

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATION BETWEEN
PAKISTAN AND INDIA (1999-2008)**

By

RIFFAT ABBAS



**NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES
ISLAMABAD**

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By

Riffat Abbas

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THESIS/DISSERTATION AND DEFENSE APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certify that they have read the following thesis, examined the defense, are satisfied with the overall exam performance, and recommend the thesis to the Faculty of Social Sciences for acceptance:

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Submitted By: **RIFFAT ABBAS**

Registration #: **1537 MPhil/PS/S18**

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

Pakistan Studies

Discipline

Sayed Hamid Mahmood Bukhari

Research Supervisor

Signature of Research Supervisor

Prof. Dr. Mustafeez Ahmad Alvi

Dean (FSS)

Signature of Dean (FSS)

Prof. Dr. Muhammad Safeer Awan

Pro-Rector

Signature Pro-Rector

Abstract

The relationship between India and Pakistan is fraught with mutual mistrust, antagonism and has been one of the most enduring and dangerous rivalries in Contemporary world. The rivalry generated four wars, frequent skirmishes at the Line of Control (LOC), numerous and arm race which resulted in the nuclearisation of both countries in 1998. The nuclear power status of both Pakistan and India along with the international pressures has increased the need for peace and collaboration more intensely than before.

The process to improve Pakistan India Socio-economic relation was started in 1999 when India P.M visited Pakistan which clearly marked a significant change in the status quo which prevailed during the previous eras. The launch of the bus service included the CBMs that led to individual contacts, one of the greatest measures to allow people to become familiar with each other. In 1999, a bus service from Lahore to new was started by both countries before the start of the Composite Dialogue in 2004. The cricket series, held in March 2004, is worth mentioning and truly symbolize a significant incident in transforming both sides' psychology for help and peace building rather than pessimistic thought. The members of civil society of Pakistan from different fields of the life like the media, sports, culture and the arts have paid significantly to the establishment of friendly ties between the two nuclear neighbors. In the year 2008 an agreement was signed by Pakistan and India regarding cooperation and exchange of different think tanks run by state, i.e., Islamabad (Pakistan) Institute of Strategic Studies Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad (Pakistan) and the Institute of Security Studies and Analysis, New Delhi (India), in order to establish and promote contact and knowledge between the two countries. To foster warm interactions, in 2006 Pakistan and India become agree to conduct film festivals of one another. In 2008, a decision to legally release Indian films in Pakistan was made public by the government of Pakistan. To improve economic relation between India and Pakistan the bilateral trade relation between India and Pakistan was one of the topmost agendas of India and Pakistan official meetings in 2005. Bilateral trade between Pakistan and India amounted to \$1.7 billion during 2007-2008. One can clearly see and hope for a very close cooperation in economic, and social fields. War is no more an option for these nuclear powers and in the world of today where regional economic integration is a way forward for development and stability, Pakistan and India need to increase their cooperation in all the potential fields and move for the resolution of all the outstanding disputes. This will surely lead towards the improvement of conditions of the poor people on both sides coupled with the economic integration and development of the whole South Asian region.

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Acronyms

SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
IWT	Indus Water Treaty
UN	United Nation
USA	United State of America
UK	United Kingdom
CTBT	Comprehensive Test ban treaty
SAFTA	South Asian Free Trade Association
MFN	Most favored nation
LOC	Line of Control
CBMs	Confidence Building Measures
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
ICG	Indian Coast Guards
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WTO	World Trade Organization
UNCIP	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
GHQ	General Headquarters
PAEC	Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission
PMSA	Pakistan Maritime Security Agency
USSR	Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics
IPI	Iran-Pakistan–India

CANDIDATE DECLARATION FORM

(Declaration Form to be filled in by Candidate at the time of Submission of Thesis to the Supervisor for Internal and External Evaluation. Follow this pattern strictly, and also let the dotted lines appear on the page)

I Riffat Abbas D/O Muhammad Abbas

Registration # **1537 Mphil/PS/S18**

Discipline: **Pakistan Studies**

Candidate of M.Phil. Pakistan Studies at the National University of Modern Languages do hereby declare that the thesis (Title) SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATION BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND INDIA (1999-20008). Submitted by me in Partial fulfillment of MPhil/ PhD degree, is my original work, and has not been submitted or published earlier. I also solemnly declare that it shall not, in future, be submitted by me for obtaining any other degree from this or any other university or institution.

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Date

Riffat Abbas

Name of Candidate

Acknowledgement

In the name of almighty Allah who is most bounteous and merciful, who enable me to complete this dissertation Peace and blessing of Allah be upon Holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (P.B.U.H), who is the last prophet of Allah, who is the beacon of light, knowledge and peace for humanity. I would like to pay my deepest gratitude to my supervisor sir, Hamid Mahmood Bukhari whose sincere support and supervision enabled me to complete my research. I would like to give my deepest appreciation to my parents, and siblings who supported me in all my life for all their love, prayers and encouragement during the course of these research studies

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CHAPTER 1

INDIA PAKISTAN SOCIO ECONOMIC RELATIONS (1999-2008)

INTRODUCTION

This section comprises of the background of the study, the statement of the study, the research objective, and question. In addition, it contains justification and significance of the study as well as the scope and limitation of the study.

Socio-economic ties between countries remain an important global problem as there is no nation that can survive in isolation. This issue has continued to draw significant scholarly study and interest among political and social scientists. The relationship between Pakistan and India has a history of suspicion, ideological differences and inevitable disputes. In every dimension of relations, the unstable political and strategic relations have marred the benefits of cooperation. Since inception, a productive and result-oriented commitment between the two states has been lacking.¹ The opportunity of economic cooperation is still unexplored, while the broad-based progress of both countries was also hampered.

Since inception Pakistan and India refused to accept each other there is a line of disputed issues like Kashmir, Siachen, Sir Creek, water dispute and the two nations have fought three major wars since their independence (1948, 1956, and 1971), a military confrontation in Kargil (1999), and have been involved in several armed skirmishes and other military standoffs, including the Siachen glacier conflict on the highest battlefield in the world. With the acquisition of strategic arms and the modernization of the region, the ties between the two old rivals have added a new dimension. The acquisition of nuclear weapons has been increasingly a matter of rivalry between the two opposing nations, culminating in the 1998 nuclear tests. In the area that made South Asia a dangerous and insecure location, a complicated nuclear race began.

The global community was also worried that these nuclear arms could be used to further ravage relations. The Indus Waters Treaty IWT (1960) and the Shimla Agreement of 1972 could be viewed as important developments at political and diplomatic levels. A joint communiqué was signed between India and Pakistan in 1999 when Prime Minister of India AtalBihari Vajpayee visited to Pakistan the agreement is known as Lahore Declaration. It was significant and detailed agreement, covering all key issues between two neighbors Pakistan and India and demonstrating the solution of all issues, including Kashmir conflict, by peaceful means.² The Shimla Agreement and Indus Water Treaty continued to be subject to Indian abuses and misinterpretations, although the Lahore Declaration was not enforced.

¹ Summit Gangly. "Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions since 1947," *Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press*, 2001, p. 24.

² Rifaat Husain. "The India-Pakistan Peace Process, Defense & Security Analysis," *London: Routledge*, Vol. 22, No. 4, 2006, p. 409

The events of 9/11 and further change in global environment changed the attitudes of Pakistan and India towards each other for the better. Both countries recognized the importance of confidence building measures (CBMs) and they started to cooperate in various fields in order to strengthen their relations and stability to the region. The resumption of the Composite Dialogue in 2004, when Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee visited Pakistan during the SAARC summit in Islamabad, was another significant development. The agreement was signed by Prime Minister Vajpayee and President Musharraf with the hope of achieving peaceful settlement of all issues (including Kashmir)' through integrated composite dialogue.³

The period during 1999-2008 has been very important in view of the fact that extensive talks were held between Pakistan and India which set the foundation of deep, trustful and reasonable approach for future initiatives. The dialogue process that started in 1999 and formally in 2004, are very high provided the governments on both sides take initiatives with good intentions and build trust to forget the old rivalries.

Statement of The Problem

Relations between India and Pakistan have remained complicated because of a number of historical and political events. Since Partition in 1947, constructive and result-oriented interaction between the two states has been lacking, deteriorating resulting in three full-scale wars between two states, leading to South Asia's nuclearisation. Although direct military conflict has been limited by nuclear deterrence, both countries have also accused each other of assisting non-state actors and state actors to carry out terrorist attacks.

The overt nuclearisation in 1998 and post-9/11 developments continue to overshadow the relationship between Pakistan and India. During the period from 1999 to 2008, relations between the two countries remained tense and uncertain. This study has carried out a detailed analysis of the socio-economic relations between Pakistan and India during the period 1999-2008. It has also looked at how Pakistan and India were socially and economically linked, and questioned how these relationships changed overtime. These factors, such as involvement in trade and social activities, have been analyzed. The consequences of the relationship and a significant change in Pakistan's foreign policy toward India after 9/11 will also be examined.

Significance of Study

³ . Rizwan Zeb, *"Indo-Pak Conflicts Ripe to Resolve?"* RCSS Policy Studies, Colombo: Regional Center for Strategic Studies, No. 34, 2005, p. 23.

The relationship between Pakistan and India has been examined by many scholars. Therefore, this research is important because it focuses on the socio-economic relationship between the two countries. This research will help to understand the changing contours of the relationship between India and Pakistan and their effect on the area of South Asia. In solving the arduous task of the antagonistic relationship between both South Asian nuclear powers, it will be very beneficial. In addition, breaching the divide between Pakistan and India would help.

The Limitations as Well as Scope of This Study

Relations between India and Pakistan are important. However, other ties were only researched as far as they applied to the socio-economic aspects due to time and financial constraints. Consequently, the study centered on the socio-economic relations between Pakistan and India between 1999 and 2008. For this research, the year 1999 was chosen, but the time before this was also examined to remind the reader of the historical context. Due to the shortness of time and money, the research is restricted to unique socio-economic relationships between two nations.

Objectives of The Study

- I. To review the socio-economic relations between Pakistan and India since independence.
- II. To investigate pre and post 9/11 scenario and its impact on Pakistan-India dialogue process.
- III. To explore the change in socio-economic relation between Pakistan and India in the period 1999-2008.

Questions of The Study

- I. . What was the nature of socio-economic relations between Pakistan and India in the period 1947-1999?
- II. How post 9/11 situation propelled dialogue CBMs?
- III. . How much socio-economic relations between Pakistan India changed during 1999-2007?

Theoretical Frameworks

Realism's theoretical assumptions were used for the conduct of this analysis. The general assumptions of realism are that there is an anarchic aspect of the international system. The soul of the international system is the state that is the most powerful player and states appear to seek self-interest to struggle for their survival and groups try to acquire as many resources as possible (relative aim). Survival is the main concern of all nations. To survive, states build up armies, which can lead to a security dilemma. A state's acts rely on the interests of the state, and a state's policies are carried out on the basis of rising rivalry between states. The goal of a state is, among other states, to achieve success and determine its hegemonic stability.

Literature Review

Ali Duran in his work on "India and Pakistan: Foreign Policy Institute, 2001, highlighted the possible benefits and implications of Indo-Pak relation. The book focuses on the current view of India and her mindset which greatly affected Indo-Pak negotiation efforts and peace process. The author further proposes that both countries try to move ahead of their historical mistrust. Additionally, both countries should adopt a well-defined policy to nurture cooperation and peace process in the region.⁴

Dennis Kux in his book "India-Pakistan Negotiations: Is Past Still Prologue? Washington D. C: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2006" discusses the historical background of the Pakistan-India relationship with a detailed overview of the disputes lingering on between them for decades. Besides, the author throws light on the recent efforts made for building peace and stability in various developmental fields.⁵ The author emphasizes the need to change the age-old rivalry into an environment of understanding and cooperation for achieving economic strength that is so vital for their mutual benefits in terms of the well-being of population of the two countries.

Pia Malhotra in her research paper "India and Pakistan: Need for creative Solutions," quests to the state bosses of Pakistan and India to immediately mend all the disputed areas not only through the political channels but also by increasing the people to people interaction. The political leadership in both the countries has not been able to resolve the conflicting issues for decades so the civil society must also come forward to exchange information and bring improvement in the relationship.⁶ The principle of peaceful co-existence, the author argues, can serve as a sound basis for the two states to remove all biases against each other.

Asif Bukhara another contributor to "India-Pakistan: Breaking the Deadlock," emphasized the various important elements which contribute to the peace process between Pakistan and India for example domestic co-operation between these two nations. Furthermore, author highlighted that the implications of Lahore Declaration in 1999 as an influential event which not only foster peace, but normalize relations between India-Pakistan.⁷ Moreover, the Kashmir issue, of all the conflicts, has been considered to be the most important to be resolved immediately, as this aims to foster a conducive environment for the stability and wealth of the area.

Sara Bukhari another prominent researcher in her research article has described the factual reality of South Asia's nuclear neighbors, engaged in confrontation and war for a longer period of time. The

⁴ Mahamud Ali Durrani. 'India and Pakistan: The Cost of Conflict and the benefits of Peace,' Baltimore (USA): Foreign Policy Institute, John Hopkins University, January ,2001

⁵ Dennis Kux. "India-Pakistan Negotiations : Is Past Still Prologue?", Washington D. C: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2006"

⁶ Pia Malhotra. "India and Pakistan: Need for creative Solutions" New Delhi: Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, No. 3068, March 2010

⁷ Bushra Asif. "India-Pakistan: Breaking the Deadlock," Washington D. C: Centre for Strategic and International Studies, February ,2004

author referred reconciliation between Pakistan and India since 1999 as the "New Peace." She suggested these two atomic power states to overlook the historical competitions and undertake serious efforts to establish peace and create trust.⁸

Seli S. Harrison, Paul H. Kleinberg and Dennis Kux in their work "India and Pakistan: The First Fifty Years, linked the worsening of peace and peace process in both states and areas to constant Indo-Pak conflict. The author's emphasis that there is a need for peace and trust building measures between these two countries as continuous conflict when disturbed economic and political circumstances of the two countries

The book "In the Line of Fire" written by former army chief of Pakistan general Pervaiz Musharraf is a good to understand Kashmir issue in depth. Rtd. general Pervaiz Mushraf stated that he always tried to uphold good relation between India and Pakistan. According to former chief, he took effective measures to maintain peace in the region and resolve Kashmir issue. Another book Pakistan's Foreign Policy written by Abdul Sattar gives good insight to Indo-Pak relation from 1999 to 2008. He defined the details of all key events and agreements between both nations. Moreover, he explained the effect of 9/11 on the relation of both countries.

Summit Gangly in his book "The Origins of War in South Asia: The Indo- Pakistani Conflicts since 1947, discusses the Pakistan-India relationship in a historical background and gives a brief outline of the important issues between the two neighbors which have caused serious hurdles in developing healthy environment in the region. The serious consequences of the dispute which for decade's grabbed the poor population on both sides have also been discussed. The author, while examining the changed political and strategic position of the world after the Cold War, stressed the need for these two neighbors to promote peace and stability in the region with their cooperative relationship as it is the only key to peace, prosperity and strength.

