

The Diffusion Mechanisms Localized by SAARC During its Formation

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Abstract: The creation of SAARC in 1985 by the initiative of a relatively small country (Bangladesh) is a composition of several diffusion mechanisms such as domestic pressure, norm socialization and persuasion, competition, lesson drawing, normative emulation, and mimicry. Even though a broad agreement is located that the formation of SAARC is diffusion of South-to-South rather than diffusion from the EU or US (NAFTA) through the process of ASEAN-way, I do agree that ASEAN widely inspires the formation of SAARC. However, ASEAN is not the sole source of inspiration. The fundamental premises of this paper is to analyze the diffusion mechanism that took rule in the formation of SAARC. The paper will neither make a comparison of SAARC to other organization nor it will analyze the historical background.

Keywords: Diffusion, Mechanism, SAARC, Regionalism, ASEAN, EU, ASEAN-Way.

1. INTRODUCTION

Studies on comparative regionalism has increased incrementally in the recent decades. Furthermore, this comparison is done between European Union (EU) or North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA); or EU and Association of South East Nations (ASEAN). The organization of South Asia Regional Cooperation (henceforth SAARC) the only institution is a focused by scholars how the ASEAN success inspired the SAARC. Furthermore, they are signaling that the establishment of SAARC is kindly an achievement of ASEAN.

SAARC established by the attempts of Bangladesh in 1985 with the membership of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Nepal and Bhutan. The organization is the biggest in the world in term of population inhabiting in the geography. Furthermore, the shared history of colonialism and common problems such as poverty, child mortality, illiteracy and terrorism could not facilitate the cooperation, moreover, these are obstacles for cooperation.

Majority of the regionalism scholars argue that the creation of SAARC is a diffusion of South-to-South rather than North-to-South, this article is that SAARC is not a product of South-to-South diffusion mechanism but a composition of diffusion mechanism emanating from both south and north regionalism. In other words, SAARC is not just inspired by the creation of ASEAN but it has also influenced from the regionalism of EU, NAFTA, and even Latin America.

This article focuses on the mechanism of diffusion that took rule in the formation of SAARC, rather than comparing ASEAN with SAARC. In this regard, the article first provide a theoretical framework for the diffusion of regionalism and the formation of SAARC. Soon after a brief literature review is done. In the next chapter the international orientation is analyzed briefly as these the international developments influenced on the process of regionalism in South Asia. In the following chapter the historical background will be shortly analyzed for the purpose of better illuminating the later arguments. This chapter will be followed by the definition and examples of diffusion mechanism where the work of Thomas Risse will be highly focused and the last chapter will be about how these diffusion mechanisms were adopt, adapt and shaped by the SAARC organization.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Regionalism being a progressing process or project providing a conceptual framework would be very challengeable for several reasons. Andrew Hurrell underlines that if the EU would be a benchmark and the theoretical framework which the EU was established consider as neo-functionalism, the diffusion of regionalism to another part of the world and the

process of the establishing regional institutions take shape distinctively.¹ In this regard, cooperation or integration to avoid war and conflict, promote the welfare and provide a solution for natural disaster take shapes in a particular model. Therefore, before entering to the main arguments of the article, this would be better to provide a theoretical perspective for the integration process in SAARC.

Conventionally, regionalism is a debate between neo-functionalism in which parties cooperate in one sector, and this may spread to other sectors by the spillover effect and inter-governmentalism in which parties seek to harmonize interests.² This debate usually occurs in the context of EU integration process.³ However, for the diffusion of regionalism from one region to other, these theories would not be sufficient. For instance, the regionalism in East Asia a theoretical framework in which weak organization, voluntary commitment, respect to sovereignty and noninterference for these characteristics, Acharya provides the concept of “ASEAN-Way”⁴ is not applicable for the theoretical framework provided for the EU by the EU specialist scholars. Furthermore, Acharya with his own words argued that “new regionalism does not represent a theory, much less a coherent theory, at least not in the sense that neo-functionalism or neoliberal institutionalism are regarded as theories”, therefore he provides the argument of ‘from Eurocentric to Euro-exceptionalism’.⁵

With looking to the charter of SAARC in which the member states agreed on the articles of sovereignty equality, territorial integrity, noninterference, political independence, and adherence to the United Nation (UN) charter could not be theories under the neo-functionalism or neoliberal institutionalism. In this regard, I being agreed with the argument of Acharya that Asian regionalism does not occur in the theoretical framework of neo-functionalism or neoliberal institutionalism.

