



# NEWSLETTER

REGIONAL CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES, COLOMBO

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## The Role of Civil Society in the Prevention of Armed Conflict in South Asia

Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS) is collaborating with the European Centre for Conflict Prevention (ECCP) on a major global project on 'the Role of Civil Society on the Prevention of Armed Conflict'. The project is undertaken under the "Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict" programme. RCSS will be the regional initiator of the South Asia component of the programme, which is expected to culminate in a Regional Conference in mid 2004, to be followed by an International Conference in 2005, at the U. N. Headquarters.

### **The Project Background: International**

The tragic events of 11th September 2001 have compelled the world community to take a serious look at the state of ongoing changes in the international security process. But even before that during 1989 – 97 period, a total of 103 armed conflicts had been recorded all over the world. The scenario became more complex at the turn of the century. In 2001 there were 24 major armed conflicts in 22 locations throughout the world, and one, occurred between India and Pakistan in 2001 reaching the level of war. All of the 15 most deadly conflicts in 2001, in terms of the Carnegie Commission definition, were intra-state conflicts. All of them had a devastating effect on neighbouring states through the burden of refugees, cross-border movement of rebels, and the undermining of normal economic and political structures through the illicit trade in resources and arms. Eleven of the 15 conflicts have lasted for eight or more years

### **Regional Background**

Since the end of the Second World War the scourge of militarized armed conflict has been stalking many regions in the world in the form of civil wars. They have become

more numerous than international wars, affecting close to one quarter of the nations of the world becoming more frequent and lasting longer by the end of the century. The majority of these armed conflicts have economic, and therefore, civilian, rather than, military targets.

### **UN Role**

It is against this backdrop that the UN Secretary-General made a historic appeal (in his Report on the Prevention of Armed Conflict, Recommendation 27, in June 2001): "I urge NGOs with an interest in conflict prevention to organize an international conference of local, national and international NGOs on their role in conflict prevention and future interaction with the United Nations in this field".

### **ECCP**

It is in response to this appeal that the ECCP proposed an integrated global programme of research, consultation and discussion, leading to an international conference at UN headquarters. An exploratory meeting to identify the regional initiators for South and Southeast Asia was held in Chiang Mai, Thailand, on April 30, 2003. The RCSS was chosen as the regional initiator for South Asia, RCSS thus becoming a member of the International Steering Group (ISG).

As ISG representative for South Asia, RCSS is responsible for coordinating the project work with designated national focal points in the region, namely, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, regarding the preparation of a Regional Action Plan.

The International Preparatory Meeting held in June, 2003 in Soesterberg had on its agenda diverse items that included identification of members of the International Steering Group (ISG), review of their role/task, coining a

new name for the project, mapping out an action plan, fundraising, preparing a brochure and reviewing suggestions for the future. Seven regions were identified and also the regional initiators: the meeting agreed to include them as ISG members.

### **The South Asian Component of the Programme**

At the Soesterberg meeting, RCSS was assigned the following tasks and functions:

- Acting as the Secretariat for the Regional Steering Group
- Connecting the grass-root with the regional and international processes
- Stimulating regional consultation and networking
- Collecting case studies and lessons learned; and
- Serving as the main regional focal point with the secretariat of the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed conflict

### **The implementation phase of the programme is visualized in three parts:**

**Brainstorming Sessions** – A conceptualization and planning session for the project is scheduled for early November 2003. Members of leading research institutions, civil society groups, academics and key individuals who have been involved in this area of work, will be invited to a one and a half day meeting by RCSS to define the scope of its work and identify key themes from among a broad range of menu that need to be considered for preventing armed conflict in the region. The participants will also help identify additional areas for relevant research work, and in particular, select five research topics on which they wish to commission thematic studies to be deliberated at a regional conference in August 2004. In addition, the Session is expected to design a uniform pattern of work to be followed at the national level and form a national group of 5-7 individuals who will work closely with RCSS in seeing the completion of this project.

**National Conference** – One conference each will be held in Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka by RCSS, with space set aside to accommodate civil society work undertaken in Bhutan and the Maldives. The first meeting of this series will be the first three – day national conference, which will be organised in Mumbai, India in

January 2004, to coincide with the World Social Forum meeting.

