhalese in 2010. The peace in Sri Lanka is still fragile at best. It is too early to predict whether the peace will strengthen further or troubles will erupt in future. Oppression, discrimination, worsening socio-economic conditions, negligence by state, ethnic or religious prejudice, policies unfavorable to minorities, policy structures that discriminate against the ethnic minorities, harsh laws, and limit on freedom among various other factors, are a ready way for violence. If these issues are left unaddressed by the government, the possibility of resumption of violent means of expression becomes high. This holds true not only in the case of Sri Lanka but for South Asia as a whole. Every country in the region is plagued by this contagious disease that renders them incapable of paying heed to issues which disseminate anger among ethnic minorities until it reaches a crisis.

South Asia's peace and security has been continually under threat due to the presence of all types of armed conflicts. A number of conflicts in the South Asian region are a result of historical enmity, such as between India and Pakistan or between Tamils and Sinhala Buddhists in Sri Lanka. But in recent years some nonconventional sources of

violence, such as religious fundamentalism, right-wing extremism and terrorism, have emerged that raise serious challenges of maintaining peace in the region. The religious fundamentalism-propelled terror activities such as by the Islamist organizations, particularly in Afghanistan and Pakistan, have claimed thousands of lives in recent years. Apart from the traditional security threats, such as war, civil-war, ethnic conflicts, insurgency, etc. some other nontraditional sources of security like poverty, hunger, global warming, increasing population, illicit drug trafficking, and terrorism pose a greater challenge to the region as a whole. Besides, the region is at lower ends of vital index that describe the level of peace, economic well-being, stability, employment opportunities and human development.

Economic cost of violence, physical destruction, forced migration, displacement, local conflict, exploitation of child and woman are some of the negative impact that play vital role for the instability of the region. Similarly, Poor governance, poor representation, lack of accountability, lack of ethos in public service, role of big man, poor policing, rigged election, discrimination, poverty, global and local aspiration, development induced displacement, land and natural resources, social-structural and cultural system, population, family dispersal, distortion on government spending, power of corporate actor, regional imperialism, economy, gender bias, identity politics, low legal literacy, media bias, prevalence of arms, militarization, history and culture are some of the factors that contributing and strengthening internal armed conflicts in South Asia.

South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is passive in the subject of intrastate conflict in South Asian and its initiation to fight against terrorism and organized crime is futile. The development and prosperity of the region is greatly hampered by the internal conflicts. A strong regional mechanism is needed to counter terrorism and internal conflicts but before this building and gaining trust among the South Asian nations is essential. Regional cooperation is the only way for the South Asian countries to counter with terrorism and armed conflicts in integrated way. Until and unless all countries are committed to fight against terrorism and armed conflicts in integrated manner, it would be difficult to establish peace and tranquility in the region.

6.2 Conclusion

It is obvious that South Asian countries are enormously affected by the plague of conflict that hinders the development of the region and large amount of money is spending to fight against terrorism and armed conflicts. Regional cooperation is constantly effected by armed conflicts and the region as a whole getting failed to gain the trust and confidence of the neighboring countries to strengthen the regional cooperation. Political stability, peace and tranquility is greatly hampered by the existence of conflict. Reducing conflict is a prerequisite to political stability, which, in turn, is the prerequisite for implementing pro-growth policies. Even in a best-case scenario, the presence of low-level conflict constrains the policies governments can implement to promote growth.

Policymakers in South Asia have tried various policies to reduce conflict. The most common approach to deal with insurgencies, terrorism, or internal violence is to use the police forces to establish law and order in the affected areas. The police forces in South Asian countries, however, tend to be understaffed and underequipped. In cases where police forces are insufficient, the armed forces are called in to deal with the insurgency. In most cases, this has not been a successful strategy. Even when these measures are successful in defeating the insurgents, as in Sri Lanka, the human cost associated with military operations is very high.