An article published on Indo-Pak relation "Pakistan-India Equation Determinants, Dynamics and the Outlook" by Waqarun Nisa in her writing states that since 1947 to 2007 both military and democratic regimes have been taken different measures to normalize relation. She further added that despite mutual dialogue and trade relations both countries have failed to uphold good relation due to mistrust and conflicts.

Another Kocher analyzed Kashmir conflict which exists between these two twin south Asian countries (India and Pakistan) since 66 years. Author discussed various steps that has been took by these countries for the sacked of Kashmir issue. The researcher further described the issues behindhand this issue like autonomy, religious identity, human rights, and regional conflict between three poles. He also analyzed the Musharraf's formula in including of resolution of this issue. According to author Musharraf presented different solutions as per wishes people of Kashmir. Similarly, Muhammad

⁸ Sara Bukhari. " Indo-Pak 'New Peace, Hague: ISYP" *Journal of Science and World Affairs*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 2005.

Asif Bashir and Mughees Ahmed in their article “Pak-India Relationship during Musharraf Era Behavioral Study of Leadership”, described the conflict of Kashmir between Pakistan and India. Authors analyze the relationship between Pakistan and India.

Mehdi Kardousd and Dr. Umbreen Javaid in their article explored the India-Pakistan relation from 1999 to 2008 and a major change in Pakistan’s foreign policy towards India post 9/11. The terrorist attack on Indian parliament by militant group in 2001 led both the states at the verge of war. Subsequently, Pakistan started peace process along with the renewal of composite dialogue in 2004, the rebuilding of diplomatic ties and air flights were top significant. Several other agendas such as Siachen, Sir Creek, Wuller Dam, nuclearisation of the region, and confidence building measures were the part of peace process dialogue.

Research Methodology

The current study has adopted the methodology including descriptive, qualitative, quantitative, comparative and historic. The descriptive method has been used to analyze the pertinent literature whereas qualitative and quantitative methods have been employed to cross check the data validity and for deriving conclusions. The current study has employed historical method to examine the context of relationship between Pakistan and India since independence.

This Study is Consisted of the Following Chapters

Chapter 1: The first chapter will be the introduction of the study. Introduction inn this chapter introduces the topic and defines the resolve of the study including brief review of literature on the subject.

Chapter 2: the second chapter traces the historical relationship pattern of Pakistan and the India and highlights the important events and conflict between two nations 1947-1999.

Chapter 3: This chapter examines various social factors was taken to improve people to people contact and led change the relations between both countries like Cricket and hockey diplomacy ,Tract II diplomacy, Train service between India and Pakistan , exchange of cultural delegation during 1999-2008.

Chapter 4: This chapter examines the step taken to improve economic relation between both countries through two-way trade, composite dialogue commercial and economic cooperation during the period 1999-2008.

CHAPTER 2

PAKISTAN–INDIA RELATIONS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE (1947-1999)

Pakistan and India are two major countries with a peculiar background in South Asia. Though both countries are geographically closed but since independence, both nations are considered unfriendly neighbors. The relation between India and Pakistan had been strained and incredibly complex since partition. In the year 1947 the British government makes a decision to leave Indian subcontinent and divide it in the small portions in 1947, both nations achieved independence. In reality, the origin of these hostile ties dates back to the times of before partition of As the representation of the Indian Muslim interest opposed by the Hindu nationalist movement a rift started between the All India Muslim League and the Indian nation congress due to that Secularism and Islam two respective ideologies emerged in India.⁹

The rivalry between the two nations did not stop, even after division on these lines, and new crises emerged to make the relationship more complicated and controversial. This hostile environment made difficult for the two large religious entities Muslims and Hindus to live in same country and become single populace due to that the ruling party in Britain introduced a plan of partition by herself under that Pakistan joined the Muslim majority regions and India joined the Hindu majority regions.¹⁰ Although having their own country and attaining the status of a self-ruling nation Pakistani people were immensely please but India always considered creation of Pakistan as assault on their Nationalism and Muslims as the reason of division of India, it did not accept Pakistan as Independence state since Partition and this situation is prevailing to till today.

With the passage of timethis resentment and confidence disparity widened. With the passi n of time, this resentment and confidence disparity widened. The hostile relationship between India and Pakistan has filled the hearts of both sides with hate syndrome for more than sixty years, makin it impossible for them to collaborate socially and economically. Since partition and their

⁹ . David martin. “Pakistan, and South Asian History: In Search of a Narrative,” *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 57, No.4, 1998, pp. 1068-95.

¹⁰ . P.M. Kamath. “*India–Pakistan Relations: Courting Peace from the Corridors of War*,” New Delhi: Promilla & Co. Publishers, 2005, p. 75.

bilateral relationship are marked by mutual mistrust, both neighbors Pakistan and India have become very dissatisfied with the foreign and security policies of each other. Several wars have created this noticeable friction between the two countries. While periods of cordial agreements have existed, Pakistan India relations have been covered by reciprocal antagonism and conflicting issues. The relationship among both India and Pakistan until 1947 could be split into four stages of good and bad times, and the first three stages of perspective will be expanded in this chapter.

The First Period (1947-1966)

Due to the wounds of partition that were still fresh, the early years of the Pakistan-India ties after freedom were considered extremely rough. Though Pakistan's freshly autonomous state was organizationally and economically fragile, relied upon India for the distribution and share of assets and had to begin from nothing or scratch, Pakistan's citizens still had a greater sense of freedom and home. As is evident from the assertion made by the governor general of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, when he showed up in the year 1947, on August of 7 in the city of Karachi expressed "I never expected to see Pakistan in the course of my life. We should be appreciative to God for what we have accomplished."¹¹

The administration of India, then again, accepted that the divider of India before long would be turned around, and that Pakistan would at this point don't exist on the substance of the earth. Partition was viewed as a temporary aberration by Indian leaders such as Nehru, Gandhi and Patel as well as against their United India ideology. Indeed, India's refusal to recognize Pakistan as a separate state was the key obstacle to the establishment of a stronger and more stable relationship between India and Pakistan immediately after independence.¹² This hostile conduct on the Indian side has been viewed by Pakistani leaders and policy makers as a major threat to Pakistan's very life.

This was the main reason that Pakistan's foreign policy from security to strategic aspects, from economic interests to diplomatic policies security to rounded on India but counterpart country India, on the other hand, on no occasion abandoned the agenda of ruining Pakistan's creation. Even leader like Mr. Gandhi, renowned for his ideology of non-violence, did not

¹¹ Ardeshir Cowasjee. "Not the Business of the State," Dawn, Karachi, August 16, 2009.

¹² David Iltis. Partition, Pakistan, and South Asian History: In Search of a Narrative, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Michigan: . 57, No.4, 8, pp. 106-95.

spare any chance to utter words against Pakistan. In response to all hate remarks against Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah stated that the collapse of the new state of Pakistan was definitely bad and aggressive propaganda, and that it was now undoubtedly well-coordinated and well-aimed against Pakistan. Shortly, after the partition, the formation of diplomatic ties between India and Pakistan did not create any amiable atmosphere in the region formerly known as sub-continent and, as a substitute, created more hitches in the direction of regional growth.¹³

Problem of Princely States

The question about the future of the autonomous princely states was also arose after the British government decided to split the subcontinent. There were approximately 600 princely states extending on 712,508 square miles in Subcontinent. All the princely states were independent in addition their security and foreign relations were controlled by the British government. The Partition plan of Indian Subcontinent similarly extended to these autonomous princely states and the Muslim majority states had to join Pakistan after the transition of rule and the Hindu majority states would go with India. On 15 August 1947 all these princely states joined India or Pakistan Excluding Kashmir, Junagadh, Jodhpur and Hyderabad. Later on these states became the reason of conflict between two south Asian neighbors India and Pakistan.

The Junagadh was a Hindu majority state ruling by a Muslim Nawab almost 80% of the population was Hindu. This state's Muslim ruler had agreed to join Pakistan.¹⁴ The first governor general of India Mountbatten, resisted Pakistan's choice to recognize Junagadh as its national region, and it is called a breach of the laws of division. Indian government began deploying its military in the state of Junagadh and this act made the deteriorated the condition. The ruler of Junagadh left his Dewan(Prime Minister) to manage state affair and along with his family and treasure, migrated towards Pakistan. As the problem intensified, the state of Dewan officially joined India and, as a result of the referendum, it was declared after its accession to India that the large number of people in the state was decided to live with India through their vote.

¹³. Ardeshir Cowasjee. Not the Business of the State, *Dawn*, Karachi, August 16, 2009.

¹³ Ibid,p.26

In the U.N Security Council Pakistan registered its protest regarding this move of India the Junagadh case stayed ignored of for several years. Jodhpur was one of such autonomous state in which the ruler of the state decided to accede Pakistan as well, then again India had not allowed the ruler to make that choice on the basis that the state's inhabitants consisted of the followers of Hinduism and according to the rule of division of Subcontinent the Hindu majority areas were not allowed to annex Pakistan. In the state of Hyderabad Deccan the situation was same where a most of inhabitants 85% were Hindus.

When the (Nizam) of Hyderabad who was Muslim leader of the state wanted to annex with Pakistan or retained the autonomous status of his state, Mountbatten governor-general of India not only called his step violation of principle of partition but also he was strictly asked to accept the principle of partition.¹⁵ However the government of India deploy its military troops to the state before the petition could've been examined and take full benefit of the critical time and fulfilled its intention to forcibly add territory of Hyderabad to India. As under Indian Independence Act of 1947, the British agreed to give up their territorial control of the states, all states were even right to determine either keep their autonomous status or to annex with two nations Pakistan or India. Majority of the states, including Bhopal, Junagadh, and Hyderabad choose either to join Pakistan or India, but India invaded in all those states who wanted to keep their autonomous status. In Jammu and Kashmir state most of inhabitants are Muslims is one state left with a fate undecided until today.

The dominant group of people was Muslim, in Kashmir so according to the laws of division this state ought to be the Pakistan since then, interference as well violent actions of India has put the state of Jammu and Kashmir in turmoil, showing the Indian government's hypocrisy and unacceptable behavior. Raja Dora Hari Singh, the Hindu Raja of Kashmir, wanted to retain Kashmir's independent status, then met an extraordinary challenging conditions the facts of the land and the majority of the population that was in the state of Kashmir clearly stated that the state should be included in Pakistan however in spite of the fact that the division theory about the state of Kashmir was supporting Pakistan, India used political pressure not obviously but covertly to obtain the State of Kashmir. Pakistan decided to get the State of Kashmir, on the other hand the dominant group of inhabitants that was consists of Muslims supported the annexation of Kashmir with Pakistan,

¹⁵ Shahid Javed Burki." *Pakistan: Fifty Years of Nationhood, Boulder:* Westview Press, 1999, p. 12.

as the rebellion inside in the state of Jammu and Kashmir endangered Maharaja's rule, he demanded assistance from Indian government. To the level that this took two newly born countries Pakistan and India to the edge of war, forces had been deployed in the state of Jammu and Kashmir which further worsened the condition.¹⁶

First War on Kashmir 1947

India and Pakistan entered the battle on Kashmir Issue in October 1947 at the hour of parcel, when the increase crisis created an exceptionally tempestuous condition and Maharaja's standard in Kashmir was tested by the boundary Muslim tribesmen who activated and upheld an inside rebel against the arrangement of Maharaja to agree with India's position. On September 1947, Kashmiri rebels had almost wiped out the control of the Maharaja in Kashmir. Indian interfered through militarily in Kashmir, and armed Sikh rioters and other militant's invaded Kashmir at the end of September and butchered thousands of Muslims in Kashmir.

The border towards Kashmir on October 22, 1947 was crossed by frontier tribesmen inflamed by the atrocities towards the Muslim community in Kashmir, against the armies of the Maharaja Hari Singh to pursue Jihad (Holy war) as the internal rebellion and the uprising besieged him, the Maharaja of Kashmir requested the Indian government to intervene. The Indian government then sent troops to Kashmir, and on October 25, 1947, in return, the Maharaja joined India. After that decision of Maharaja, the conflict and dispute expanded between the two countries. This situation eventually led to the weapons battle among the both neighbors Pakistan and India the necessity had been sensed by two countries to strengthen their defense.¹⁷

Liaquat Ali Khan received a by Prime Minister of India in which he guaranteed not just to the residents of Jammu and Kashmir but to Pakistan that troops would be removed from the state after civil war ended in Kashmir. The authenticity of the declaration is clearly apparent from the subsequent events and later years when India began to label Kashmir its internal portion. Pakistan didn't depend on the India's status and plead, however rather stated that as the rule of Kashmir was deposed by the inside rebellion, and he had departed from his capital.

¹⁶ K. Sarwar Hasan (Ed.). "Documents on the Foreign Relations of Pakistan: The Kashmir Question," *Karachi: Pakistan Institute of International Affairs*, 1993. P,67.

¹⁷Ibid,p,72

He did not have jurisdiction, to sign any 'Instrument of Accession' Furthermore, by December 1947 one third part of state of the Jammu and Kashmir along with the areas of Gilgit and Baltistan had been liberated by Kashmiri freedom fighters with the help of Pakistani tribesmen, whereas majority part of Kashmir remained in the control of India. India presented the dispute of Kashmir in the United Nations Security Council on January 1, 1948, called on Pakistan to stop supporting rebels in Kashmir and provide them with economic and social support. Pakistan refuted all of India's claims, instead accusing her of Kashmir's Muslim genocide. India presented the dispute of Kashmir in the United Nations Security Council on 1, January 1948, called on Pakistan to stop supporting rebels in Kashmir and provide them with economic, social support. Pakistan refuted all of India's claims, instead accusing her of Kashmir's Muslim genocide.

By defending Kashmir's annexation to India, India justified its role in the United Nations by claiming that not only did Maharaja want the annexation, but that appeal also came for the society of Kashmir from the political organization Sheikh Abdullah led the National Conference.¹⁸ India as well made promise in the United Nations that, when law and order situation would stabilize, the right to self-determination could be granted to Kashmiri individuals under the monitoring of the United Nations. India proceeded, in this way, to make empty claims after examining the issue of Kashmir U.N Security Council on 17 January 1948 passed a resolution.

A commission was set up according to which to bring peace in Kashmir, known as the United Nations Committee for India and Pakistan (UNCIP), As well as for making preparations for a poll in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Mr. Chester W. Nimitz had been selected to head a poll as the moderator, but then again India declined also it was not possible for UNCIP to enforce the scheme. As the Indian offensive in Kashmir had increased by May 1948 Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Army general Douglas Gracey in that era told the Pakistani government that India advances away from the general line (Uri-Poonch-Naoshera) may have serious implications for Pakistan.

¹⁸ . Ishtiaq Ahmad. 'The 1947 Partition of India: A Paradigm for Pathological Politics in India and Pakistan.' *Asian Ethnicity*, London: Routledge, Vol. 3, No. 1, March 2002, pp. 9-28.