According to the classical theory of economic, integration could be measured in term of market economies and the central argument of the classical theory of economics is a comparative advantage. In this regard, if the parties specialized in the item in which they are very efficient will maximize their benefit. Nisar-Ul-Haq is criticizing the primary doctrine of the classic economic with ignoring the fundamental nexus between economics and politics.⁶

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

Despite the vast amount of literature on the Asia regionalism, these literature are more concentrated on ASEAN with less concentration on SAARC. Furthermore, the existing literature on SAARC is more focused on the comparison of SAARC with ASEAN. This article is to analyze the diffusion mechanisms that took a role in the integration process of SAARC. Moreover, the source of emanation on this mechanism will examine too. In this regard, this article would be a modest contribution to the current literature.

4. THE INTERNATIONAL ORIENTATION IN THE 1980S

The establishment of SAARC occurs in a period which several regional and international developments arise. First of all, the 1980s is the period during which the so-called second Cold-War period occurred. By the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the South Asian counties in general and Pakistan particularly became apprehensive as the Soviet army may cross the border of Afghanistan and create a threat for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. Furthermore, the influx of refugee to Pakistan will be later a severe problem for Pakistan political, social and economic system.

Secondly, the South Asian countries except for Pakistan until 1979 were member of the non-aligned movement. In this regard, any regional integration or cooperation was considered as an exogenous project. For instance, India, a member of non-aligned movement consider the attempts of regional collaboration being a project of Jimmy Carter, president of US.⁷ Moreover, South Asian Cooperation was pretended to Baghdad Pact, CENTO, and SEATO.

¹ Andrew Hurrell, “The Regional Dimension in International Relations Theory,” *Global Politics of Regionalism*: 38-53.

² K Raman Pillai, “Indian Political Science Association TENSIONS WITHIN REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: -A STUDY OF SAARC,” *Source The Indian Journal of Political Science Indian Political Science Association* 50, no. 1 (1989): 18-27.

³ Andrew Hurrell, “The Regional Dimension in International Relations Theory,” *Global Politics of Regionalism*: 38-53.

⁴ Amitav Acharya, “Comparative Regionalism : A Field Whose Time Has Come? ”, *The International Spectator : Italian Journal of International Affairs*, no. July 2013 (2012): 37-41.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Safta Nisar-Ul-Haq, “Regional Cooperation in South Asia : A Theoretical Perspective and Prospects under SAFTA,” *Indian Journal of Asian Affairs* 17, no. 1 (2004): 67-92.

⁷ The Carter doctrine emphasized that the US encourage the establishment of a cooperative regional security framework in South and Southwest Asia.

Lastly but not least significant, the change of regimes from Mrs. Gandhi to Janata in India, from Bhutto to Zia-ul-Haq in Pakistan, from Mrs. Bandaranaike to Jayawardene in Sri Lanka, and the consolidation of Zia-ur-Rahman in Bangladesh that withdraw the state from uncertainty. These new regimes not only hate the predecessor regimes but also they were enthusiastic to construct mutual understanding and harmony of interest with approaching each other in regional level. Furthermore, they were keen to look East and West issues in a form which the West was very sympathetic.⁸

In consideration of these developments, the establishment of SAARC in 1985 is crucial and critical. On the one hand the upcoming member of the organization –Afghanistan will be the member of SAARC in 2007 –is invaded by the Soviet Union and on the other hand both in west and east the regionalism is witnessing its shining era such as European Community and the Association of Southeast Nations (ASEAN) respectively. As a result, these developments had both large influences on bringing the member states whom they had deep apprehension from each other.