**Regional Conference** – A meeting will be held in August 2004 at the regional level to deliberate and decide on collection of regional data, case studies, mapping and compilation of Best Practices and Lessons Learned from the region, interaction of governments with international and regional organizations etc. It will then draw up an Action Plan and suggest how regional networking among civil society and NGOs in South Asia can be strengthened in the peace building process. The proceedings and recommendations of the conference will be published in a book form and will also constitute the final report of the South Asia group to the International Conference of the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict.

Parameters of the first Brainstorming Meeting in Sri Lanka

- Conceptualization and defining
  - a) armed conflict
  - b) civil society
  - c) conflict prevention
- Agree on the number of people who will be part of a Plenary Group to oversee the drafting of the Action Plan for South Asia
- Agree on the nature of the conflicts to be covered in this programme – ethnic, interstate and cross-border conflicts; conflicts involving subversive, insurgent and terrorist groups; low –intensity and high – intensity conflicts; conflicts involving nuclear weapons
- Identify different types of conflicts impacting on each country in South Asia
- Identify civil society groups and experts who could be relied upon for cooperation, consultation and resourcing the programme at different stages
- To decide on mechanisms needed to be designed for an action plan culminating in a regional conference.
- To determine what constitutes “ Best Practices and Lessons Learned” based on the experience gained from interaction between conflict situations and civil society activities in each country of the region
- To assess the need for additional research

*Contd in page 5*

# The 10<sup>th</sup> Summer Workshop in Shanghai, China

The Tenth Summer Workshop on Defence, Technology and Cooperative Security in South Asia, sponsored by the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS) will be held in Shanghai, China, from December 3-13, 2003. Like in 1998, it will be organized in collaboration with the Centre for American Studies of Fudan University, Shanghai. This is in line with the series of annual summer workshops being held since 1993.

**Young Professionals:** there will be around thirty five young professionals participating at the workshop. Already the RCSS has received a large number of applications from the three participating countries, India, Pakistan and China.

**Faculty** – Confirming to the parameters drawn by the RCSS on the Faculty, it will be chosen within and beyond South Asia, representing various prevailing view points and ideas. While the workshop is not intended to support or reject any particular policy or viewpoint, the speakers will present critical balanced and objective views and various streams of thought on subjects of their lectures. The workshop will have around twenty faculty members.

## *Course*

The course and approach is inter-disciplinary. The following specific issues will form the main focus of the workshop.

Regional and Nuclear Security in South Asia, Nuclear Technology, Arms Control and Disarmament, Emerging Security Concepts, Non Nuclear Security issues and Case Studies

## **Continuity and Inter- Workshop Activity**

The workshop alumni will become part of the RCSS network, engaged in strategic studies in South Asia. They will be encouraged to keep in touch with each other and the RCSS will facilitate continued mutual interaction. The alumni will be encouraged to undertake various inter-workshop activities.

At the end of the conference RCSS will give two awards to the most deserving participants so that they may conduct future work on some of the key themes covered during the Workshop. Announcement for such awards will be made after the names of the participants are finalized. A selection Board established during the Workshop will choose the two awardees based on the quality of their proposal.

The RCSS continues to interact with the workshop alumni.

(A full report of it will appear in the January 2004 Newsletter)

## Authors' Conferences on Terrorism

There were three Authors' conferences on selected facets of terrorism and insurgencies, held in Kathmandu and Dhaka, respectively, organised by RCSS, in September and October 2003. Selected groups of experts drawn from the South Asian region conferred to draw the broad outline of the intended in-depth papers, on the subjects assigned to them. Professor Sridhar K Khatri - the Executive Director of RCSS, participated in these conferences as the coordinator of the project.

On the project on **"Implications of Insurgencies on Women in South Asia"** held on 1st and 2nd of September 2003 at Kathmandu, the co-directors Ms. Rita Thapa and Dr. Ava Shrestha, formulated an outline of the study. The co-authors of the country papers assisted the co-directors on this exercise. The country studies will be based on the following structure.