Pakistan called its regular Army to protect the boundaries of the state throughout the year, both states kept on the warfare in State of Jammu and Kashmir also no resolution was enforced by UNCIP. However, on 1 January 1949, with the creation of a ceasefire line, the united nation organization brought an end to armed egressions, and both India and Pakistan were asked to fulfill their obligation to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir. The Indian offensive in Kashmir had increased by May 1948; the government of Pakistan was informed about Indian advances beyond the border line (Uri-Poonch-Naoshera) and its serious implications for Pakistan by General Douglas Gracey, Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistani Army at that time, the regular Pakistan Army was called for the defense of state borders. Throughout the year, both countries sustained to fight the war in Kashmir and no resolution came into force by UNCIP.

However, on 1 January 1949, with the creation of a ceasefire line, the United Nations brought an end to armed egressions, and both India and Pakistan were asked to fulfill their obligation to hold a referendum in state of Jammu and Kashmir. The plans like McNaughton Plan and the Dixon Plan of UNCIP calling for a practical solution to the Kashmir problem were failed due to non-cooperative behavior of India moreover India rejected all recommendations of demilitarization of Kashmir For one cause or another. At a meeting of Commonwealth's Prime Ministers in January 1951, after suggestions had been given by Lord Clement Attlee the P.M of UK to recommend India Pakistan Combined Force, Commonwealth's Force and a native force should be made by the Kashmir plebiscite supervisor, another attempt was made to solve the Kashmir problem.

Though Pakistan welcomed these suggestions, India again dismissed them. Frank P. graham was selected in place of the fresh United Nations delegate handling the Kashmir question between Pakistan and India in April 1951, in another attempt. From October 1951 to March 1958, graham submitted six papers, however Indian government did not agree any of those refusing the ceasefire line's position after disarmament also entirely subsequent talks appeared to be in waste.¹⁹ The attainment of Kashmir with India was accepted by the so-called Constituent Assembly of Kashmir in 1954 and a new Indian supported constitution was enforced in 1957 in the state putting Kashmir under India's direct rule. Since that day, India has not ever recognized

¹⁹ K. Sarwar Hasan (Ed.)." Documents on the Foreign Relations of Pakistan: The Kashmir Question," *Karachi: Pakistan Institute of International Affairs*, 1993, p. 52

the autonomous status of Kashmir and not ever gave consideration to the desires of the Muslim population in the state of Kashmir. Dialogues had started between Pakistan and Pakistan in the 1960s, UK and the United State Of America participated as well in the scenario to settle the dispute to speak about the demands of Kashmiri people , but then again every attempt was proved in vain .Afterword the U.N.O had gave up to resolve the matter and asked the both nations to come up with the resolution on their own, which is the reason people of Kashmir are suffering until these days, this problem has become a major point of dispute among Pakistan and India right after partition of India obstructs any kind of progress in their relationship.

Conflict on Evacuee Property

The question of evacuee property was another conflict that occurred between twin countries Pakistan and India in 1947 right after independence. The ruling governments in both countries India and Pakistan faced the double challenge of reconstruction as well as taking care of the lands and resources abandoned by the huge number of people who left, as a huge amount of people moved across the new frontiers and were searching for new homelands for themselves.

A newly formed state Pakistan needed to take the burden of hue number of migrants who came from Eastern part of Pakistan, then few days before the partition date the genocide of Muslims had begun and it was a great problem for Pakistan. On either side, the new government of Pakistan, which was primarily very weak financially and institutionally, also had to take care of Kashmiri migrants?²⁰ In this scenario, Pakistan had to confront major consequences. In the relationship between Pakistan and India on this issue of evacuee land, much unpleasant and aggressive behavior has been shown.

Approximately 5 million Sikh and Hindu refugees left West Pakistan for India, according to one survey, and about 7,900,000²⁶ Muslims departed India and entered Pakistan.²¹ In order to solve this dilemma, several discussions occurred, in any case, with the progression of time, as the outcast migrated consistently in both recently framed nations, the heat on evacuee lands died and both nations never discussed the matter further. Ultimately, in both nations, the evacuee lands were used to rehabilitate migrants who had crossed the other region.

²⁰ Sarah Ansari. '*Life after Partition: Migration, Community and Strife in Sindh (1947-1962)*' London: Oxford University Press, 2005 p. 119.

²¹ Ibid,p,128

The Subject of Finance Distribution

The newly-born state of Pakistan needed substantial and economic support to carry out its business after partition, but the Indian government's inflexible and non-cooperative attitude put Pakistan at a drawback. After division, the interrogation of money was referred for resolution before the Arbitral Tribunal. Even so, mutually two nations decided to the sharing of cash balances in December 1947. The overall financial assets of united India worth to around 4000 million rupees and it was determined that Rs. 750 million would be provided to Pakistan but out of that 750 million, Rs. 200 million were allocated to Pakistan but the Indian government postponed the remaining 550 million on the condition that it would be released after the Kashmir dispute had been resolved. Pakistan was heavily criticized for this illegal action by the Indian government when its finance minister made explanation that it wasn't referenced anywhere in the money dissemination contract between the two nations.

The later progress clearly pressed Indian hostility and inappropriate behavior for Pakistan. Mr. Gandhi was, however, highly worried about the strain in the relationships with Indo-Pakistan, and he persuaded the Indian leaderships and its followers to transfer the remaining sum towards Pakistan in an attempt to alleviate this tension. Pakistan was allocated and remunerated Rs. 500 million through the Indian Reserve Bank on January 17, 1948 and 50 million was not issued again.²² The rage and resentment in Indians over Mr. Gandhi's ideas to give Pakistan its due monetary share increased so much that the anger of Indian elements did not leave even Gandhi and Gandhi was brutally murdered by a member of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sanhi before the month of January was over (RSS). This great violence was shown towards their own leader's soft approach that he was not exempted.

Indian Standing on the Distribution of Military Assets

After independence, Pakistan had to be provided the share of weapons and supplies but Indian leadership, as usual, wanted to lay hurdles in this way too. Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck was given the task of exchanging vehicles, weapons and stocks in a fair manner for Pakistan. Although he once stated to Premier Clement Attlee that Indian conduct had not been accommodating and that it was very hard for newly formed Pakistan to properly receive its quota

²²Joseph B. Schechtman, 'Evacuee Property in India and Pakistan, *Pacific Affairs, Vancouver*.' University of British Columbia, Vol. 24, No. 4, December 1951, p. 406

of military assets.²³ The same happened when the Supreme Command Headquarters was shut down on 30 November 1947, while Pakistan objected this decision, and Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan did not support the shutting, but the decision was made even then Indian Defense Minister Baldev Singh was given a guarantee that India would send Pakistan its full share of military equipment. Afterward, when Pakistan was stripped of its fair share and was totally ignored, the evidence of this guarantee was seen.

Condition of Partnership in Economic Sector

As economic problems started to emerge, greater uncertainty in ties between twin countries India and Pakistan was evident. The principle of separation did not bother to consider the rules on complementarity. West Pakistan had been producing more wheat than required, and India had been supplying the surplus wheat. The case of cotton, which was widely available in West Pakistan and used to provide to Indian factories in Bombay and other regions, was equivalent. Similarly, the areas which eventually had become part of India used to provide West Pakistan with sugar and coal.

The logistical issue faced by West Pakistan was another problem, since major ports, except Karachi, were transferred to India after independence. The issue of economic connection between Western side Pakistan and Eastern part of Pakistan at around 1000 miles from each other has been added to the already complicated economic situation. Absence of good ties with neighboring country India already made hostile atmosphere for Pakistan and created various obstacles to its survival, no level trade was possible between the two far parts of the pre-mature country Pakistan.

After Division, although the two nations agreed to free mobility of products and money for one year, this settlement did not last long, and the government of Pakistan imposed export duty on jute in November 1947, and India also imposed taxes on its goods in exchange. The trade war between the two nation's began and when Britain cheapened the sterling pound by 30.5 percent in September 1949, this issue intensity stopped the trade between two neighbors. Rupee

²³ Das Gupta and Jyoti Bhusan. "Indo Pakistan Relations: 1947-1955," Amsterdam: Djambatan, 1960, p. 46.

was devalued by India, but Pakistan did not, leaving the Indian leadership in greater wonder at how a freshly autonomous region could attempt to resist the pressure of devaluation.²⁴

The outcome of Pakistan's decision was that India's jute and cotton industries were wholly dependent on Pakistan. By halting the supply of coal to Pakistan in December 1949, India also reacted. Trade relations amid in the two countries suffered greatly and for a country such as Pakistan, which had also fighting the war of its stability after liberation to believe the aspirations of the Indian leadership, it was a greater crisis. Nature, fortunately, also desired Pakistan's survival, as market for Pakistan's raw materials like jute and cotton continued to increase when the Korean War (1950-1953) began in 1950 and the economy of Pakistan was protected from collapsing.²⁵ This growth has led both twin countries Pakistan and India to enhance their trade ties with China and other regional and non-regional countries and to widen their markets.

Indus Water Dispute

Another most significant problem right after independence was the distribution and sharing of Indus water. The Indus Basin begins through its water in the Himalayan highlands of Indian Occupied Kashmir through an entire area of around 365,000 Square Miles. Pakistan occupies the largest portion of the Indus Basin, i.e. 217,000 Square Mile in the south of Pakistan's city of Karachi, the water of the Indus Basin streams from the Himalayas, experiencing the landscapes of Punjab and Sindh, developing their immense pieces and gets drained in the Arab Sea.²⁶ The Indus stream Scheme has the Indus River as its principle downpour and Jehlum, Sutlej, Beas, Ravi and Chenab are the fundamental Eastern feeders with a couple of the waterway channels on the western cross of Indus, for example, the Kabul River with its Swat stream feeder.

A great many sections of land of land used to be flooded by waterways in the Indus Basin during the frontier period, delivering the Indus Basin a vigorously developed district on the subcontinent. After partition, Pakistan's entire agricultural economy, with its source in Indian control, was dependent on these waters and Pakistan was in crisis. India, on the additional hand,

²⁴ Javeed Alam. 'Remembering Partition: A Dialogue with Suresh Sharma,' Seminar, No. 461, January 1998, pp. 98-104.

²⁵ Morris-Jones. 'Thirty-Six Years Later: The Mixed Leacies of Mountbatten's Transfer of Power, International Affairs', London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1983, Vol. 59, No. 4, pp. 621-28

²⁶ Uttam Kumar Sinha. 'India and Pakistan: Introspecting the Indus Treaty, Strategic Analysis,' New Delhi: The Institute for Defence Studies & Analyses, Vol. 32, No. 6, November 2008, p. 965

also decided to take advantage of this situation and had its own strategy for the creation of the Indus Basin, so tension emerged between the two. The unitary network of cultivation and irrigation has systematically generated management and sharing problems.

The fear of Pakistan proved true as India stopped the water supply from the two head works under its control on April 1, 1948.³⁹ Immediate plans for negotiating the matter were made by the Pakistani government and a delegation rushed to India. On May 4, 1948, an agreement was signed between the two countries to meet water needs and also under Indian conditions. In the years ahead, attempts were made to reach a lasting resolution of the conflict, but in vain. Until 1951, there was no positive progress on the issue as India, which was determined to solve the problem only bilaterally, did not recognize Pakistan's stance to settle the issue through the International Court of Justice.

Finally, through its president Eugene R. Black, the World Bank intervened to create a body consisting of Indians, Pakistanis and World Bank engineers to speed up the resolution of the problem of Indus Water. All parties to the conflict acknowledged this proposition in 1952. But a comprehensive agreement among President Ayub Khan and Prime Minister Nehru could, on a much later stage, be signed on September 19, 1960. According to the agreement, three main eastern rivers including Ravi, Sutlej and Beas, would be under Indian rule after a period of ten to thirteen years, and three prime western rivers, including Sindh, Jhelum and Chenab, would be in Pakistani control.

A Permanent Committee was also formed under the Treaty to address any potential disputes among the two nations through the possibility of denoting the dispute to a 'neutral expert.' In order to foster peace in the region, the Universal Communal also took excessive concern in the problem and gave economic and mechanical help for the development of replacement works and facilities for the construction of dams and barrages. In order to finance the entire scheme, the Indus Basin Development Fund of almost \$900 million was set up. The whole program was done with extraordinary help from cordial countries, with the United States being the principle given with \$177 million to the asset. India given \$174 million and this water framework program to perhaps the greatest endeavor, with extra financing of \$315 million. From that point forward, the two governments have followed the standards of the deal with now and

again activity from the Indian side and dangers to the monetary strength of Pakistan on occasion also.

In general notwithstanding, the Indus arrangement has assumed a pivotal part in characterizing the two nations' water the executives.²⁷ Most as of late, with the requirement for sure fire goal, the structure of dams, for example, the Bhasha, Kishanana and Balihar has brought the issue back on the front, so the question could take the most exceedingly terrible structure to compound the all-around antagonistic relations between the twin South Asian adjoining nations India and Pakistan.

Development over Kashmir Conflict (1960-65)

The India and Pakistan relations revolved around the emergence and decline of hopes for some settlement of the Kashmir conflict till 1960s, but instead tensions peaked. When border battles broke out between India and China in 1962, the United States and Britain too arbitrated to facilitate the resolution of conflicts between India and Pakistan only to keep India far from the USSR's control. On the other side, India too was involved in negotiations and dialogues with Pakistan primarily to hold its associates anti-China. In the name of efforts for Pakistan India peace, politics of interest were thus played out.

When China and India border conflict halted and India returned to its previous position of no discussion with Pakistan on Kashmir, this absence of goodwill in the part of India was illustrated. On the Kashmir issue, virtually six phases of dialogues took place, but all discussion on Kashmir issue failed to produce any fruitful result. In Pakistan, there was an atmosphere of desperation and dissatisfaction over no positive progress on the Kashmir issue. The Indian attempt to legally maneuver Kashmir in October 1963 was the thin that infuriated the government and public judgment in Pakistan as amendments proposed and made in the Kashmir Constitution by the State Prime Minister Bakhshi hulam Muhammad, of the time, who behaved like a marionette for India. In order to alter the state's status. The designation of president of the state (sadr-e-riyasat) was substituted by that of governor and that of prime minister, with Kashmir only being one of India's states.²⁸

²⁷ Ibid,p,89

²⁸ Ayesha Jalal. ' *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan,* ' London: Cambridge Publishers, 1985, p. 87.

The basis for any dialogue on the disputed territory of Kashmir was shaken by that development. Internally, this decision of the Indian government was opposed by the people of Kashmir and unprecedented protests were observed in all parts of Kashmir and a political movement for Kashmir's independence was launched. In order to curb the Kashmir movement, India used strict measures and resorted to violence against the innocent Kashmiri people.