5. THE PRELIMINARY ATTEMPTS FOR ESTABLISHING SAARC

Regional cooperation in South Asia is not a novel notion, the area defined by Muni as ‘a region which is sandwiched between ASEAN and Gulf region, is characterized by political disharmony and strategic schism’⁹ efforts in the direction of cooperation in the region was happened before the eighties. However, the South Asian states were colonized, the states could not act independently toward agreement between the countries in their vicinities, despite having an inherent geographic, cultural, shared history and somehow common language for communication. Furthermore, the aftermath of World War Two and the independence of South Asia states created a long era of bilateral and multilateral conflict in addition to the delicate issue of sharing sovereignty.

On one side the integration process in Europe continent which was and is a benchmark in progress with high acceleration during Cold-War era, on the other hand, integration process was also taking shape in East Asia, Latin America, Africa, and even the Gulf region. Therefore, in late 1979, the president of Bangladesh propound the idea of South Asian regional cooperation –as there is a consensus that SAARC is a product of Bangladesh. In this regard, several meetings were held to give shape to the cooperation.

While the South Asian foreign ministers and officials were in New York for the summit of UN between June and September in the 1980s, they informally discussed the proposal of Bangladesh, and the motion was reformulated heavily. Thereby, a consensus was occurred in building regional cooperation from below in areas where the seven members did not have controversies. Furthermore, political aspect was mainly hold exempted.

After that, preliminary meetings were held for discussion to consolidate the cooperation and make it formalize and institutionalize. For instance, the meetings of Colombo (1981), Islamabad (1982) and Dhaka (1983). These attempts were not safe from positive and negative criticism. During the Cold-war, a bipolar international system, the attempts were supported by western leaders such as President Carter and Britain Prime Minister Callaghan on the one hand; these efforts were negatively criticized on the other side. This should be noticed that the criticism coming from the left-wing was not at a high-level but smoothly and intra-stately. For instance, citing the work of Muni ‘the criticism of Holiday Weekly –a left-wing Bangladesh newspaper – labeled the efforts of Zia-Ur-Rahman as “nothing but an echo” for the Carter Doctrine.’¹⁰

Finally, the regional cooperation of South Asian countries has been institutionalized by Dhaka Declaration afterward of the Dhaka Summit on 8th December 1985 with a charter and seven members such as Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The secretariat of the organization will be set up two years later in 1987 in Kathmandu, Nepal.

6. THE DIFFUSION MECHANISMS OF REGIONALISM

Thomas Risse quotes Tanja A. Brozel that there is two fashion of explanation for regionalism.¹¹ The first is an independent decision-making process in a region –the contributing causes maybe indigenous of exogenous such as economic cooperation or a reaction to globalization. The second is that regionalism does not occur independently.

⁸ S. D. Muni, “SARC: Building Regionalism from Below,” Asian Survey 25, no. 4 (1985): 391–404.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ S. D. Muni, “SARC: Building Regionalism from Below,” Asian Survey 25, no. 4 (1985): 391–404.

¹¹ Thomas Risse, “The Diffusion of Regionalism,” Oxford Handbooks Online, 2016.

However, it happens with the spread of model of collaboration and integration across the globe. This process is called the diffusion of regionalism.

The definition provided by Strange that “any process where prior adoption of a trait or practice in a population alters the probability of adoption for remaining non-adopters”,¹² in another case if regionalism occurs without mimicking, downloading or emulating and occurs independently, there is no diffusion.

For diffusion of regionalism, there is a need for a stimulus of regionalism to trigger, accelerate, shape and reshaped. In other words, there should be a benchmark or model of regionalism to be diffused to another region, for instance, the EU model or NAFTA model or ASEAN. Furthermore, this should be underlined that diffusion is not an outcome but a bunch of processes.¹³

The diffusion mechanisms widely provided, discussed and elaborated by Borzel and Risse are divided into two sections. The first is direct influence or the term provided by the authors is “sender-driven.” This contains the mechanisms of coercion; positive incentives and negative sanctions; and norms socialization and persuasion. The second is indirect diffusion or emulation, and the term provided by the authors is “recipient-driven.” This contains the mechanisms of competition; lesson drawing; normative emulation; and mimicry.¹⁴