Opening regional markets, encouraging reform, and improving the regional business climate are essential to accelerating economic growth rates. Only a regional effort can effectively counter the deadly nexus between cross-border environmental crime, Maoist insurgencies in India and international terrorism. Reports are accumulating that many of the same syndicates that traffic in contraband chemicals, timber, or products of endangered species are also involved in illicit commerce in human beings, narcotics, and/or arms. Programs supported by regional funds will build national capacities to apprehend and prosecute the traffickers, help secure borders, and promote regional cooperation in breaking up criminal networks.

Cross-border cooperation between countries should be an integral part of any strategy to reduce conflict. Many of the internal conflicts in South Asia have cross-border dimensions. The Taliban in Afghanistan obtain significant support from Pakistan's border areas. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and other Tamil separatist groups in Sri Lanka have traditionally enjoyed support from the Tamil Diaspora in India and other countries. In such a context, regional cross-border cooperation is an essential part of any counterinsurgency strategy. Considerable potential exists for regional cooperation in reducing conflict, but this strategy has been underused in combating terrorism in South Asia.

Regional cooperation initiative is one of the most important ways of countering terrorism and other armed conflicts. South Asian governments have taken a variety of different approaches to fight terrorism. Reviewing these approaches in the South Asian and global context, it appears that the security agencies have not been especially effective in combating terrorism. Strengthening police forces or conducting negotiations to induce insurgents to join the political mainstream appear to be more effective approaches. Social welfare programs rather than just economic incentives hoping to revive growth can be useful complements to this political accommodation approach. The challenge is to balance these different approaches toward countering conflict, as well as the optimal economic policies to be adopted in post-conflict environments.

The government of Nepal needs to strengthen the security agencies with modern technologies and techno friendly trainings and need to strengthen the border security measures as well to secure the country from any form of violence and impression of armed conflicts that are going on in South Asian region. The followings are the subject matters that need to enhance for the betterment and prosperity of the South Asian region.

- a. Nepal is one of the exemplary nations for the world that got success to manage the conflict in unique way. This is an interesting experiment. It would be the first case of the successful mainstreaming of conflicting party which is quite big and has a significant influence in the country's population. It would also

have implications for India, where large parts have been affected by similar rebellion. The world today is clueless about mainstreaming Taliban. The successful mainstreaming of Maoists in Nepal might give some clue.

- b. Strengthening of democracy at national, provincial and local levels
- c. Political settlement of ethnic grievances
- d. Revive the struggling economy
- e. Strengthening the rule of law
- f. Tackling corruption
- g. Promoting reconciliation efforts
- h. Controlling violence against minorities including
- i. Strengthen the professionalization of security agencies
- j. Strengthening the regional cooperation to fight against organized crime, terrorism and armed conflicts.

REFERENCES

- Amnesty International. (1999). *Amnesty international report: 1999 : This report covers the period January to December 1998*. London: Amnesty International Publications.
- Amnesty International 2017. (2017). *Sri Lanka: Refusing to disappear*. Retrieved from <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/ASA3754972017ENGLISH.PDF>
- Kumar, A. & Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (Eds.). (2012). *The terror challenge in South Asia and prospect of regional cooperation*. New Delhi: Institute for Defence Studies & Analyses : Pentagon Security International.
- Anant, A. (2009). Identity and Conflict: Perspectives from the Kashmir Valley. *Strategic Analysis*, 33(5), 760–773. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09700160903064554>
- Ayoob, M. (1980). *Conflict and intervention in the third world*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Baloch, S. (2017). No energy in Balochistan. *The News International*. Retrieved from <https://www.thenews.com.pk/>
- Banerjee, D., & Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (Colombo, Sri Lanka) (Eds.). (2000). *Security studies in South Asia: Change and challenges*. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors.