1. Broad categorization of Women depending on their, different identities, class/caste/ ethnicity, age/ responsibilities, position in the family, and their habitation.
2. Women's perceptions of home, nationhood, nationalism, state borders, security etc. and women-in-conflict.
3. State as patriarchal/gendered institutions. Rise of insurgency, and State responses to them.
4. Impact, and roles of Women and Insurgency.
5. Violence on Women, domestic, state, society? Brutalization of men? Perpetrators of violence; state, non-state, and third party, insurgents.
6. Further Impact:-refugees, internal displacement, vulnerability, illegitimate children, orphans, children, adolescent girls,

7. Political Economy of Conflict.-informal conflict-economy, small arms, outside funds, taxes, donations, destruction of social and economic infrastructure etc.
8. Policy.-International regimes, laws, state policy, Women's roles on peace Accords, etc.
9. Conclusions, and recommendations, County Studies will be undertaken by the following academics:-

1. *Amena Moshin* - Bangladesh
2. *Anuradha Chonoy* - India
3. *Rita Thapa and Ava Shreshtha* - Nepal
4. *Saba Gul Khattak* - Pakistan
5. *Sunila Abeyssekara* - Sri Lanka

It is expected that with this new study the policy makers of South Asia will get a new insight into the problem of how women are affected by insurgencies. The effect of insurgency on women, is only one aspect of the phenomenon of terrorism impinging on the wide societal canvass. The meaning of terrorism itself has changed with the passage of time and with emerging new political hotspots on the world map.

In order to undertake an in-depth research on this aspect an Authors' conference was convened in Dhaka on 26th and 27th of September 2003. The subject of the conference was "**Understanding Terrorism in South-Asia - Beyond Statist Discourses**". Imtiaz Ahmed, Professor and Chair of International Relations University of Dhaka, writing the concept paper identified trends in terrorism, namely, violence emanating from within States, techniques used like suicide bombing and globalisation of networks, commonly referred to as 'globalisation from below'. With Prof. Imtiaz, will be other experts in the field from South Asia, who will be undertaking the studies of the following.

1. Terrorism of yesteryears; Colonial and Post-colonial Experiences-*Ranabir Samaddar* (India)
2. State and the Limits of Counter-Terrorism. I: The Experience of Pakistan and Sri-Lanka-*Rubina Saighol* (Pakistan)
3. State and the Limits of Counter-Terrorism II: The Experience of Bangladesh and India - *Muhammed Shahedul Anam Khan* (Bangladesh)
4. Weapon Technology and the Reconceptualisation of Terrorism - *Imtiaz Ahmed* (Bangladesh)
5. Terrorism and Subalternity I: Misgovernance Syndrome - *Jehan Perera* (Sri Lanka)
6. Terrorism and Subalternity II: The Marginalisation Syndrome - *Dhrubar Kumar* (Nepal)

7. Terrorism and Subalternity III: What about the Ethno-National movements? - *Sanjoy Hazarika* (India)
8. Terrorism in the age of Globalisation-*Nira Wickramasinghe* (Sri Lanka)

This study on terrorism in South Asia is focussed at a new understanding of the problem and new methodologies on directions towards resolution of terrorism.

The third Authors' Conference was held in Kathmandu on October 28th and 29th, on "**Responding to Terrorism in South Asia**". Professor S. D. Muni, South Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, who is the Project Director identified the objectives of this research to:

- i. Identify and examine the respective strategies followed by the South Asian States in dealing with the challenge of terrorism;
- ii. Make a critical assessment of these strategies for their failures, successes or effectiveness over the years; and
- iii. Suggest possible alternatives and improvements so that strategies become effective and viable in meeting the present and future challenges on a lasting basis.

The subjects that the authors will be doing their studies on will be:-

1. Bangladesh's Response to the Challenge of Terrorism-*Abdul Kalam*.
2. Responding to Terrorism in India's Northeast-*Vijendra Singh Jafa*.
3. Responding to Terrorism in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir, -*Ajai Sahani*.
4. Nepal's Response to the Challenge of Terrorism-*Deepak Thapa*.
5. Sri Lanka's Response to the Challenge of Terrorism; *Ketheswaran Loganathan*.
6. Pakistan's Response to the Challenge of Terrorism -*Samina Ahmed*
7. Responding to Terrorism in South Asia: Political and Social Consequences-*LR Baral*.
8. Civil Society and the Challenge of Terrorism in South Asia-*Ayesha Siddiqi Agha*.
9. Responding to Terrorism in South Asia: Developmental Imperative-*Manendra P Lama*.
10. The Role of Third Party in Resolving Terrorism-Generating Conflicts in South Asia - *VR Raghavan*.
11. Data on Terrorist Groups in South Asia - *PV Ramana*.