Pakistan moved to interfere in the matter at the United Nations Security Council and long negotiations took place in February 1964 to settle the dispute, but the Soviet Veto impeded any dispute progress and no substantive steps could be taken by the United Nations Security Council. After Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri became Prime Minister, but his goals differed from the objectives of Nehru. While talks and meetings were held in October 1964 between the leaders of that era Shastri and Ayub Khan, a blow to those discussions was seen when, in December 1964, India extended legislation to the Kashmiri state, providing further evidence of her treachery in negotiations.

The Rann of Kutch Dispute 1956

The region of Rann of Kutch between the province of and Indian State of Gujarat is a low-lying of water logged land running. During the monsoon season, this region suffers from floods. The dispute over the Rann of Kutch between Pakistan and India were not the outbreak of a new war on borders. The origins of this border conflict dated back to the period of pre-independence, while at that time the region stayed controversial among the State of Kutch and the British Province of Sindh at the border in Rann of Kutch, both states had their own stands.

Though Pakistan claimed for the middle of the Rann of Kutch as its boundary but almost the area of around square miles 3,500 was contested overall. Even though this matter was discussed between Pakistan and India after independence in the year 1948 but later on December 1955, in the Rann of Kutch, India declined to accept any claim by Pakistan, and instead India placed its claim on the entire Rann of Kutch. The Indian Armed Forces targeted the border police at Chad Bet in 1956, and clashes began again between the two countries. Due to this inflexible mindset of Indian leadership, any conversations between Pakistan and India were not held until 1960.²⁹ However, Diplomatic stage discussions, were held in January 1960, nonetheless no more

²⁹ Farzana Khan. "The Rann of Kutch Dispute," *Pakistan Horizon, Karachi*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1995, p. 374.

efforts were made to settle the conflict except verbal statements and the armistice was held till the period of 1964.

Indian military entered to establish their position on January 1965 and started violation of border occurred very frequently. Pakistan also sent military to defend its position in response to this action by India and, during April 1965, an actual war broke out between the two armies in the Rann of Kutch district, weakening the ties of both antagonistic countries India and Pakistan condemnatory each other of provoking the dispute. Though Pakistan defeated Indian forces but due to warning of the sticks of Indian President Ayub Khan commanded Pakistan army to not move advance. President Johnson called the official visit of head of the states of both countries India and Pakistan to America .America did not play any role for the peaceful resolution of this conflict.

On the opposite side, the Soviet Union was at that point in support of India and Pakistan was not in a situation to take a risk by sending the Soviet Union's solicitation for intervention. So the last choice left was that of Britain, which then facilitated, and before the formal start of talks, a truce was professed from April 30, 1965. On June 30, 1965 During common wealth conference in London head of states of both countries Ayub khan and Lal Bahadur Shasteri signed a contract to settle down the conflict peacefully by the mediation of United Kingdom. Under the deal, the two countries were given two months to settle the conflict on a bilateral basis at the level of ministers.

In the event of failure to do so, the conflict will immediately be referred to a tribunal formed one representative decided by India and Pakistan each ,one chairman appointed by U.N secretary general and one chairman by both of countries within four month of ceasefire. ³⁰It was decided that no party would reject the tribunal's judgment and before the sound decision, the tribunal would continue to work.

The disagreement between the twin nations did not encourage either party to come closer to resolving the Kutch conflict and finally the matter went to the tribunal's consideration. On February 19, 1969, the tribunal declared its decision in the Rann of Kutch with 350 square miles of territory Pakistan was given the share of 10% in the area of Runn of Kuch whereas India was

³⁰ Lawrence Zirin. "The Rann of Kutch Arbitration, in Masuma Hassan (Ed.), *Pakistan in a Channing World,*' *Pakistan Institute of International Affairs*, 1978, p. 144.

given 90% of the total land. While Pakistan was awarded far less than India, it was pleased with the decision of the tribunal. With 90% of the territory in the Kutch region, India criticized the tribunal's decision and postponed the enforcement of the terms of the decision. With 90% of the territory in the Kutch region, India criticized the tribunal's decision and postponed the enforcement of the terms of the decision. But Pakistan and India signed the last documents with maps on July 4, 1969 to end the Kutch dispute forever.³¹

Despite lesser shares than India, the Kutch's Pakistan side comprised of altitude sockets though the Indian side was sea marshland. The settlement of Runn of Kuch issue opened the door between two neighbors India and Pakistan to resolve the all conflicts peacefully including the major issue of the State of Jammu and Kashmir but both countries could not collaborate in future due to attitude of India. The peaceful resolution of the Kutch dispute was not praised by anybody in India, although the Pakistani side also praised the cooperation and mutual agreement on the matter.

Full Scale War Between India-Pakistan in 1965

The resolution of the Kutch dispute raised anger on the Indian side as the domestic view was flaring up with jingoistic statements. As in that crisis, the US also failed to assist the two sides and remained defensive instead. Both Pakistan and India used the US arms, but the reality was otherwise. Actually The United State of America was the only country that provided the weapon to Pakistan whereas Soviet Union and U.S both provided arms to India. Pakistan was presently blamed by India for using weapon provided by U.S against India.

The United States, alleging had no part in the disagreement between both South Asian countries India and Pakistan, stated a restriction on the arms aid to both countries that acted as a disadvantage to Pakistan because, due to Soviet assistance, India was not harmed. President Johnson also declared the withdrawal of any loans to either country, but as the World Bank Consortium meeting for Pakistan was delayed, Pakistan suffered again. It was, therefore, a period of serious emergency for Pakistan in its relations with India just as with the US, whose choices had massively harmed Pakistan's inclinations.

³¹ Ibid,p,69

Almost about the same time, as India again began its efforts to through the appointment of governor of Kashmir by President of India to assimilate Kashmir in it constitutionally. The position in Kashmir became crucial. When Sheikh Abdullah and his fellows were returning from Hajj after discussing the Kashmir issue with the representatives of Islamic countries were arrested by India along with many activists. The leader of the Awami Action Committee Mirwaiz Muhammad Farooq, in Kashmir, launched a Gandhi-type non-brutal civil rebellion movement on June 5, 1965. India used its armed forces to suppress the movement, but the agitation grew more and even worst.

This condition in Kashmir, which was held by India, had serious outcomes for Kashmir, which was held in Pakistan. The people living across the line of control to help them Pakistani citizens made different efforts.³² Thus, tension increased to the top, whereas Pakistan desired a serious management of the Kashmir issue, instead of taking issue seriously brutal tactics were adopted by India for suppressing Kashmiri sentiments. Indian forces impeded the ceasefire line on May 17, 1965, and seized three Kargil positions, posing a significant danger to Pakistan's security forces. While Indian forces later retreated from the region under UN pressure, the pressure did not stop India from moving across the ceasefire line again later in August. In Kashmir, a war strategy called "Operation Gibraltar" was adopted by Pakistan to neutralize the India threat.

After the peaceful resolution of the Runn of Kuch conflict, President Ayub Khan was not in a favor of the confrontational tactics. To the support of mujahedeen in occupied Kashmir for infiltration the HQ initiate a plan by calling "operation Gibraltar" When Kashmir was attacked by these helpers successfully served as guerrillas in the opposite of Indian military they became successful and the war in Kashmir was increased. The people of Jammu and Kashmir were unaware of this operation and movement of uprising of Pakistan Army so they could not join them. A large area between Poonch and Uri as well as North Kargil region was captured by Indian Army as the result of major counterattack.

The movement of Indian military towards the capital of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Muzaffarabad made the condition very hazardous for Pakistan because these areas were near. Pakistani forces could not sit mutely seeing the Indian offensive and replied to prevent the Indian

³² Abdul Sattar. Pakistan's Foreign Policy (1947-2005): A Concise History, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007 p45

hostility “by crossing the ceasefire line and occupying” the Jammu Bhimber sector's Chamb area posts. Pakistan Army occupied the Jammu Bhimber sector in Chumb area post by crossing the cease fire line. On August 5, 1965 under the command of Major general Ather Malik the war took another serious mode when the arm forces of Pakistan marched to Ankoor that was the point which were linking Punch and Sarinager with the region of Jammu.³³

In 1965 India was the country that initiate the war in air through its Air Force as the result Pakistan put its air forces in the war as counter attack as the result, India chose to cross the international frontier and Indian forces invaded West Pakistan on September 6, 1965, with the intention of capturing Lahore, 20 miles from the Indian side. Although the Indian forces did not officially declare war, the renowned actions of the Pakistani military, air force, and navy eliminated the Indian threat. The Pakistani Air Force shot down twenty-five Indian aircraft, with the loss of nineteen of its own. Acts of courage were also displayed by the continent in East Pakistan.

The Dawaka Naval base that was 200 miles away from Karachi was assaulted by Pakistan Navy and almost 100 ships were seized by it. The major confrontation between the two sides on 9 September 1965 took place in Sialkot and then in the region of Chavinda. On September 4, 1965, and on September 6, 1965, the United Nations approved its first resolution requesting for the removal of all powers on both sides and the establishing of a ceasefire. These resolutions did not accept Pakistan's demand for a fair and equitable resolution of the Kashmir dispute. Finally, on September 20, 1965, the resolution was adopted by the UN Security Council and was sanctioned by Pakistan and India on September 22 and not only did this resolution call for a truce, but it also vowed to decide the Kashmir question in a fair way. With no loser and no winner, this war ended in stalemate.³⁴

After the war 1965 UN security council realized the need of solution of all conflicts between Pakistan and India including dispute alone with the ceasefire between both South Asian twins because these conflicts can be the reason of Kashmir more wars in future on 27 August 1965 Pakistan condemn the violent behavior of India of India along with China's border. By condemning Indian violent behavior along China's border on August 27, 1965, China extended

³³ Denis Wright. ‘*Indo–Pakistan Relations: 1962-69*,’ Lahore: Vanguard, 1989,

³⁴ Summit Gangly.’ ‘Avoiding War in Kashmir, Foreign Affairs,’ *New York: Council on Foreign Relations*, Vol. 69, No. 5, Winter 1990-91, pp. 57-73.

aid to Pakistan yet again on September 8, the Indian government has been cautioned against its activities along the borders of China and finally, on September 9, China warned India about the severe implications of violent actions which was the gravity of the problem was felt by the world community and the UN Security Council and the firmness was felt by the UN promise to solving the issue of Kashmir , partly because of the scarcity of weapons and ammunition that did not allow the powers to take more risks.

Though with the influence of international powers and United Nations the war between India and Pakistan ended but again both countries stayed on the road of cold war. The US remain silent as well as impartial on this occasion. On July 1961 and November 1962 joint agreement had been signed between Pakistan and America but during the war of 1965 US did not provide any financial aid or moral support to Pakistan. Although Pakistan was US allied during cold war and had the status of most allied ally. All muslim countries along with Turkey Iran and in many East Asian countries showed their full moral and financial support to Pakistan during the war against to India. On 2nd September 1965 Pakistan trusted and approved resolution of the united nation cease fire but the United Nation Security Council resolution regarding the solution of Kashmir conflict had never been enforced.

Post-War Progresses and Tashkent Declaration

The time between Pakistan and India was also very tense after the 1965 war. The prospect of a negotiated resolution of the Kashmir conflict by the United Nations Security Council has already been relegated to the past, with both the United States of America and United Kingdom refusing to take any steps in that regard. On the other side, due to the Indian aggression across the ceasefire line, the situation in Kashmir was getting more and more severe. It was a very dangerous state (Tashkent Declaration, 2003) that could again drag the two countries into a warlike scenario. On September 4, 1965, the first invitation came from the Soviet Union, which was revived on September 17, 1965. One explanation for the purpose invitation of the Soviet Union was her conviction that if China support with Pakistan in the war, then the US would certainly join India and, in that case, the Soviet Union's position and presence would not be anywhere in South Asia.³⁵ This was the prime reason that the Soviet leadership forced the two twin nations to fix their issues. Firstly, due to the deep-rooted understanding between India and the Soviet Union, Pakistan did not take any active interest in the Soviet bid, but saw the UN's passive position.

³⁵ Tariq Ali. '*Can Pakistan Survive?*', New York: Random House, 1984, p. 56.

Pakistan agreed to take advantage of that invitation for, at least, the settlement of the Kashmir conflict by the Security Council and the US and other allies, and acknowledged the Soviet position on 11 November 1965. It is also worth mentioning here that Pakistan demonstrated its plan to complete the Badaber lease during president Ayub Khan's official visit to the Soviet Union in the previous year, so that the Soviet government had formed a clear picture of Pakistan's commitment. However, India postponed its reaction. An agreement was issued by the Soviet government at the start of 1965, December to take in negotiations of the heads of government of both twin countries Pakistan and India and during, 4 January 1966.

The Tashkent Declaration showed some success in the so-called commitments to eradicate hostilities between Pakistan and India. This conference held from 4-10, January 1966 and offered for the release of the detainees of war, the powers to be reserved before 5 August 1965, the return of the high officials to their high committees and the sustained process of discussions and meetings to address the differences between twin countries Pakistan and India. The traditional inflexible attitude remained very much there in the later advancements in Pakistan-India ties, in spite of all these supplies in the historical Tashkent Declaration, due to India's inflexible narrative on the Kashmir issue, which, as per the claim of Indian leadership, was now internal part of Indian inside policy and rejected any cooperation and intrusion on that issue by Pakistan or any country.

Although the Tashkent Declaration did not lead to any main advancement in Pakistan-India, it was a good fortuitous for Pakistan to wear down Soviet-India relationships to a greater degree because the Soviet Union now had a lenient attitude toward Pakistan that was obvious from Pakistan's amplified Soviet economic and military aid in almost same quantity as in India. In addition, the Soviet Union also removed its previous backing for Afghanistan on the Pakhtunistan issue, which was damaging to the position of Pakistan on that issue.

The Soviet Union also stabilized its diplomatic position in the South Asian region, which has stayed under the control of the United Kingdom or the United States since its partition. Although the Soviet leadership struggled to resolve a very tricky South Asian problem, i.e. It also stabilized its effect in the global round through the Tashkent Declaration, as was apparent from the Soviet efforts to exposed the deadbolt that had no key at all, Pakistan-India hostility through the Tashkent Declaration, as was manifest from the Soviet struggle to open the lock that had no

key at all but whatever was the instance, the Soviet leadership took no protective ladders to ward off the volcano that was again to shatter Pakistan was also able to level its relationship with the three world powers at that time, the US, China and the Soviet Union.

As far as Chinese position was concerned, at that time China did not resist anything and supported Pakistan, but expressed its concern about Pakistan's Soviet soft position and measured it to be propaganda by both the US and the Soviet Union to move Pakistan's attention from China at one of the conferences held in Beijing in July 1966, The Tashkent Agreement was called a very unfavorable development in regional politics by Chinese leaders and considered it an attempt to use Pakistan-India closer relations to tackle China under the garb of peaceful resolution of all Pakistan-India conflicts.³⁶ However, during the period and even afterwards, the relations between Pakistan and China did not suffer at any level since the basis of this relationship was powerful enough to respect each other's international and national position and sustainability.