- Bhattacharjee, D. (2015). China Pakistan Economic Corridor. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2608927>
- Borsari, F. (2018). The Islamic State in Afghanistan and Pakistan: Origins, evolution, and implications. Unpublished. Retrieved from <http://rgdoi.net/10.13140/RG.2.2.31925.12003>
- Chopra, S. (2017). Massacres, Majorities and Money: Reparation after Sectarian Violence in India. *Asian Journal of Law and Society*, 4(01), 157–190. <https://doi.org/10.1017/als.2016.9>
- Clodfelter, M. (2017). *Warfare and armed conflicts: A statistical encyclopedia of casualty and other figures, 1492-2015* (Fourth edition). Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers.
- Crawford, N. C. (2016). Update on the Human Costs of War for Afghanistan and Pakistan, 2001 to mid-2016. Boston University. Retrieved from https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/pap+_FINAL_corrected%20date.pdf
- Dahal, S. H., & United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (Eds.). (2003a). *Internal conflict and regional security in South Asia: approaches, perspectives and policies*. Geneva: UNIDIR.
- Dahal, S. H., & United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (Eds.). (2003b). *Internal conflict and regional security in South Asia: Approaches, perspectives and policies*. Geneva: UNIDIR.

Delinic, T., Pandey, N. N., Centre for South Asian Studies (Kathmandu, Nepal), & Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (Eds.). (2012). *SAARC: towards meaningful cooperation*. Kathmandu: Centre for South Asian Studies.

Dummett, M. (2011). Bangladesh war: The article that changed history. *BBC News*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-16207201>

Eck, K., Uppsala universitet, & Institutionen för freds- och konfliktforskning. (2005). *A beginner's guide to conflict data: finding and using the right dataset*. Uppsala: Dept. of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

European Asylum Support Office. (2017a). *EASO country of origin information report: Afghanistan: Key socio-economic indicators, state protection, and mobility in Kabul City, Mazar-e Sharif, and Herat City*. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.2847/270432>

European Asylum Support Office. (2017b). *EASO country of origin information report: Afghanistan: Key socio-economic indicators, state protection, and mobility in Kabul City, Mazar-e Sharif, and Herat City*. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.2847/270432>

European Asylum Support Office, Office of the Commissioner General for Refugees and Stateless Persons, & Centre for Documentation and Research (Cedoca). (2016a). *EASO country of origin information report: Pakistan: Security Situation*. Luxembourg: Publications Office.

European Asylum Support Office, Office of the Commissioner General for Refugees and Stateless Persons, & Centre for Documentation and Research (Cedoca).

(2016b). *EASO country of origin information report: Pakistan: security situation*. Luxembourg: Publications Office.

Faiz, A. (2014, February 2). Public Statement–Bangladesh: Government must protect the minority Hindu community. Retrieved from <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/ASA13/002/2014/en>.

Ferraro, T. (2015). The ICRC's legal position on the notion of armed conflict involving foreign intervention and on determining the IHL applicable to this type of conflict. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 97(900), 1227–1252. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1816383116000448>

Ghani, E. (2010, March 23). Conflict and development. CEPR Policy Portal. Retrieved from <https://voxeu.org/article/conflict-and-development-lessons-south-asia>

Ghosh, P. (2007). *Partition and the South Asian diaspora: Extending the subcontinent*. Retrieved from <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781315816111>

Giustozzi, A., Mangal, S., & United States Institute of Peace. (2014). *Violence, the Taliban, and Afghanistan's 2014 elections*. Retrieved from <http://purl.fdlp.gov/GPO/gpo58358>

Gobyn, W. (2009). From war to peace: The Nepalese Maoists's strategic and ideological thinking. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 32(5), 420–438. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100902831578>

Goodson, L. P. (2001). *Afghanistan's endless war: State failure, regional politics, and the rise of the Taliban*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