## RCSS – Ten Years in Retrospect

Since its inception in 1993, RCSS has been endeavouring to develop the much needed techniques in expanding and deepening the knowledge of academics and researchers in the field of security and strategic studies in South Asia. The relevance of a research centre such as RCSS is being increasingly felt today, when South Asia has become a conflict prone region, to having within it two States with nuclear capability.

RCSS has completed ten years in the sphere of academic research and a review of its primary objectives as given below, would reflect the purpose for which the Institute was established:

- To promote the study of South Asia and international questions with special emphasis on their strategic implications through research, discussion, lectures, seminars and conferences at a national or institutional level.
- To interact with similar centres of study or institutions with similar objectives in the South Asian Region.

In achieving these objectives RCSS has undertaken the publication of books, monographs, periodicals, and

research papers of academic excellence, has held seminars, workshops, conferences, and continue to make awards to young academics who excel in their specific research projects.

The Newsletter during the past ten years had highlighted such work done to create an awareness among its readers of the need to further enhance research, in security and strategic studies. RCSS is being supported by a host of intellectuals, and alumni who have contributed to the work of RCSS. Through these professionals, RCSS has made an attempt to present the different viewpoints to the policymakers of South Asia, and also to the civil society. The work done by RCSS in creating an awareness, of contemporary security and strategic issues in South Asia, among this wide spectrum of society, and disseminating of information have received encouraging appreciations. RCSS appreciates if readers of the Newsletter could keep in constant contact with the Centre with their views. We would be particularly grateful if RCSS alumnae and faculty members continue to provide us with a feedback on the kind of work they are involved with at the moment.

### *contd from page 4*

In all three Authors' Conferences the project reports are to be finalized in mid 2004. The outcome will hopefully lead to a greater understanding of the phenomenon of Terrorism in South Asia and identify possible solutions to it.

A conference on the formulation of a Data base on Terrorism will be held on 5th and 6th January 2004. The project director will be Prof. Moonis Ahmer.

The 2004 programmes of the RCSS will appear in the January Issue of the Newsletter. Prof. Sridhar Khatri, the Executive Director, has taken new initiatives to hold the next Summer Workshop and the Winter Workshop as scheduled, while adding new dimensions to them. There will also be regional meetings organized on Prevention of Armed conflict in South Asia.

### *Role of Civil Society ... contd from page 2*

- To discuss how national framework of the programme could be incorporated into the regional plan to be presented at the regional conference

The civil society process (CSP) of the project aspires to be as inclusive as possible and, is organized around simultaneously around preparatory processes at regional levels that will together shape the international process. The programme envisages to involve research programmes to identify principles to guide action. The secretariat has commissioned a paper namely The Living Document- that sets forth a framework of themes that can be developed throughout the process. Finally, a draft International Action Agenda is to be adopted at the International Conference in 2005.



## New Additions to Library

### **China-South Asia. Issues, Equations, Policies by Swaran Singh -Associate Professor at JNU**

This book discusses China's South Asia policies from a time and space perspective. The Part I is devoted to the historical evolution of the issues. Part II deals with China's policies countrywise and how they changed with time. The seven South Asian Nations are dealt with individually. Part III analyses how policies changed as a result of changes in the global situation. The tilt of China's South Asia Policy, in the direction of India-China rapprochement, in the 1990s, and how it affected China's policy towards other South Asian countries is

discussed in detail. The book has 424 pages and is published by Lancer's books, New Delhi.

### **Incomplete Partition**

#### **The Genesis of the Kashmir dispute 1947-1948**

**by Alastair Lamb** Formerly Professor of History at the University of Malaysia, Australian University and University of Ghana.

First published in 1947, Alastair Lamb focusses on the evolution of the problem during the formative years, of the Kashmir issue. The book expands the material in his earlier book 'Birth of a Tragedy': Kashmir 1947, which appeared in 1994.