The Second Period (1967-1989)

Underneath the Tashkent Agreement, twin countries and the citizens of Kashmir agreed to resolve the Kashmir conflict. As part of the Tashkent Declaration, Pakistan and India were additionally approached to keep up adhering for a more effective relationship indispensable to local achievement. Despite all these reassuring remarks, the stalemate continued, with the omission of only one occasion when, on 1 and 2 March 1966, a discussion of foreign ministers was held in Rawalpindi. Although the joint statement released at the end of the meeting stated that the two sides agreed to promote peace in the future, the object of the meetings was also attended by the conference itself, as both Pakistan and India offered several motives for holding those meetings. As far as the Pakistani side was apprehensive, in the bilateral meetings, the Pakistani government was extremely eager to tackle the Kashmir issue on a primary basis, but the Indian side asserted that the Kashmir issue was India's internal issue, calling Kashmir an internal part of India.

The Progress in Pakistan India Relation and its Effect on Their Bilateral Ties

³⁶ Mohammad Jamil. "View: Pakistan to look Eastwards", *Daily Times, Lahore*, February 01, 2011.

The conflict over Kashmir remained to stir the rounds of any expansion in relations between both countries, as it was unresolved. Indian and Kashmiri leaders have frequently declined to substantiate the possibility of the Kashmiri people being granted the right to self-determination. As part of general election in India in Feb 1967 the elections also held in occupied Jammu and Kashmir. However, as press freedom was forbidden in Kashmir, these elections were not centered on equal and democratic values. Legal constraints were enforced on many of society's main opinion circles. In addition, the elections were also rejected by a major "Plebiscite Front" group that for the people of Jammu and Kashmir was at the vanguard of the right of self-determination.³⁷

In January 1968 India lifted the state of emergency from the Kashmir that was imposed during the India china border war on October 26, 1962 as well as frees the numerous detainees who had been arrested during that conflict. The important leader of a political party national conference sheikh Muhammad Abdullah had been released as well.³⁸ Immediately, after his release, under the pretext that he had been arrested earlier, he began his free Kashmir movement again Sheikh Abdullah was not only the most popular leader among masses but also was the strong advocate of the plebiscite in Kashmir as well as seeking Kashmiri rights either by creating or entering Pakistan as a separate state of Kashmir, but not as part of the Indian state. Who constantly called the leadership of Kashmir, Pakistan as well as India again and again for round table conference from the leadership of India and Pakistan he urged to solve the issue of Kashmir peacefully. But, in not recognizing their demand, India was unwavering. "The Indian leadership made several statements reminding Pakistan of Kashmir as being part of India and not allowing any discussions with Pakistan that could shift Kashmir's status to anything other than an integral part of India."

Sheikh Abdullah was barred from visiting his home town in January 1871 by India as well as the order for arrest of impotent leader of plebiscite front was issued by Indian government.³⁹ The explanation for this severe act was that the Indian government would not be able to impose its proposals in Kashmir if the Plebiscite Front contested the elections and would not be able to win. The incident of Indian plane hijacking by the some members of Kashmir liberation front and celebration

³⁷ Khaled Ahmed. "Pakistan's Foreign Policy after the Cold War: Coping with Ideology and Isolation, World Affairs," *Washington D.C: American Peace Society*, Vol. 3, No. 1, January-March, 1999, pp. 43- 45

³⁸ *Ibid*,p,51

³⁹ Khaled Ahmed. "Pakistan's Foreign Policy after the Cold War: Coping with Ideology and Isolation, World Affairs," *Washington D.C: American Peace Society*, Vol. 3, No. 1, January-March, 1999

of Kashmiri people on the victory of Pakistan against India sure that Kashmiri people not only fully support to Pakistan but also consider it as their own country.

One More Water Dispute

The water flow from the river Ganges was another major issue w that Pakistan and India struggled to settle down in the 1960s. In fact in 1951, when Pakistan first became conscious of the Indian strategy to make “a barrage across the Ganges River at a site known as Farakka, just a dozen miles from the point where the Ganges River enters Pakistan” this quarrel started. The construction of this dam was also detrimental for Pakistan's economy as India's initiative was meant to improve the routing infrastructure in the Port of Kolkata (old 'Calcutta') as well as to provide the city with water while at the same time improving hygiene and transmission connections.

These motives of Indian were not advantageous to country of Pakistan since the alteration of water from the Pakistani areas to India would put Pakistan's entire economy at greater stake. Since the accessibility of water in Pakistani areas would be restricted, so many programs and projects linked to agriculture could not be implemented and would be greatly altered. Similarly, the building of barrages could deliver India with regulation over the waters of the Ganges, which could stop or reduce the river water that could cause droughts and the devastation of agricultural lands, particularly in East Pakistan, and, on the other hand, levitation the flow of water in the Pakistani regions would cause floods in East Pakistan as the channel would become weary and the lack of water drainage in East Pakistan.

1971 War and Tensions between Pakistan and India The year 1971 proved to be deadly for relations between Pakistan and India. Pakistan, on the one hand, was battling a political battle for Kashmir's independence that had already damaged the two countries' ties. On the other hand, when the East Pakistan issue surfaced, Pakistan confronted an internal holocaust. Soon after independence, East Pakistan established alterations with the policies of the Centre.⁴⁰ While the majority were Muslims in East Pakistan and committedly battled the war for themselves of a separate homeland, their objections for independence and rights were not always met in the years after liberation.

⁴⁰ Tanzeema and I. M. Faisal. “Sharing the agnes: A Critical Analysis of the Water Sharing Treaties, Water Policy,” *Marseille (France): World Water Council*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2001, p. 13

The issue of a long distance of one thousand miles between the two branches of Pakistan and the Indian state between the two was added to the problem. When the alterations between the two parts were reinforced with the Indian contribution in Pakistan's internal affairs, Eastern Pakistan favored to gain freedom rather than continue part of Pakistan. A sense of poverty among the citizens of East Pakistan was caused by the language issue, a lack of sense of participation in administration matters, its place of seclusion throughout the 1965 war and a lack of self-defense ability.

Sheikh Mujibur Rehman elevated 'Six Points' in March 1966, declaring for the delivery of independence sendoff the midpoint exclusively to transaction with defense and foreign affairs as the Ayub Khan administration was extremely federal, this request for East Pakistan's independence was taken as equivalent to the secessionist drive East Pakistan's leadership was exposed to suppression as it was apparent to be a thoughtful move concerning the disintegration of Pakistan, but the demand and unwillingness of the East Pakistanis, on the other hand, was not without material, as a state in parental care was always planned. India saw a chance to leap into the war not for solution, but for the deterioration of the previously flaring dilemma and prompted from central point sentiments among the citizens of East Pakistan, taking benefit of this condition.

A hurricane struck East Pakistan in November 1970, sinking and killing millions of people. West Pakistan was again blamed with ignoring its obligations to East Pakistan. The December 1970 elections, proved the last nail in the coffin as in that vary election Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League arose as the main political party to form the government, and the Pakistan People's Party arose as the second largest party. After the remarkable win, the postponement on West Pakistan's part in recognizing East Pakistan as the bearer of legislative power made the leadership of East Pakistan more inflexible and they began looking for a federation formation.

All the negotiations broke down and a military embargo against the secessionist elements in former East Pakistan was started on March 25, 1971. India saw this situation as a chance to break down Pakistan, the condition ot worse with the every passing day. This was the ideal time for India to use it against Pakistan. India stead a plane seizure tragedy and Pakistan was alleged of stealing, the reality of which was later discovered and Indian intentions were taken to the

facade. But India, instead, pursued its evil proposals to harm Pakistan's status.⁴¹ Indian strategies shifted at a greater speed after Yahya Khan ordered the launch of actions in East Pakistan. India's border armies started to move inside East Pakistan and offered the East Pakistanis with full ethical and material support, initiating them anti West Pakistan and its policies. Military capabilities were offered and an insurgent force named 'MuktiBahini' was formed, which was completely schooled in guerrilla warfare. All these were direct proof of open and secret Indian designs against their neighbor.

The Indian and USSR alliance accord of August 9, 1971 also offered India with a robust chance to get assistance and provision from the Soviet Union in the war, since the Soviet Union needed a refusal power in the United Nations that could save India on that front, and the superpower protection was more than adequate for India to plan for better war actions. It was not a very good time in Pakistan's chronicle when the nation was separated into two fragments. The meeting between Indira Gandhi and President Nixon on November 4-5, 1971 was, in actuality, a substantial incident in the perception that Nixon realized the Indian layouts against Pakistan where presumably India was proclaiming ceasefire and order and the purposes were not clear with mood of war and that was what happened later when, with the complete help of 'MuktiBahini', India started nonstop armed action from 21-25 November 1971.⁴²

Pakistan asked the USA to intervene, but at that time the USA did not come to Pakistan's support, despite knowing the actual condition India had created. Pakistan's administration ordered a crackdown across the border from West Pakistan on December 3, 1971. Pakistan's so-called cruelties were assumed a bier room for forecast, but Indian guidelines and strategies were not carried to the front. Witnessing the seriousness of the condition, the UN tried to pass a truce resolution, but despite the intense vote by the globe community for a ceasefire, India never worked on any of them. This war resulted on December 17, 1971, when, under Soviet and US pressure, India presented an absolute settlement and the Pakistani forces retreated.

Headed for Regularizing Relations

The 1972 Shimla Agreement The 1971 war created a very uncertain state of affairs that delayed any additional improvement on the matters for both Pakistan and India. To normalize

⁴¹ Jamshed Ayaz Khan. "Reflection on Matters of War and Peace", *Islamabad: Panrapics Ltd*, 2003, p. 55.

⁴² *Ibid*, 59

the relation between India and Pakistan there was no step was taken by any global agency after the announcement of the ceasefire on December 17, 1971, nor the leaders of the two countries took any initiative in this path. Eventually, Minister D. P. Dhar of the Indian Union approached to Islamabad to discuss the issues in complexity and the process for advancing bilateral talks, and a meeting held in Murree from 26-29 April 1972. During the period of some positive change in the relations between Pakistan and India, this meeting did not prove successful and, instead, the status quo continued. India and Pakistan both wanted to implement their own conditions to pursue peace process and it was the basic hurdle to continue these talks further. The framework for further dialogue could not be decided in Muree meeting.⁴³

However the Shimla conference in June 1972 could be called slight move to normalize relation between both countries after the war of 1971 a wide gulf was clearly formulated between both India and Pakistan due to this very reason Shimla meeting could not be called very effective in itself. As voiced in the summaries prepared by both countries for the talks, the very first round of discussions was tarnished by uncertainty and confusion. The difference amid Pakistan's and India's styles as post 1971 war condition and difficulties were the main focus of Pakistan on the other hand Indian side was more vigilant about the solution of Kashmir issue on her own term and conditions.⁴⁴ Again it was the greatest hurdle that ruined every important development between both countries since beginning. Pakistan did not voice its interest in the second plan submitted by India because that, too, was not a safe idea to be offered.

The development at the Shimla Conference could be called great success for any of the country either Pakistan or India. It can be said that during Shimla conference both countries India and Pakistan used words and signals in such a way that it seemed a playful action of envoys between two nations. In the beginning the trial of some of convicts of war was demanded by Bangladesh but Dhaka and New Delhi realized after two years that it was useless to carry the prisoners and that was the reason Pakistani prisoners were freed in September 1973, except for 195 that had been held for trial on war crime charges⁴⁵. In addition to pressurize Pakistan Indian leadership used the problem of detainees of war to accept its term for discussion.

⁴³ Abdul Sattar. *Pakistan's Foreign Policy (1947-2005): A Concise History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 189.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 192-200

⁴⁵ Feroz Hassan Khan. "The Independence-Dependence Paradox: Stability Dilemmas in South Asia, Arms Control Today," *Washington D.C: Arms Control Association*, October 2003, p. 15.

Although in the post war era the Shimla can be called extra ordinary advancement in the relation between Pakistan and India but fact is that the conference could not be called a great development. Infact the situation after the war have chance to India to take advantage of whole scenario and exploit Pakistan on various matters Pakistan was compelled to recognize Bangladesh as well as India proposes to legitimize its occupation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

In addition to pressurize Pakistan Indian leadership used the problem of detainees of war to accept its term for discussion. It was also accept by Pakistan to move “bengalines” from is country as well “Pakistanis” from “Bangladesh” 195 remaining prisoners were also released. After the disintegration of East Pakistan China support Pakistan morally as well as financially. It was the matter of great concern for Bangladesh because China avoid Bangladesh entry to United Nation by using its veto power. In addition many countries demanded Bangladesh to withdraw its determination to withdraw its detainees after the Islamic Summit in Lahore in 1974 it was also a good sign for Pakistan. Later on Pakistan recognize Bangladesh and cooperation between both countries was started. In Shimla session India tried to fulfill its demands by pressurizing Pakistan but Pakistan did not let India to take advantage of the situation.

Soviet Attack on Afghanistan and Pakistan-India Relations

The latest events generated by the Soviet attack on Afghanistan in December 1980 were another major blow to the relations between Pakistan and India. In the whole decade of the 1980s and early 1990s. Due to Cold War between two major powers of world Soviet Union and United States of America Afghanistan turns out to be a battleground for both countries due to this battle, with excessive results for Pakistan India relations, South Asia was severely shaken. India and Soviet Union signed a treaty called 'Friendship Treaty' in 1971. After this agreement the relation between both countries became more cordial and during Soviet attack on Afghanistan India backed the Soviet Union. This disastrous condition also divided Pakistan's and India's ways diplomatically.

During Soviet attack on Afghanistan there was no distinguished popular disapproval was observed by India. Pakistan played the role of mediator between Afghan groups and the united State of America and due to this role the position of Pakistan became very critical in this scenario. The Taliban issue not only created tricky position for Pakistan but also Pakistan

changed the objectives of its foreign policy. India preserved good ties with Afghanistan and quietly backed from the Soviet Union during that time, while not sending off a good foundation for contact as well as support with the United States and still disapproving the monetary and political support of the United States to Pakistan for managing with the Soviet war in Afghanistan. India has expressed its uneasiness that Pakistan could be passing on to any hostile move against India with United States military and economic support.⁴⁶ The easy way to normalize the relation between both south Asian twins could not be adopted due to the pessimistic mindset of India and to Pakistan and some external factors also played vital role in this regard.

Siachen Clash

One of the most critical problems that created hurdles to a softening ties between twin countries Pakistan and India was the Siachen conflict. Siachen one of the ranges of Karakoram, situated in the northern areas at altitudes of about 5,000 meters or more. This glacier lies across part of Baltistan, and in 1947 Kashmir's Maharaja was ruled by the inhabitants of this area. This region has been contested between Pakistan and India since independence, and both states involved in the Winter War to seize the most beneficial position of the mountain. On both sides, this conflict has resulted in numerous human and material casualties.