For the arguments which I will provide in the next sections regard to SAARC, I prefer to look briefly through these mechanisms which will make my assumptions and arguments more clearly. From the sender-driven aspect, the first mechanism is coercion or force. The sender forces materially or immaterially the recipient for cooperation and integration to form a region as Rise provide the example of 1999 Stability Pact of EU for South Eastern Europe states following the war in Balkan.¹⁵ However, from my perspective this coercion could not only come from an external actor but also internal dynamics could force the government and decision-makers for holding actions. Even though diffusion is a process transmit from one actor and region to other actor and regions; force can happen internally through immaterial costs. In other words, domestically in a state, the population, epistemic community, businessmen or businesswomen and bureaucracy may force the government for cooperation. This force is not done through material forces such as using army, weapon or other instruments. However, they do establish immaterial effects such as anger, boycott, and enthusiasm. For instance, the change of government as happened in India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. This should be underlined that the internal force process is an outcome of two or many integrated mechanisms of diffusion. In other words, a population maybe socialized, persuaded or they might draw a lesson from other regions, in this regard, the community will force the government which may be an obstacle for cooperation. SAARC is a good example for this which I will discuss in the next chapter.

The second mechanism of direct influence is positive incentives and negative sanctions which the sender will impose costs in case of rejecting cooperation or support them in case of accepting. The third mechanism is, norms socialization and persuasion. Socialization and persuasion is a consequence of strong and perpetual communication.¹⁶

Coming to the fourth mechanism of diffusion but from recipient-driven section is competition. Regionalism scholars widely discuss this mechanism due to the creation of North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) whom they believe that the establishment of NAFTA in 1994 just two years later of Maastricht Treaty is a response for EU integration process in term of sharing global-market and economic competition.¹⁷

Lesson drawing the fifth mechanism of diffusion and the second for the recipient driven section is actors notice the consequences of policies or rules through which conflict and dispute resolved effectively. Therefore, they will take the lesson and adopt, transform and adapt for themselves. EU is still a prominent model for other regions through which centuries-long bilateral and multilateral conflicts are resolved.¹⁸

¹² David Strang, “Adding Social Structure to Diffusion Models,” *Sociological Methods & Research* 19, no. 3 (1991).

¹³ Thomas Risse, “The Diffusion of Regionalism,” *Oxford Handbooks Online*, 2016.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Normative emulation the sixth mechanism of diffusion and the third for the recipient-driven section states seek to have a good position and standing in the international arena in this regard to legitimize themselves,¹⁹ or according to Plillo and Gullen with their own words “to increase their legitimacy” they become a member of international community.²⁰

The last not least for diffusion mechanism and the fourth for recipient-driven is mimicry. Normative emulation occurs through a more active process whereas mimicry occurs on the passive process.²¹ Furthermore, Risse conceptualizes this passive mechanism as “downloading”.²²

The spread of regionalism to different regions of the world whether it takes shape through internal dynamics more independently without any diffusion mechanism or it takes shape through different diffusion mechanism, as a process it is not a standard form to be obeyed. In the recipient region similar to the driven-region, this mechanism may be transformed, shaped, reshaped and translated with the norms, rules, and regulation of the recipient-region. Acharya conceptualizes this process as “localization”.²³

Taking all these mechanisms of diffusion of regionalism into consideration now I will look into the formation of SAARC. Even though some of the scholars such as Acharya argue that establishment of ASEAN mostly inspires SAARC,²⁴ I will look into how this inspiration occurs not just from ASEAN but from diverse regions.

7. THE DIFFUSION MECHANISMS ADOPTED IN THE FORMATION OF SAARC

The creation of SAARC in 1985 by the initiative of a relatively small country (Bangladesh) is a composition of several diffusion mechanisms such as domestic pressure, norm socialization and persuasion, competition, lesson drawing, normative emulation, and mimicry. Even though a broad agreement is located that the formation of SAARC is diffusion of South-to-South rather than diffusion from the EU or US (NAFTA) through the process of ASEAN-way, I do agree that ASEAN widely inspires the formation of SAARC. However, ASEAN is not the sole source of inspiration. Therefore, by looking to the mechanisms of diffusion localized by SAARC, the organization is not a sole diffusion from the ASEAN but a composition of EU, US, ASEAN and somehow the Latin American regionalism. In this regard, I will analyze the mechanisms of diffusion that took rule in the formation of SAARC in details by comparing them to the characteristics of other regional organizations.