- Goswami, N. (2013). *India's internal security situation: Present realities and future pathways*. New Delhi: Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses.
- Hoelscher, K., Miklian, J., & Vadlamannati, K. C. (2012). Hearts and mines: A district-level analysis of the Maoist conflict in India. *International Area Studies Review*, 15(2), 141–160. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2233865912447022>
- Imtiaz, S. (2010). MPs told Russia, India and UAE involved in Baloch insurgency. *The Express Tribune*. Retrieved from <https://tribune.com.pk/story/84902/wikileaks-india-russia-supporting-baloch-insurgency/>
- Institute for Economics and Peace. (2016). Measuring and understanding the impact of terrorism. Institute for Economics and Peace. Retrieved from <http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2016.2.pdf>
- Institute for Economics and Peace. (2018). *The economic value of Peace 2018* (Measuring the Global Economic Impact of Violence and Conflict). Sydney: Institute for Economics & Peace. Retrieved from <http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2018/11/Economic-Value-of-Peace-2018.pdf>
- Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC). (2006, March 28). Internally Displaced Persons. Norwegian Refugee Council/Internall Monitoring Counciling Center. Retrieved from <https://www.refworld.org/docid/44292f664.html>

- International Crisis Group. (2015). *Revisiting Counter-terrorism Strategies in Pakistan: Opportunities and Pitfalls* (No. Asia Report N°271). International Crisis Group Headquarters Avenue Louise 149 1050 Brussels, Belgium. Retrieved from <https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/271-revisiting-counter-terrorism-strategies-in-pakistan-opportunities-and-pitfalls.pdf>
- International Crisis Group, Working to Prevent Conflict Worldwide. (2012). *Sri Lanka: Tamil Politics and The Quest for a Political Solution* (No. Asia Report N°239). Retrieved from <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/50ac990c2.pdf>
- Kelegama, S. (2006). *Development under stress: Sri Lankan economy in transition*. New Delhi; Thousand Oaks, Calif.; London: Sage Publications. Retrieved from <http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=453689>
- Lama, M. P. (1998). SAARC Integrated Programme of Action: Towards more effective cooperation. *South Asian Survey*, 5(1), 39–56. <https://doi.org/10.1177/097152319800500104>
- Lamb, R. D., Shawn, B., & Center for Strategic and International Studies (Washington, D. C. . (2012). *Political governance and strategy in Afghanistan: A report of the CSIS Program on Crisis, Conflict, and Cooperation*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies. Retrieved from http://csis.org/files/publication/120426_Lamb_PolGovernanceAfgha_Web.pdf
- Li, Z., Institute for Security and Development Policy (Stockholm, S., Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, & Central Asia-Caucasus Institute.

- (2011). *To manage conflict in South Asia: China's stakes perceptions and Inputs*. Stockholm: Institute for Security and Development Policy : Distributed in North America by Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies. Retrieved from http://www.isdp.eu/images/stories/isdp-main-pdf/2009_li_to-manage-conflict-in-south-asia.pdf
- Martin, S. F., & Tirman, J. (Eds.). (2009). *Women, migration, and conflict: Breaking a deadly cycle*. Dordrecht ; New York: Springer.
- Mehta, S., Woods, D., & Prasad, D. (2007). *Feudal forces, democratic nations: Police accountability in commonwealth South Asia, 2007*. New Delhi: Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative.
- Melander, E., Pettersson, T., & Themnér, L. (2016). Organized violence, 1989–2015. *Journal of Peace Research*, 53(5), 727–742. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343316663032>
- Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA). (n.d.). *Annual Report 2013–2014, Annual Report 2014–2015 (New Delhi: Government of India)*. Retrieved from , <http://mha.nic.in/AnnualReports>
- Mohan, R., & Sahni, A. (2012). *India's security challenges at home and abroad* (No. nbr special report #39). he National Bureau of Asian Research. Retrieved from <https://www.openbriefing.org/docs/indiassecuritychallenges.pdf>
- Muni, S. D. (Ed.). (2015). *India as a security provider*. New Delhi: Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses [u.a.].