Due to the factors of inaccessibility and inhospitality of this region, this region was not influenced by the three wars between Pakistan and India. Nevertheless, after independence, many attempts were made to solve this issue, but in vain. One of the underlying moves toward this path was taken on 27 July 1949, when, under the supervision of the United Nations group for Pakistan and India, the military representatives of India and Pakistan met and agreed on the issue of the truce line in Siachen. The line was considered in this sympathetic by way of 'Chalunka (on the Shyok River), Khor, and however looked on the guide, the line ended at NJ 9842 for example around 60 miles south of the Karakoram water bowl Up to Karakoram Pass, Pakistan practiced force, however in the year 1962 afterwards Pakistan -China Contract, New Delhi begins toward

⁴⁶ Feroz Hassan Khan. "The Independence-Dependence Paradox: Stability Dilemmas in South Asia, Arms Control Today," *Washington D.C: Arms Control Association*, October 2003, p.22

advancing its concern about the border territories that Jammu and Kashmir were vital for toward the west.⁴⁷

Although the people oin for mountain treks in that region were given permits from Pakistan, India was steadfast in its place. There was no revolution in the 1960s and 1970s to address this crisis. By sending marches, in early 1980s India not only started to break the boundaries of the glaciated region by sending it forces but also challenged the conditions of the Shimla Agreement, which claimed that the condition is not separately changed. Pakistan also sent its delegation to examine the condition in order to prevent further development of the Indian armies. Since then, both nations have been involved in battle on the world's highest battlefield.

In 1989, due to the back-channel political efforts by Prime Ministers Rajiv Gandhi and Prime Ministers Benazir Bhutto an agreement was signed between both countries was a olden chance to create an eventual resolution to the Siachen crisis. On June 17, 1989 after a meeting was held between the Secretaries of Defense of both countries a joint statement was released. This joint declaration summarized the India and Pakistan' promise to lessen the armed clashes as well as the advancement made on potential roles in the region with a view to the 1972 Simla Agreement consultations.⁴⁸

But later on, by creating fresh concerns from India, as she was called for a political role in the region as opposed to the situation prior to 1984, the matter became murky. Since the line of control in the conflicting region as requested by India could not be drawn, this has completely stalled the matter and laid the peace efforts in messes. It was the matter of priority for both countries India and Pakistan to resolve this matter because of the military presence and use of arms/ammunition, the region is at serious risk from an ecological point of view.

Scheme of Kahuta Attack 1984

As Pakistani officials found comprehensive intelligence by the assistance of allied nations regarding the India's plan to destroy nuclear capabilities of Pakistan by striking Kahuta with the Israeli or Soviet aid, India-Pakistan relations took a substantial blow. This study was also substantiated by informants in the United States. The U.S. ribbed the lead in checking the

⁴⁷ Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. "Kashmir, India and Pakistan, Foreign Affairs", *New York: Council on Foreign Relations*, No. 43, April 1965, p. 532.

⁴⁸ Tariq Mahmood. "Siachin Dispute and Status of Northern Areas," *Defence Journal, Karachi*, Vol. 19, Nos. 5-6, 1993, p. 21.

report on the truth of the data from Tel Aviv and later told the Pakistani government officials about the untruth of the facts. Pakistan also notified the Indian leadership of the disastrous effects of such an attack on Pakistan as a defending approach that could be labeled an action of overt hostility.⁴⁹ The two of South Asian twins India and Pakistan made a settlement with each other in coming year that there will no action of aggression will done by them on their nuclear sites and in 1988 an agreement was signed by both of them officially. The fear of aggression from Indian side to Pakistan on its nuclear sites was subsided after the agreement.

The Brass tacks Indian Military Exercise in 1986-87

The only incident ever since 1971 that caused both Pakistan and India to the verge of conflict was the period of disaster created in the 1986-87 winter. in Western Rajasthan under the Indian pretext of so-called military exercises. These joint Indian armed forces military drills had the code name "Brasstacks, comparable in scale to the NATO and Warsaw Pact exercises." The drills used heavy artillery and armed assets. India was expected to notify Pakistan before performing any such exercises. The agreement reached between the two parties.

But the head of the Indian army won't report the scale and location of the operation to his Pakistani counterpart. It was attempted however a generous test as this activity seemed to be going to start only fifty miles from the Pakistani boundary, allowing forces to cut off Northern Pakistan's southern sement. Albeit the HQ in Pakistan asked India in this regard, no consideration was paid to that. Eventually, at the November 1986 SAARC culmination, Pakistani Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo met with Rajiv Gandhi and talked about the issue.⁵⁰ Although India fulfilled its comment to reduce its operation on the border but it did proved beneficial for Pakistan.

On January 1987 the arm forces positioned on high alert by India and Pakistan, the crisis escalated. India requested Pakistan to take out its forces and Pakistan also requested India to eliminate the reason for Pakistan's concern. During the entire crisis time, Pakistan's defense team continued to join in intense talks and held an emergency meeting on 20 January 1987, attempting to spread the tensions. In addition, Rajiv Gandhi was also called by Pakistani Prime Minister

⁴⁹ New York Times, September 15, 1984.

⁵⁰ Zulfikar Ali Khan. '' *Pakistan's Security: The Challenge and the Response, Lahore:* '' Progressive Publishers, 1988, p. 8-9.

Junejo and requested him to assemble a summit of foreign secretaries to discuss the contested matter.

On February 4, 1987, an agreement was reached as a result of the dialogue at this state, and the powers of both countries were withdrawn to a place of peace time. In order to avoid any more conflict in this regard, on 6 April 1991, the "Agreement on the Advance Notice of the Movement of Military Exercises, Maneuvers and Troops" and the "Agreement on the Prevention of Airspace Violations and the Allowance of Military Aircraft Over flights and Landings" were also reached between the two countries, which made it obligatory for both countries to notify each other of any operations. In reality, it was well said by a prominent Pakistani scholar Abdur Sattar about the Brasstacks exercise that it was not only a military training to check the skills of Indian forces but also it was an attempt to weaken Pakistan under the using of armed training.⁵¹

The Indian Standpoint on Pakistan's Rejoining Commonwealth

A significant process of defining the Indian welcoming approach to Pakistan came when the latter decided to re-enter the Commonwealth. Because of the inactive part of Britain in the calamity of 1971, Pakistan had withdrawn from the forum, and. Pakistan agreed to rejoin the government of Pakistan tried to show the actual picture of the critical situation inside the country. Pakistan agreed to rejoin theorization when Zia-ul-Haque came into power. Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has repeatedly objected to Pakistan's re-entry into the Commonwealth. Rajiv Gandhi also followed the orders of his mother and did not accept the re-entry of Pakistan into the Commonwealth.

The fact that Pakistan was run by a tyrant made this thin his point of opposition. This allocation was not based on any rational point, since India continued to reject the rejoining of the Common wealth by Pakistan after the 1985 elections. If Pakistan's decision to leave the Commonwealth was hasty, it can be argued that her decision to rejoin it was also immature.⁵² Before withdrawn from the Commonwealth, Pakistan should have thought twice. This event was a blow to relations between the two Nations because there was no good faith in Indian opposition to the entry of Pakistan and this has had a somewhat negative impact on the two countries' foreign relations.

⁵¹ Ibid,p15-16

⁵² Mehnaz Isphani.' Pakistan: Dimensions of Insecurity,' *Adelphi Papers, London: International Institute for Strateic Studies (IISS)*, No. 246, Winter 1989/90, p. 36.

Unproductive Discussions about the Sir Clash of Sir Creek

Sir creek was one of the conflict that spoiled the whole encouraging efforts made by India and Pakistan to normalize their relations it could be called a dilemma or main optical in the way of peace and reduction of hostility between two countries. In the area of Run of Kuch on the west part of Indo-Pak border line Sir Creek is situated. The Arbitrational tribunal settled the issue of Run of Kuch between India and Pakistan in the year 1969, but it was not considered important by the arbitrational consider it necessary at that time to take up the 100 km rough spell of the Sir Creek issue, as a resolution declaring on the map of Sir Creek was drawn by the British Indian government had already decided this issue in 1914. On the time of Issue of Run of Kuch either India or Pakistan did not showed their reservations regarding the issue of sir creek in 1969 in front tribunal.

The government of India raised their objections over the area of Sir Creek after perceiving the opportunities of the maritime resources. India called for the border of the region to run in the middle of Sir Creek and, on the Indian side, declared Sir Creek and argued that the channel was navigable in order to seriously consider the border in that zone.⁵³ That region was an important economic zone for Pakistan, and it seemed that Indian goals were to kill that area and reduce Pakistan's scale.

The British demarcation settlement of 1914 of the territory was completely rejected by India. The Surveyors general In May 1989, the two countries met to settle conflict, but unable to settle conflicts and this situation continued to loom breathes of underprivileged fishermen on both sides who were trapped on the charge of trespassing for long time. By firing down an unarmed Pakistani aircraft and killing all the crew members on the spot, India made a tough move.

The Third Period(1990-1998)

The relationship did not change in the 1990s, and instead the tension between the two countries deteriorated. Regional and global politics have dominated the topics of armament and nuclearization. South Asia was the object of concern because the aggressive mentality and age-old diversity between Pakistan and India made them more likely to achieve nuclear status. The stability of the entire region could be at higher risk in the event of an escalated

⁵³ Rashid Ahmed Khan. "Sir Creek: The Origin and Development of the Dispute between Pakistan and India." *Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI)*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2007, p. 1

arms race between the two nations, and that was actually what happened. With many other problems surrounding them, the entire 1990s revolved around a growing armament race between the two nations. Those problems and tensions that have further escalated the already strained situation can be discussed as.

Rising Arm Movement in the Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir

The Kashmiri struggle for independence faced a new front in the 1990s. Islam was regarded as the greatest power to counter the challenge of Soviet expansionism towards warm waters before the disintegration of the Soviet Union. However, after the Soviet fall, the major powers have transformed policies and began to project Islam as the greatest threat to the trends of modernization in Europe and the world as a whole. On the other hand, India, which had already been in search of an opportunity to declare the struggle of Kashmir and Pakistan's support illegal, had another golden opportunity to take the situation into its own hands.

A negative projection was given to the idea of Islamic fundamentalism what's more, India started to check the Kashmiri opportunity development as psychological warfare and assembled global assessment against Pakistan such a lot of that the US genuinely considered putting Pakistan on the rundown of fear among states. India. Undoubtedly. Disregarding pronouncing Kashmir's political window open, the extraordinary utilization of weapons never followed up on and proceeded.⁵⁴ Therefore, the leaders of Kashmir sustained their support for the armed struggle. To the assistance of their Kashmiri brethren, numerous Afghan Mujahidin and members of some Islamic organizations joined the Indian held Kashmir.

India-Pakistan Strained Relation Heading Towards War (1990s)

There have been reports of Indian military plans to attack Pakistan as the situation in Kashmir has become more urgent. This evidence becomes serious that both sides examined it and expressed concerns about the potential for a nuclear confrontation amid the two South Asian states. Even though it became essential for United States of America to intervene in the scenario as well as to send Pakistan and India to its deputy national security adviser, Robert states. After extensive consultations with officials in both countries, there was no risk

⁵⁴ S. M. Burke and Lawrence Zirin. "Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Historical Analysis," Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 26-28.

of any sort in the reports prepared by the U.S. Senate. Back then, in any case, antiquarians and political experts pondered the local circumstance so that there was unquestionably a likelihood of some critical territorial destabilization that uncovered the soundness of both the nations and United States, in any case the issue could be left to be settled at the appointed time of time

Indian Actions after Pakistan's Consular Mission in Mumbai

In 1992, Pakistan dispatched its consular staff to open its Mumbai office. While staying at the hotel, Pakistani staff was greatly irritated by the Indian intelligence staff. So many obstacles were established in the manner of Pakistani official functions in India that Pakistan closed its office in Mumbai in March 1994. On the other hand, the Indian consulate in Pakistan continued its work.⁵⁵ Though Pakistani intelligence was well aware of the activities of Indian personnel, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not have a large number of Indian personnel serving in Pakistan.

Restarting Discussion and the Transformation Towards Cooperation

When the foreign secretaries of Pakistan and India began addressing bilateral issues in February 1997, a change in the regional tense atmosphere was felt. It was hoped that the dialogue, suspended in 1994, would go forward, by new optimistic changes. Pakistan stressed the settlement of the Kashmir problem; however India emphasis on some other issues, especially tourism, trade and economic ties between both nations. In May 1997, the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan saw each other in Male (Maldives), but then Prime Minister of India I.K Gujral said that his marginal government did not have mandate bring major policy shift towards Pakistan .

Pakistan emphasized the rave of public sentiment within the country and did not change its position on the issue of Kashmir. During that period Kashmiri leadership started protest in Kashmir to clarify to the world that without the presence of Kashmiris Pakistan and India could not solve the Kashmir problem and remove the strains in South Asia that had generated the possibility of atomic conflict in two neighbors Pakistan and India.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Tahir Hasnain Naqvi. "The Politics of Commensuration: The Violence of Partition and the Making of the Pakistani State," *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol. 20, Nos. 1-2, March-June, 2007, p. 44

⁵⁶ Ibid, p48

Such attempts to address the contested matters were more advanced at the point while on June 1997 secretaries of foreign affair of both countries India and Pakistan see each other in the capital city of Pakistan Islamabad in June 1997 and decided to organize functioning gatherings between two nations on all the antagonistic issues. After 3 months Pakistan prime Minister and India also saw each other in New York on UN summit and transformed their pledge to step up struggles to tackle disputes and to reinforce cooperation in all possible areas. More warmth has been added to the desire for regional peace and security by the renewed struggles to bring peace and prosperity into the future.

The effect of 1998 Nuclear Test on India-Pakistan Bilateral dialogues

On May 11 and 13, 1998 shocking development took place after several atomic blast conducted by India. It remained the biggest development in South Asian region as well as a challenge towards Pakistan's economy and defense. Pakistan was facing extremely serious condition now. If Pakistan carries out atomic weapon test, it will face several sanctions, as had already been imposed by Pakistan in the form of US economic sanctions in the 1990s. If Pakistan had not conducted nuclear tests, it would have jeopardized military stability, leaving India with the ability to browse Pakistan.

The Indian government bean not only pressuring as well as demanding Pakistan to alter its policies towards her as the regional strategic equilibrium was altered in the favor of India. Another factor that forced Pakistan to carry out the atomic weapon tests were that if Pakistan was unable to conduct the tests at that very moment, the burden was the same. from the international community would not allowed Pakistan to carry out the test in future, it was clear from the 1974 nuclear tests by India while the discriminatory policy adopted by international community and bean to stop Pakistan from aiming the atomic power. Following the 1998 nuclear tests of India Pakistan faced the similar condition on diplomatic front. Now the decision was to fend for Pakistan for its own safety.

All defense supplies for India have been announced to be discontinued as well as foreign financing has been stopped for all development programs, the international community and all powerful countries primarily showed great concern to the nuclear test conducted by India. But at a later point, the ostensible display of rage proved not as strong as the US declared shortly after this episode that it would reinforce its strategic alliance with India and adopted a

more intense strategy to prevent Pakistan from pursuing the lines of nuclear testing.⁵⁷ Contrary to American expectation Pakistan decided to perform nuclear tests, and nuclear explosions were carried out in the Chaghi Tunnel in Baluchistan by the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) and Khan Research Laboratories. On memorable day of May 28, 1998, and further explosions were carried out on May 30, 1998.