## South Asia-Human Development and conflict-situations

South Asia - a home for ancient civilizations with a rich fabric of multi cultural societies struggles today, to survive. The factors contributing to this situation are many; the increase in the military spending in the region ranks high among the list of factors. According to the Human Development Report 2003, in the period 1991 -2000 the military spending increased by 59%, in South Asia. The UNDP, Human Development Report highlights this fact under "Military Spending or Education". Cutting on other priorities (such as military) is one way of utilizing savings in education, according to the report. The Millennium Development Goals envisaged can be achieved in South Asia, by taking measures to de-prioritise expenditure on armaments.

The above is important when considering that South Asia is a politically unsettled region. The following figures, relating to HDI, taken from the 2003 report, based on human development, reflects that in certain countries conflicts cause under-development and non-development, whereas in certain others under-development and non-development lead to conflicts.

The report shows that the rankings of South Asian Countries fall below 85; Maldives becoming 86; The positions of other countries are Sri Lanka 99, India 127, Bhutan 136, Bangladesh 139, Nepal 143, and Pakistan 144. One encouraging sign, is that Maldives, Sri Lanka, India, Bhutan and Bangladesh have been categorized as Medium Human Development countries. Referring to internal conflicts in countries, the report highlights the fact that if conflicts are contained within certain areas of the particular country, the tendency is for an overall good country performance, whereas, the conflict areas will have a lower development. In South Asia, the example given is Sri Lanka where there is an unequal development, between the conflict areas of North and East and the areas where there is peace. In the case of Nepal, violence arose due to neglect of isolated resource poor areas, states the report, which gave rise to a conflict. Perhaps, the answer to this situation is less military spending and more stress on economic development; South Asia could return to prosperity if the conflicts are settled, states the report.

Following is the HDI pertaining to South Asia:

# 1 Human Development Index

2003

## South Asia

	Life expectancy at birth (years) 2001	Adult literacy rate (% age 15 and above) 2001	Combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio (%) 2000-01	GDP per capita (pppUS\$) 2001	Life expectancy index	Education index	GDP index	Human development index (HDI) value 2001	GDP per capita (pppUS\$) rank minus HDI rank
<b>HDI rank</b>									
*86 Maldives	68	90	9	400	070	091	005	0761	7
*99 Sri Lanka	73	99	63 <sup>e,g</sup>	300	070	082	008	0730	8
*127 India	63	50	50 <sup>e,g</sup>	280	064	057	006	0590	-2
*136 Bhutan	65	47.0 <sup>e,g</sup>	3	188	062	042	040	0511	5
*139 Bangladesh	66	46	8	180	059	046	046	0502	7
<b>Low human development</b>									
*140 Nepal	51	49	0	130	057	050	048	0400	8
*144 Pakistan	64	40	8	180	059	041	040	0400	7

e - data refer to 2000  
g - data refer to 1989

The Millennium Development Goals, envisaged to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger and achieve universal primary education are relatively ambitious. They aspire to halve the proportion of people whose income is less than \$ 1 a day by 2015 and the proportion of people who suffer from hunger. It is also, proposed to ensure that children will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling by 2015. the projected figures for South Asia are as follows:

### Excerpts from the Human Development - Report 2003

1 MDG	GOAL 1 Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger				GOAL 2 Achieve universal primary education							
	Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than \$ 1 a day				Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger				Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling			
	Population living below \$ 1 a day (%) <sup>a</sup>	Poverty gap ratio (%)	Share of poorest 20% in national income or consumption (%)	Children under weight for age (% under age 5)	Undernourished people (as % of total population)		Net primary enrolment ratio (%)		Children reaching grade 5 (%)		Youth literacy rate (% age 15-24)	
	1990-2001 <sup>b</sup>	1990-2001 <sup>b</sup>	1990-2001 <sup>b,c</sup>	1995-2001 <sup>b</sup>	1990/1992 <sup>d</sup>	1998/2001 <sup>d</sup>	1990/1991 <sup>e,f</sup>	2000-2001 <sup>e,f</sup>	1999-1991 <sup>e</sup>	1990-2000 <sup>e</sup>	1990	2001
<b>South Asia</b>												
Bangladesh	30.0	8.1	9.0	48	35	35	64	89	..	..	42.0	49.1
Bhutan	..	..	..	19	..	..	..	..	..	90	..	..
India	34.7	8.2	8.1	47	25	24	..	..	..	68 <sup>g,h</sup>	64.3	73.3
Maldives	..	..	..	30	..	..	..	99	..	..	98.1	99.1
Nepal	37.7	9.7	7.6	48	19	19	..	72	52 <sup>k</sup>	..	46.6	61.6
Pakistan	13.4	2.4	8.8	38	25	19	..	66	..	..	47.4	57.8
Sri Lanka	6.6	1.0	8.0	29	29	23	..	97 <sup>g,h</sup>	94	..	95.1	96.9