7.1 Common threat and domestic pressure –lesson drawing

At the time of its starting, Southeast Asian states confronted to the existential threat of Communism. Furthermore, being new states and none of them were able to counter communism indigenously. Therefore, the Southeast Asian nation led to guarantee their security by an external guarantor, US. Additionally, the ASEAN states showed a willingness to international arbitration for their conflicts. For instance, Malaysia and Singapore took their dispute over Singapore reclamation projects to the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea in 2003. Subsequently, the matter was resolved with Singapore agreeing to review its reclamation plans to protect sea currents.²⁵ On the other hand, in South Asia, during the formation of the organization India was perceived to be a significant threat, other regional states such as Pakistan and Bangladesh have sought help from outside powers – like the US and China – against India. For instance, in 1983, when ethnic violence erupted in Sri Lanka, the government of Sri Lanka sought military help from the US.²⁶

In this regard, the formation of SAARC is widely different during the time of its inception as the ASEAN states were faced with the common exogenous threat, the SAARC states were faced with an indigenous threat. Therefore, we can say the channel of diffusion of regionalism in the first era of SAARC was not from ASEAN but more likely to be EU diffusion. As the member states of EU during the early era of the formation were concern how to deal with the German question in addition to the communist threat and the question in South Asia was the Indian question.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Simone Polillo and Mauro F. Guillén, “Globalization Pressures and the State: The Worldwide Spread of Central Bank Independence,” *American Journal of Sociology* 110, no. 6 (2005).

²¹ Thomas Risse, “The Diffusion of Regionalism,” *Oxford Handbooks Online*, 2016.

²² Ibid.

²³ Amitav Acharya, “How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism,” *International Organization* 58, no. 02 (2004).

²⁴ Amitav Acharya, “Comparative Regionalism: A Field Whose Time Has Come?” *The International Spectator* 47, no. 1 (2012).

²⁵ Syeda Sana Rahman, “Same but Different?: Comparing the ASEAN and SAARC Frameworks” ISAS working paper, March, 2011.

²⁶ P. Venkateshwar Rao, “Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka: Indias Role and Perception,” *Asian Survey* 28, no. 4 (1988).

Also, the formation of SAARC is not a result of a direct influence such as external coercion or positive incentives and negative sanctions. However, the domestic pressure did take a role in the process of the formation of SAARC. In other words, during the 1980s when the world had noticed the energy-crisis of 1970s which had mainly hit the developing countries and the neo-liberal economic policies which were undertaken aftermath of this crisis influenced all states. Consequently, businessmen and businesswomen in South Asia in addition to ordinary civilian were mainly hit by the inflation and negative influence of the crisis. Therefore, to integrate themselves with the neo-liberal system they forced their governments for cooperation and integration to achieve good opportunities. For instance, the rule of both Pakistan and India commerce chambers is particularly essential. Although the governments are in a contentious conflict since the independence of both countries in 1945, the business communities of both country are enthusiastic to enter to the market of each other.²⁷

The SAARC organization is an outcome of fostering intra-regional trade, similar to Latin American regionalism where regional institutions tried to initiate, foster and develop intra-regional trade where trade does not exist. However, the EU and NAFTA were a product of how to manage the existing business and interdependence.²⁸ In addition, to compete for market sharing. As in the previous section I had mentioned that the formation of NAFTA was a response to EU. In this regard, the formation of SAARC took shape independently, and the states agreed to cooperate in the sectors of economy and trade as the region inhabit nearly 25% of the world population with contributing just 2.0 percent to world GDP.²⁹ The dynamic behind this mechanism is internal forces rather than externally diffusion effects.

7.2 Competition and downloading

During the 1990s, in the Colombo Summit, the SAARC members initiated caution by establishing inter-governmental groups to suggest trade liberalization by which the South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement (SAPTA) was signed. Furthermore, by the year 2004, in the 12th Summit of SAARC, in Islamabad, zero customs duty on the trade of all products by the end of 2016 was agreed. Moreover, this regulation was distinguished between relatively developed and less developed countries –Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, and the Maldives. As for the latter additional period of three years will be given where for the former – 20 percent would decrease India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka -the customs duty amount by the year 2007, and it would be further brought into zero by the year 2012.