- Oliker, O., & Szayna, T. S. (2002). *Faultlines of conflict in Central Asia and the south Caucasus: Implications for the U.S. Army*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND.
- Pak Institute for Peace Studies. (2017). *Overview of security situation* (Special Report 2016). Retrieved from <https://pakpips.com/web/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/sr2016.pdf>
- Rachid, B. (2013). *Islamic Republic of Pakistan - Balochistan needs assessment : Development issues and prospects : Main report* (No. ACS2258). Pakistan Country Management Unit South Asia Region. Retrieved from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/965761468334151857/Main-report>
- Roy, A. (1999). *The greater common good*. Bombay: India Book Distributor (Bombay) Ltd.
- Run, P. (2012). "Out of place"? An auto-ethnography of refuge and postcolonial exile. *African Identities*, 10(4), 381–390. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2012.692544>
- Siddiqi, F. H. (2012). Security dynamics in Pakistani Balochistan: Religious activism and ethnic conflict in the war on terror. *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, 39(3), 157–175. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00927678.2012.704834>
- Singh, P. (2006). *The Naxalite movement in India* (Rev. ed). New Delhi: Rupa & Co.
- Suba Chandran, D., Chari, P. R., & Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (New Delhi, India) (Eds.). (2008). *Armed conflicts in South Asia, 2008: growing violence*. New Delhi: Routledge.

- Talbot, I. (2009). *Pakistan, a modern history*. New York: Palgrave.
- Tavares, R. (2008). Resolving the Kashmir conflict: Pakistan, India, Kashmiris and religious militants. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 16(3), 276–302.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02185370802504316>
- Thakur, R. C., & Wiggen, O. (Eds.). (2004). *South Asia in the world: Problem solving perspectives on security, sustainable development, and good governance*. Tokyo ; New York: United Nations University Press.
- Thapa, T., & Human Rights Watch (Organization). (2018). *Locked up without evidence: Abuses under Sri Lanka's Prevention of Terrorism Act*. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/01/29/locked-without-evidence/abuses-under-sri-lankas-prevention-terrorism-act>
- Thayer, B. A. (2009). Considering population and war: A critical and neglected aspect of conflict studies. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B, Biological Sciences*, 364(1532), 3081–3092.
<https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2009.0151>
- UNICEF (Ed.). (2005). *Excluded and invisible*. New York, NY: UNICEF.
- United Nations. (2003). *Yearbook of the United Nations 2001*. New York; London: United Nations ; Stationery Office.
- United States Department of State Pub Bureau of Counterterrorism. (2018). *Country Reports on Terrorism 2017* (No. 22 of the United States Code, Section 2656f). United States Department of State Publication Bureau of Counterterrorism.

Wickramasinghe, N. (2014). *Sri Lanka in the modern age: A history* (Updated second edition). New York: Oxford University Press.

Zentrum Moderner Orient, & Glatzer, B. (Eds.). (1998). *Essays on south Asian society, culture and politics. 2: ...* Berlin: Verl. Das Arab. Buch.

APPENDIX

Appendix 'A'

(Referred to Page 46 and Page 61)

Expert Interview

(Security Force, Expert, Diplomat)

Name (Optional):

Contact:

Office:

Age-

Gender-

1. What are the major currently going on intrastate conflicts you observe in South Asia?
2. What are the factors you think that contribute to conflicts in South Asia?
3. What is the impact of conflict in South Asia?
4. How do you evaluate the role of SAARC to minimize the conflicts in South Asia?
5. What may be the way out to get rid of armed conflicts in South Asia?
6. What may be the impact of South Asian conflicts to Nepal?
7. What are the measures that Nepal need to adopt to fight against impact of violence?
8. How the economic cost would be impacted due to violence?
9. How the children would be affected due to armed conflict in South Asia?
10. How the conflict can be resolved in South Asian Region?