Pakistan announced its success in carrying out nuclear tests, demonstrating the capacity of the whole world to maintain the balance of power in the region, and attained the place in the list of Atomic countries. Both countries had been heavily criticized by the World and, in its Resolution 1172; the UN Security Council condemned the blasts conducted through them. Both India and Pakistan were requested to sign CTBT and to adopt arms reduction strategies in the upcoming times and to restart negotiations on smooth and successful peace measures to decide all two-sided conflicts including the issue of Kashmir and that would contribute stability of the region and world peace.⁵⁸

This is obvious that Pakistan's relations with India have been packed with rigid behaviors in the past. Either on one side or on the other any positive improvement in their behavior has often been marred by conflicts within disputes. The faith deficit has not left them to pursue any peaceful course. Although there was a great need for collaboration and wider understanding to come together, historical and political factors were barriers in their path. Nuclear explosion testing took both nations to the verge of war. A major war between the two countries was more likely to destroy the stability of the whole country and to provoke chaotic circumstances internationally. Although atomic explosion of 1998 had created internal security threats on south Asian region but both countries Pakistan and India realized that they both would never be capable of moving ahead without peace both nationally and regionally.⁵⁹

⁵⁷Richard L. Russell. "The Nuclear Peace Fallacy: How Deterrence Can Fail," *The Journal of Strategic Studies, London: Routledge Publication*, Vol. 26, No. 1, March 2003, p. 150.

⁵⁸Shaukat Qadir. "Op-ed: Nuclear South Asia: reducing risks", *Daily Times, Lahore (Pakistan)*, May11, 2002.

⁵⁹Arif Nizami. "Finally, A Thaw", *The News, Islamabad: Pakistan*, May 01, 2001.

CHAPTER 3

PAKISTAN INDIA SOCIO RELATIONS. (1999-2008)

In regional politics, Pakistan and India are the main troupes in South Asia and this regional strategy has endured detainee to animosity between Pakistan and India with adverse effects on the deprived and poor parts of the people on both sides. They have not been able to settle their disagreements since their independence in 1947 and now, actuality atomic powers, their joint arguments have involved the global attention which consequently made South Asia an internationally pivotal region. The persistent tension and trust deficit did never allowed Pakistan and India experience area of alliance and a fun collaborative atmosphere. Not only does the regional situation affect the relationship between Pakistan and India, but global policies are influenced by their approaches to each other. Since the binary countries became atomic powers intimidating the stability of the world in the event of any serious encounter, this situation became more urgent and the importance of peaceful co-existence arose with a pressing need for talks and dialogue processes.

The significant and notable point is that Pakistan and India have remained engaged into dialogue on various issues in the post-independence period. To some extent, with the occasional dialogues between the two, the tensions were reduced, but these sporadic talks did not result in a complete innovation or the resolution of any of the contentious issues seen since peace efforts were also often faced. The fact is that after their Independence both India and Pakistan had signed as many as a Hundred treaties mutual agreements and contracts; however all these treaties and mutual agreements have never been able to establish the type of atmosphere which might support to mitigate disputes through a conflict free process. The Pakistan-India bilateral ties can be term either as a series with eras of conflict as well as pressure.

Assessing the Developments in Pak–India Socio Relations (1999-2004)

Declaration of Lahore (1999)

The association between Pakistan and India has seen an innovation in the post-nuclear test process since 1998, after the Indian Prime Minister visited Lahore on the inaugural Delhi-Lahore bus service on February 20-21, 1999. The priority on both sides for an improvement in ties was felt at this time. The promotion of cricket diplomacy and hockey diplomacy has also been advanced by both sides. The summit in Lahore among the Prime Minister of Pakistan Mian

Muhammad Nawaz Shreef and his Prime Minister of India signed three contracts including a joint communiqué called The Declaration of Lahore, In the end of the meeting not only a joint statement was issued but also foreign secretaries of India and Pakistan signed a memorandum of understanding.

Both Nations undertook to carry on negotiations in Lahore Declaration to settle all pending conflicts, comprising dispute of Jammu and Kashmir, and vowed not to interrupt the bilateral dialogue with regard to any question of dispute. At the end the meeting, a range of confidence-building steps were also announced, including CBMs on nuclear issues and condemning terrorism of all forms. In anticipation of conducting ballistic missile tests, the two parties have agreed to alert each other. A Contract also reached to decrease the possibility of any unsolved or unintended usage of arms.

The MOU contracted between the two administrations vowed to comply with the one-sided research suspension. In addition, trade and transport concerns also discussed and boundaries agreed to be revised to make it easier for individuals on equally sides. Pakistan also uttered the urge, within the WTO system, to give India the position of greatest Favorite Country (MFN). While this occurrence was a milestone advance in relationships, some adverse comments and hostage reports soon brought down the melt in relationships with the round. When they entered India, the Indian leaders strained to overestimate the value of the Lahore Declaration and placed burden on them. Jamshed Ahmad the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan too replied through proverb that Pakistan could not be held accountable for violence in Kashmir Indian leaders were also notified of their vow in the Lahore Declaration that people of Kashmir had the right to self-determination.⁶⁰

However, While Jaswant Singh and Sartaj Aziz, the minister of foreign affairs of Pakistan and India saw each other in Sri Lanka in March 1999; during o the SAARC conference the clouds of tensions were again lifted. In their letter and spirit, the two ministers agreed to fulfill the commitments of the Lahore Declaration and an contract also moved to set up a board to contract with detainee matters, issuance of visas, trade and information technology cooperation. As attempts were made to fulfill the promises, further progress was seen. An exchange of

⁶⁰ Ishtiaq A. Choudhry and Rabia Akhtar. ‘‘India–Pakistan Peace Process (2004-2008): A Case Study of Kashmir’’, *Research Journal of International Studies, Karaanda (Kazakhstan): Karaanda State Medical University*, Issue 13, March, 2010, p. 47.

detainees, detained for years, occurred among Pakistan and India on March 22, 1999. As part of the consensus that has been achieved during the Lahore Declaration and Sri Lanka conference, India announced that it would comfort travel and visa limits for numerous 218 groups of Pakistanis to allow people to contact people.⁶¹ Moreover, the Indian Navy has also requested to the Ministry of Defense in Pakistan, at the military level, to arrange goodwill visits between the two navies.

People To People Contact Through Cricket

On September 1999, PM Vajpayee made a call to Nawaz Sharif in New York. In that meeting, Lahore to Delhi a bus service was proposed and secondly on February 1999, two test matches were scheduled for Pakistani cricket team tour to India. Surprisingly on their win Pakistani team was given standing ovation by Indian fans. That was a very unique for the Pakistani teams, the Pakistani government and for the people of Pakistan as well. Cricket diplomacy between India and Pakistan has also always been successful, since cricket is quite popular in the Indian subcontinent and enjoyed in this area by thousands of people. This engagement has succeeded in bringing the citizens of India and Pakistan closer.

The red carpet for Indians was unrolled when the Indian cricket team toured Pakistan in 2004. A warm welcome to the Indians was given by the Pakistani government and the masses. Cricket fans were not only excited to see Indian cricket team in their country, but also Indian crowd was warmly welcomed who came to watch cricket matches between Pakistan and India. These cricket matches became the source of Pakistan and India friendly ties between. In the context of the cricket diplomacy track II that was a great exposure of diplomacy. For the next three years, between India and Pakistan, cricket series were played in 2005, 2006, and 2007, helping both countries to reduce conflict. When the Pakistani team played in 2005 and 2007 for a tournament.

Fans of Pakistani cricket have been pleasantly greeted by Indian fan of cricket.⁶² The love of the masses of adjacent nations for one another is expressed in this. As far as Pakistan India political relations are concerned the time period of 2004 to 2008 could be called "the golden

⁶¹ Ishtiaq A. Choudhry and Rabia Akhtar. "India-Pakistan Peace Process (2004-2008): A Case Study of Kashmir", *Research Journal of International Studies, Karaanda (Kazakhstan): Karaanda State Medical University*, Issue 13, March, 2010,

⁶² Rashid Ahmad. No Mourners: Death of Indo-Pak Peace Process, Kashmir Affairs, Ontario: Centre for Justice and Peace in South Asia (CJPSA), Vol. 1, March, 2010

era" in addition to the strong cricket links, until the attack on 26 November 2008 in Mumbai that is one the major city of India completely ruined the peace building measures taken by both countries .Even in February 2007, after the incident of Samjhota express train underwent a bomb attack due to that numerous people had been killed, cricket was not stopped, until the Indian cricket team was not barred by the government of India to play opposite to Pakistan either inside India or in Pakistan following the attack in Mumbai in 2008.

Military Coup in Pakistan and Pakistan–India Relations

During this time, with additional military build-up in the border areas, tension continued along the ceasefire line. While referring to the nuclear issue, General Pervez Musharraf clearly stated that the possibility of using nuclear weapons could not be ruled out in the event of any threat to Pakistan's stability. While the global community opposed the military occupation of Pakistan, a backward step was also seen in foreign policy of India towards Pakistan. At the simultaneous meeting held on 22 December 1999 between the National Security Council and the Federal Cabinet chaired by General Pervez Musharraf, he deliberated on the topic of CTBT. It was clarified that nothing in CTBT will prohibit Pakistan from doing the same in the case of India conducting new nuclear explosions, and unless CTBT is signed by India, Pakistan will have the option to perform the nuclear explosion. ⁶³ India calmly reacted towards the problem as well. The damaging declarations and un-modifiable positions of India and Pakistan showed deadlock in dialogue process that was started in February 1999.

Agra Summit

Visiting New Delhi, President Pervez Musharraf held talks to turn the dispute into good neighborly relationships. At this point, the President too emphasized the requirement to resolve the Kashmir issue. On July 16, 2001 Pakistan-India's ministers of foreign affairs had been briefed about agreement made by the heads of both countries. The proposed document to also be released later was prepared and recommended to its members by the foreign secretaries and foreign ministers.

President Musharraf agreed to the draft. So far as Indian side was concerned, a political affairs cabinet committee decided to consider the draft. After two hours of talks, Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh of India met with the External Minister of Pakistan at around 6 p.m. And

⁶³ “*The Nation, Lahore (Pakistan)*”, December 23, 1999.

the demand for an amendment to the Kashmir paragraph in the draft proposal. The debate on the amendment proved to be fruitful and the amendment was amicably decided by the two sides. While the signing ceremony was planned by conference officials from India and the Indian Foreign Minister hoped to receive support inside a short period of time.

A lengthy meeting had been arranged by the Indian cabinet committee and around 9.p.m it was told to Pakistani delegates to generate distress among them that the treaty would not be sin. In reality, that was a great surprise for both the media workers and the Pakistani delegates. The occasion of pride all of a sudden twisted to an excessive defeat for the Pakistani side, hoping that the visit to Delhi will have a positive impact.⁶⁴ Although the Indian prime minister did not clearly clarify the problem that disallowed by the Indian hand from agreeing over the final draft though both countries were failed to reach on some agreement but the promise was made by him to Pakistani delegates that in coming times to sin some agreement with Pakistan he would visit the country

To some extent, the Pakistani delegation was pleased with the prospect of the Indian Prime Minister visiting Pakistan. However describing about the Agra Summit's result President Musharraf stated that summit could not be call a disappointment by any mean, although we did not accomplish anything from that meeting at Agra? In addition, The Prime Minister of India acknowledged development that was produce through the talks and the draft of pronouncement that had not been decided at that time. The summit was also named "Not Nakam" (Not failure) in its entirety by the foreign ministers of Pakistan and India, but fairly an effort in the direction of coordination and harmony.

Though well after Agra meeting India and Pakistan were looking hopeful but inflammatory remarks by the political leaders of India in which Pakistan was accused for spreading cross border terrorism grab the attention of media in both countries moreover it was stated that in Agra Conference both countries had entered on no agreement. Due to some other concerns that made Pakistan and India an unattainable event for the Agra Summit. Various groups believed that during the summit, President Musharraf's hyper attitude on the issue of Kashmir rendered the political leader of India positive.

⁶⁴Agra Summit at a glance, BBC News, July 17, 2001, h

Whereas it was also said that matters related to India were not discussed, such as cross-border terrorism. So all these assumptions were also not accurate because in the draft of the Agra Announcement all the problems were addressed and there had no requirement for the Pakistani side to fix the Kashmir issue in beginning. After 7 years of Agra conference the former Deputy of India L.K. Advani accepted that in the time of Agra Summit he hinder the completion of the very proposal due to Pakistan's emphasized attitude towards Kashmir conflict and its negligence on the issue of cross border. This statement of L.K. Advani called the false explanation of failure of Agra Summit because these both issues were briefly discussed in the Summit.⁶⁵

Comprehensive Agra Summit has vital importance in India Pakistan relation even though due to difference of opinion regarding many issues draft of the agreement was not signed but after that both countries left no stone unturned for mutual cooperation and to make South Asia a peaceful region.

Post 9/11 Developments in Ties Between Pakistan and India

Several months that after Agra case, when terrorists attacked the Twin Trade Towers in New York, the world witnessed an unparalleled attack, transforming the world's politics and impacting the area of South Asia tremendously. In reality, this was a turning point in Pakistan and India link. With regard to the new anti-terrorism strategy, when the international attention turned towards Pakistan, India government attempted to portray the image of Pakistan as a terrorism- promoting country as well as labeled the struggle of freedom in Kashmiri as a movement to create unrest in the country For Pakistan that was a challenging situation. Pakistan did not want to let India to take advantage unnecessary benefit of the progress of the United States in Afghanistan.⁶⁶

In addition, India has also declared itself a target of terrorism. For Pakistani politicians who followed a rational approach to denouncing any act of terrorism and showing their devotion to fighting all forms of violence and terrorist elements, this was an extremely high time. This time around, Pakistan has once again become a frontline state in combating terrorism. A answer was given to India by Pakistan was that instead accusing, Pakistan India should see itself and stop its terrorist actions

⁶⁵ A. Noorani. "The Truth about Agra, Frontline", July 16-29, 2005

⁶⁶. Daily Times, Lahore (Pakistan), August 15, 2004.

Following the attack on the Indian Parliament, India embraced an inflexible attitude towards by armed personals on December 13, 2001 Pakistan by accused of having relations with terrorists as well as supporting crossed border terrorist activities by India. The political relations of Pakistan and India ruined as India closed its air and train services for Pakistan. Moreover India sent its army to the borders adjacent to Pakistan. Pakistan also sent its troops to the border areas in response to that move by India, and relationships were again very strained for a year ahead. Between the two nations, there was a great possibility of battle. However, as both countries were now nuclear powers, certain variables averted the danger of war, also conflict amongst them can be a disaster for the entire South Asia.⁶⁷ After sending their armies on borders it was immensely difficult for both countries to meet their expenditure.