Similarly in the post-cold war period, during the establishment of the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), where economies like Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore went ahead with the Free Trade Area (AFTA) establishment. The less developed states such as Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam were given longer time frames to implement the reforms required to participate.³⁰ In this regard, the creation of SAPTA by SAARC was not only a competition to balance the ASEAN FTA but also and interestingly SAARC downloaded the formation and model from the ASEAN. This is similar to the formation of NAFTA in North America which was to counter-balance the EU initiatives aftermath of Maastricht agreement.

7.3 Normative emulation

The SAARC aimed to provide a solution to the common problems which southern Asian people are faced through friendship, mutual trust, and understanding by creating an order based on mutual respect, equality, and shared benefits and to promote security and stability.³¹

SAARC's founding document, like the ASEAN Declaration, emphasized on 'strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter and...Respect for the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, political independence, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States' and advocated 'economic, social and technical cooperation,' while eschewing formal mechanisms for conflict management.³² Thus it is not surprising that when Bangladesh first proposed

²⁷ Zahid Shahab Ahmed and Stuti Bhatnagar, "Pakistan Institute of International Affairs SAARC and Interstate Conflicts in South Asia: Prospects and Challenges for Regionalism," Source: Pakistan Horizon 61, no. 3 (2008): 69–87; Amita Batra, "SAARC and Economic Cooperation".

²⁸ Andrés Malamud and Gian Luca Gardini, "Has Regionalism Peaked? The Latin American Quagmire and Its Lessons," The International Spectator 47, no. 1 (2012).

²⁹ World Bank and CIA World Fact Book 2014, South Asia 2014.

³⁰ Rajshree Jetly, "Conflict Management Strategies in ASEAN: Perspectives for SAARC", The Pacific Review, Vol.16, No.1 (2003), p.57.

³¹ SAARC charter from official site, www.saarc-org/SAARC-charter.

³² Syeda Sana Rahman, "Same but Different?": Comparing the ASEAN and SAARC Frameworks" ISAS working paper, March, 2011.

SAARC, it was never asserted as a formal means of conflict management in the region. Instead, SAARC was largely conceived as a vehicle to foster economic, social and cultural cooperation in South Asia, and it was agreed that all decisions were to be made by unanimity and that all contentious bilateral issues were to be kept out of the SAARC forum.³³

In addition, SAARC has emerged to create confidence building between states in South Asia, moreover, as Kunal Mukherjee underlines that ‘SAARC also acts as a platform for meetings for discussion, particularly in a friendly environment, where they are free from rigidities of governmental policy.’³⁴ Even though the organization is widely considered as ineffective, there is the possibility of widening the organization with adding Myanmar, and China which is an observer state in the organization currently but her full membership is supported by Pakistan and Nepal whereas not supported by India.³⁵

8. CONCLUSION

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation established in 1985 by the attempts of Bangladesh is the product of several diffusion mechanisms emanating not only from ASEAN but also EU, NAFTA and even Latin American regionalism. For instance, the diffusion mechanisms of competition, lesson drawing and domestic threat is widely source from North regionalism rather than a diffusion of South-to-South. In other words, the diffusion mechanism of competition for the SAARC to balance ASEAN is similar to the diffusion of EU regionalism to North America which consequently the organization of NAFTA established to balance EU.

Additionally, lesson drawing from EU took role in the formation of SAARC too. For instance, the establishment of EU despite having common external threat of communism, the internal problem was Germany, in this regard, for the SAARC, the Indian threat was taken into consideration by member states of SAARC. Therefore, India was very suspicious toward SAARC during the inception of the organization as she consider the organization as gang-up against her.

The change of regimes in India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and the consolidation of Zia-ur-Rahman in Bangladesh, the new regimes not only hate the predecessor regimes but also they were enthusiastic to construct mutual understanding and harmony of interest with approaching each other in regional level. Furthermore, they were keen to look East and West. This enthusiasm is the product of the population anger and hate which the new regimes took steps toward cooperation.

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