

unilateral actions, based on the country's cost-benefit analysis, which could lead to reciprocal activities on the part of the other country. These actions or measures should be placed in the context of enhancing each country's regional and world-wide image as a progressive nation and a "role model" for other, lesser developed countries.

Interested countries must avoid the perception problems that complicate their efforts to resolve regional differences, including those in South Asia. These countries must recognize that there is deep-rooted suspicion concerning the intentions of "outsiders" that complicates any effort, no matter how well intentioned. A Pakistani military officer once noted that the term "arms control" had a negative connotation in South Asia, that it was seen by South Asians as efforts on the part of outsiders to "control" or "eliminate" Pakistani weapons programs. He preferred "arms management."⁴⁷ Moreover, countries or other third parties which make an effort to resolve a contentious bilateral issue must not allow themselves to be placed in the role of "siding"--whether actually siding on giving the impression of siding--with one nation or the other.

China, because it is a key player in South Asian security concerns, should be encouraged to recognize openly the extent to which its strained relations with India and its friendly relations with Pakistan complicate the security environment. China should be encouraged, along with the South Asian countries, to sign the CTBT and the fissile material production cut-off agreement.

If asked and agreed by the two parties, concerned countries should be prepared to assist in the regional problem-solving process. India and Pakistan will not respond well to suggestions that they need to be restrained by the international community, and most particularly by the P-5. Indeed, as many have suggested, India is infuriated by the suggestion that it be asked to forego nuclear testing while China continues to test, that it be expected to accept the comprehensive test ban treaty as a nuclear "have-not," and that the CTBT is not linked to the long-time Indian demand for a timetable for elimination of all nuclear arms. Diplomatic initiatives should continue to be made to encourage India and Pakistan to become parties to "global" arms control agreements on the grounds that they are part of the process leading to reductions in WMD.

Member countries of the MTCR regime, if their relations with India and Pakistan have been cordial, can be particularly helpful in supporting efforts at confidence-building or control of ballistic missiles because they will not appear to be publicly criticizing the two nations for "incorrect" behavior. New MTCR members, in particular Argentina, Brazil, and South Africa which have had experience with rollback of nuclear capability, could be helpful in this regard.

⁴⁷ This statement was quoted in a speech by Caroline R. Russell, Foreign Affairs Officer, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. "Regional Arms Control: Prospects for South Asia," Columbia University, 3 March 1995.