g - data refer to 1998/99 school year

k - data refer to 1991/92 school year

h - data are preliminary and subject to further revision

# RCSS Books to be Distributed to Institutes on Request

RCSS publications include books, policy papers, newsletters and other selected project proceedings. Publications are now available for libraries of institutes on request. Should your library require our publications, kindly send a letter of request addressed to:

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Regional Centre for Strategic Studies  
2, Elibank Road, Colombo 5, SRI LANKA.  
e-mail: edrcss@sri.lanka.net

**RCSS will mail the books to such institutes free of charge.**

## Publications available on request:

- Dipankar Banerjee, ed *Shaping the Future- A South Asian Civil Society Dialogue* (RCSS, July 2002);
- Dipankar Banerjee and Robert Muggah eds., *Small Arms and Human Insecurity* (RCSS, July 2002);
- Imtiaz Ahmed ed. *Memories of a Genocidal Partition: The Haunting Tale of Victims, Witnesses and Perpetrators* (RCSS, July 2002) ;
- Dipankar Banerjee ed. *South Asian Security: Futures A Dialogue of Directors Regional Strategic Studies Institutes* (RCSS, March 2002);
- Dipankar Banerjee ed., *South Asia at Gun Point: Small Arms and Light Weapons Proliferation* (RCSS 2000);
- Dipankar Banerjee ed., *CBMs in South Asia: Potential and Possibilities* (RCSS 2000);
- Dipankar Banerjee ed., *Confidence Building Measures in South Asia* (RCSS 1999).

## RCSS Policy Studies

23. Sushil J Aaron, *Christianity and Political Conflict in India: The Case of Gujarat* (June 2002)
22. Tanvir Anjum, *Nature and Dynamics of Conflicts Over Privatization of Potable Water* (June 2002)
21. Lok Raj Baral, Bertram Bastiampillai and Rasul B Rais, *Good Governance And Defence Spending Some Views From South Asia* (August 2001);
20. Arjun Bhardwaj and Delwar Hossain, *Globalisation and the Multinational Corporations (MNCs) in South Asia: Towards Building a Partnership for Sustainable Development* (July 2001)
19. Uttam Sen and Ayesha Siddiqa-Agha, *Governance in Plural Societies and Security: An Overview* (May 2001)
18. Subramanyam Raju, *Third-Generation Indian Perception of the Kashmir Issue* (May 2001)
17. Dr P Sahadevan, *Coping with Disorder: Strategies to End Internal Wars in South Asia*; (November 2000)
16. Lailufar Yasmin, *Law and Order Situation and Gender-based Violence: Bangladeshi Perspective*; (October 2000)
15. Aruni John, *Potential for Militancy Among Bhutanese Youth* (September 2000);
14. Monica Bhanot, *Order, Welfare and Legitimacy in the Regional Context of South Asia: An Ultima Thule* (August 2000);
13. Anasua Basu Raychowdhury, *Energy Crisis and Sub Regional Cooperation in South Asia* (August 2000)
12. P R Chari, Ayesha Siddiqa-Agha, *Defence Expenditure in South Asia: India and Pakistan* (June 2000)
11. Abrar R Chowdhury and Frank de Silva, *Defence Expenditure in South Asia: Bangladesh and Sri Lanka* (April 2000)
10. Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema and Jasjit Singh, *Defence Expenditure in South Asia: An Overview* (March 2000)
9. Mukhtar Ahmel Ali, *Sectarian Conflict in Pakistan: A Case Study of Jhang* (January 2000)
8. Neluka Silva, *Politics and Theatre* (September 1999)
7. Neil H Chowdhury, *Proliferation of Small Arms and Politics in South Asia: The Case of Bangladesh* (May 1999)
6. Ajay Dharshan Behera, *The Politics of Violence and Development in South Asia* (May 1999)

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