It was urged by international community to Pakistan and India to improve their relations with each other. All these factors led to the easing of tensions, and India ordered the withdrawal of forces from the border areas after a year of controversy. Pakistan has suggested that dialogue be revived to address the contested issues. In April 2003, when Prime Minister Vajpayee announced the resumption of the dialogue, the positive reaction from India was seen. As India Pakistan high Commissioners took positions in one another's countries the bilateral relations between them started to progress they also eliminated the flight Cricket diplomacy and limitations were also imposed. Pakistan also reacted favorably by keeping a ceasefire on the control line (LOC).

Factors that lead changes between Pakistan and India relations

Different factors have led to changes in Pakistan and India's approaches to one another, and it is important to consider the factors that have led to the need to think about the stability of the region and its people before discussing the peace initiatives adopted by the two parties during 1999-2008.

The Domestic Factor

One of the factors that led to change in Pakistan and India's attitudes to each other was the domestic shift in both countries then they felt the necessity toward derive together also o forward through a helpful manner. it was necessary for India and Pakistan to develop cordial relation due to their domestic circumstances as they cannot bear more hardship. In the 1999,

⁶⁷ Abdul Sattar (Foreing Minister of Pakistan), *Press Conference, Islamabad* (Pakistan), July 17, 2001.

once again Pakistan's army seized power and general Musharraf came to power, Pakistan's policy over Kashmir felt a kind of softness and versatility. General Musharraf also attempted to depict Pakistan's soft and enlightened image in the fields of the arts, tourism and sport after coming to power.⁶⁸ The public and official circles were increasingly conscious that animosity and harsh attitudes in relation to India would not give Pakistan anything but to push both nations to the verge of war.

India's domestic conditions also favored the establishment of good ties with Pakistan during that time. On the part of Indian leadership, there was an increasing realization that persistent hostile engagement with Pakistan would not yield any meaningful results and would further tarnish the reputation of both. Indian forces in Kashmir and human rights abuses have a bad image to India by inciting resentment as well as a major financial and economic strain on Indian resources. Indian economic needs could not be fulfilled by not settling disputes with Pakistan. It's also important for India to resolve the Kashmir problem. India wants to enlist itself in the permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) since very long and for this purpose it needs to boost India's regional and global profile.

India as a precondition for raising its image as a regional power, had to guarantee accommodating as well as decent dealings with every neighboring country, especially to Pakistan. Moreover, India also had to act wisely to avoid a nuclear war with Pakistan after becoming a nuclear power. Only then can India foster its profile globally to acquire its benefits.⁶⁹ Due to many valid causes Indian management comply the process of peace, further more Vajpayee the Prime Minister of India signed contracts regarding very main conflicts and built a pleasant condition between the two nations.

Although Vajpayee confronted resistance from his own party, the Bharatiya Janata Party, Vajpayee continued his efforts to win the next elections during 1999-2004 on his peace initiatives with Pakistan, as the Vajpayee government earned strong public support for the peace process in India. Thus the, another reason due to which both South Asian twins India and Pakistan shifted their strategy of hostility and conflict to peace and harmony was changing

⁶⁸ Syed Saleem Shahzad. "Keeping the Peace Initiative on Track," *Asia Times, Hon Kon*, February 16, 2004.

⁶⁹ Navnita Chadha Behera. "Need to Expand Track-II Diplomacy", *Asia Times, Hon Kon*, July 16, 2003.

dynamics of South Asia and their internal condition that demanded peace and cooperation for the prosperity and safety of the whole South Asia coming times.

The most important reason leading to policy change between India and Pakistan was the threat of nuclear war and because of this reason both countries decided to discuss all conflicting issues. Due to another reason both neighboring countries started the procedure of dialogue was the declaration of Lahore that was signed between both India and Pakistan in the year 1999. A memorandum of understanding in signed in February 1999 that restricted both countries any potential of nuclear action opposite one another.⁷⁰ The commitment to start peace negotiations clearly reflected their willingness to conceal between the two the risks of nuclear war.

Track II Diplomacy

In addition to other types of factors contributing to the transformation of the Pakistan-India relationship, Track II diplomacy too portrayed a encouraging and important part in the development of a favorable environment. In order to establish peace between Pakistan and India, many political, retired military officers, journalists and other civil society members cooperated.⁷¹ Track II diplomacy refers to the steps taken to strengthen ties at the unofficial level. In this regard, several US-funded think tanks played a significant role in promoting the steps of Track II. The Reional Strateic Studies Centre has held a number of annual workshops in Sri Lanka to give policy makers along with students and scholars from both countries the opportunity to see in a supportive atmosphere likewise in organizing seminars and conferences, the FRIENDS Institute in Pakistan has contributed a great deal to exchanging ideas and ending in a cordial environment for intellectual discussions on the issues at issue and to formulating a solution process.

Another great Track II diplomatic channel to strengthen relations was the India-Pakistan Friendship Society Established in 1987. The high Commission of Pakistan on and off along with India-Pakistan Friendship society organizes many cultural visits, lectures and discussion sessions. In 1999 another strong Track II channel Initiated by India-Pakistan Soldiers was founded in Karachi the retired military officials of Pakistan and India supervise it.

⁷⁰ Rifaat Hussain. ‘‘The India–Pakistan Peace Process, Defense & Security Analysis’’, *Washington D.C: Centre for Strategic and International Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 4, December 2006, and pp. 409-19.

The Action plan of Soldiers has gave an opportunity for political circles of government and the opposition to meet and exchange their ideas and views. The business community of the two countries has joined hands through efforts at Track II in addition to cooperation at the national level at Track II level. Joint visits were also organized by the notable members of the Chambers of Commerce and Industries to facilitate trade between the two countries.⁷² The effort education institutes to create friendly atmosphere in India and Pakistan cannot be ignored like a “Kinnaird College for Women Lahore, Doon School Old Boys Society and RIMCO (Royal Military College) Old Boy's Network etc., having been at the forefront of sharing the culture and ideas of the two countries.”

Improvement Socio Relations Through Multiple Discussion: 2004-2008

In May 2003 the visit of Pakistani Parliamentarians to India was the new period of coordination and friendly ties. Later in July 2003 the members of Indian Parliament visited Pakistan as well. .After a few months of this exchange of visits, the two countries in Kashmir have announced a ceasefire along the LOC control line).The same chain of positivity continued, culminating in January 2004 in the form of a lively peace process .During the meeting of South Asian Association for Reional Cooperation (SAARC) held in Islamabad, the Indian Prime Minister AtalBehari Vajpayee and Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf met. A new round of "Composite Dialogue" talks on all contested topics has been initiated.

Pakistan promised India that it would not use any portion of its national territory for terrorist purposes. The reaction to India's border terrorism concerns has been positive. After the election of 2004 it was the assumption that new Indian government could change its foreign policy towards Pakistan. However New P.M of India Manmohan Singh and his political party in India continued the policy of based on peace and mutual cooperation .In February 2004, the Composite Dialogue contained eight issues for which the two foreign secretaries set out the specifics.

Peace and Security CBM

For peace and stability have been one of the most significant issues addressed since 2004 in the Composite Dialogue. This problem has had a major public impact. Both conventional and nuclear CBMs were included in them. The main reason of these CBMs was Memorandum of

⁷² Rifaat Hussain. “The India–Pakistan Peace Process, Defense & Security Analysis,” *Washington D.C: Centre for Strategic and International Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 4, December 2006, pp.22-26

Understanding (MoU) signed by India and Pakistan in 1999 at Lahore and the joint declaration between both countries which was issued on June 20, 2004. These CBMs can be called the most legitimized and noticeable effort to normalize the relation and to create harmony between Pakistan and India.. Moreover through these CBMS a new approach can be seen to control deep-rooted enmity. ⁷³By adopting such CBMs, several measures had been adopted by getting the common people together and facilitating negotiations on security issues to cover the key areas in relationships.

Conventional CBMs

People to People Contacts

The launch of the bus service included the CBMs that led to individual contacts, one of the greatest measures to allow people to become familiar with each other. In 1999, a bus service from Lahore to New was started by both countries. Before the start of the Composite Dialogue in 2004. Another trans-LOC bus service was launched in 2005 that linked Srinagar to Muzaffarabad. After that, in 2006, the Poonch-Rawalpindi bus service was launched to facilitate individuals. The bus service from Srinagar to Muzaffarabad was suspended for four months when the quake hit that region in the area, i.e. Kashmir.

The bus service from Srinagar- to Muzaffarabad raised its service frequency from two weeks to a week in 2008. In bringing families together on both sides of the border to create relations between people these bus services have played a very important role. In addition to Lahore and Amritsar, the opening of a new bus route in Punjab is scheduled to include a new bus service between Amritsar and Nangana Sahib. In bringing to Pakistan many Sikhs from India to visit religious places such as Nangana Sahib, the birthplace of Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, the Sikh community's holy place This route played an important role During 2006-2007, the regularity of the Delhi-Lahore bus service expanded beside the good reason of prices from both parties. Between India and Pakistan this was

⁷³ Samarjit Ghosh. *Indi-Pak Composite Dialogue-2008: A Review*, New Delhi: Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, 2009, p.8

the first land means of transportation at the border of Waah passage had been unlocked since 2007.⁷⁴

Commence of Train Service Between India and Pakistan

To promote the gesture of friendship and cooperation according to settlement in composite dialogue a Train services was started between India and Pakistan .The service joint Ameristar and Delhi to Lahore called friendship express, Another train was Thar express the very train connect Khokharpar (Sindh) to Mumbai to (Rajasthan) .The 251 weekly flights rose from 12 to 28 and triple-entry permits were implemented for cross-LOC travel In September 2005, the government of Pakistan ranted a authorization to operate the Karachi-Mumbai ferry service to a private company called the "Land Ocean Ferry Service". Similarly, an MOU between the Pakistan Maritime Security Agency (PMSA) and the Indian Coast guard was also signed in October 2005. (IC), which strengthened contact ties and exchanged information on early resolution of fishermen's issues kept for straying into waters outside their territorial boundaries in each other's territories, rescue operations, searches, natural disasters, drug trafficking, and population control, etc.

Drug Trafficking

The dialogue process bean on this important issue in August 2004, when Pakistan and India have decided to rise collaboration among the drug controller officials of the two countries and have agreed to sign a Memorandum of Understanding in order to institutionalize cooperative efforts (MOU). A MOU on anti-narcotics problems was signed by both sides in the Seventh Round of the Composite Dialogue, launched on 2 December 2005.⁷⁵ Individualized plans in 2007 and 2008 have demonstrated the key constraints of the strategy of cooperation between the drug agencies of the two countries. On the occasion of seventh SAARC conference in the bilateral dialogue process, the India and Pakistan commitment to create a Police Force on regional level that could be called main progress in observing narcotics, crime and issues related to smiling.

⁷⁴ Samarjit ghosh. Indi-Pak Composite Dialoue-2008: A Review, New Delhi: Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, 2009, p.13

⁷⁵ ‘‘Regional Cooperation: Pakistan India to Eradicate Drug Trafficking,’’ *Express Tribune, Karachi (Pakistan)*, September 12, 2011.

Cooperation Promotion/ People to People Contact in Various Fields

The Composite Dialogue process also included areas where cooperation was to be facilitated by the two countries. People had expanded contacts with individuals and the governments of the two countries took part in bus and rail services in this regard. The cricket series, held in March 2004, is worth mentioning and truly symbolize a significant incident in transforming both sides' psychology for help and peace building rather than pessimistic thought. In April 2005, during his state visit to India, President Pervez Musharraf went to watch a cricket match between India and Pakistan.

The views of average citizens on both sides have changed quite positively through these friendly exchanges. People from both sides had the opportunity to meet as part of Confidence Building Steps under the newly introduced bus and rail links (CBMs). After the start of the Composite Dialogue, numerous relationship upheavals did not interrupt the flow of successful relationships.⁷⁶ In particular focus was put on relaxing visa regimes for ordinary people during the meetings of the ministries of culture of both countries and encouraging pilgrims wanting to visit holy sites on either sides.

The members of civil society of Pakistan from different fields of the life like the media, sports, culture and the arts have paid significantly to the establishment of friendly ties between the two nuclear neighbors. In the year 2008 an agreement was signed by Pakistan and India regarding cooperation and exchange of different think tanks run by state, i.e., Islamabad (Pakistan) Institute of Strategic Studies Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad (Pakistan) and the Institute of Security Studies and Analysis, New Delhi (India), in order to establish and promote contact and knowledge between the two countries. To foster warm interactions, in 2006 Pakistan and India become agree to conduct film festivals of one another. In 2008, a decision to leally release Indian films in Pakistan was made public by the government of Pakistan.

October 2005 Pakistan and Indian Earthquake Offer of Assistance

India provided assistance to Pakistan after the October 2005 earthquake in Pakistan. Pakistan, though, really hasn't authorized Indian plans to give edible thin and send the healthcare teams over the control line (LOC). To conduct relief related activities Pakistani helicopters had been allowed to fly over the Line of Control. It must be noted that during normal condition that

⁷⁶ Shamshad Ahmed. "Wishful claim of progress", Dawn, Karachi, May, 2007.

method strategy to fly across the line of control had never been permitted. The telephone lines across the LOC were restored on October 19, 2005 to ease individuals around the borders areas.

Kaman, Tithwal and Poonch were the three places chosen by India around the line of control to put up centers in order to provide affective medical care, food and relief to individuals. In addition, it was also permitted that Indian nationals could come from across the border to meet their relatives at these sites. Nauseri-Tithwal, Chakoti-Uri, Tattapani-Mendhar, Hajipur-Uri, and Rawalkot-Poonch five points across the control line were chosen to set up by Pakistan. The Indian government had not accept the plan of Pakistan to bring the helicopter of India by siding the pilot of Pakistan for the purpose of relief. In general the progress between India Pakistan relations throughout that time were promising and the gesture of harmony was shown by both countries.

CHAPTER: 4

PAKISTAN INDIA ECONOMIC RELATION

Since before they arose after independence and partition in August 1947 as independent nation states, India and Pakistan have had a tense relationship. In the 1990s, despite some changes in regional economic cooperation in South Asia, little economic cooperation took place, with the exception of one important and enduring river water sharing treaty. During the periodic conflict between India and Pakistan many important developments took place between in twin countries India and Pakistan, the initiatives include Lahore-Delhi bus service and the political settlement in February 2004. Additionally, the rebuilding of the Khokhrapar-Munabao railway line, Srinagar Muzaffarabad and Rawalakot-Poonch bus service, the establishment of the Joint Anti-Terrorism Mechanism and the launch through truck service of 'Road Trade' have been achieved in peace process developments (enhancing indo-Pak trade).

India and Pakistan: Economies in their Essence and Structure

Before independence Indo-Pak economy mostly relied on agricultural and right after 1947 partition both sovereign countries continued their previous agriculture-based economy till industrialization started to replace agriculture-based economy. The stark comparison of India and Pakistan has shown that in spite of achieving continuous growth India's economy is still considered as developing or poor due to speedy population growth. However, the country's economy is very much stable and better in comparison to its regional competitors. Moreover, India good has better reach to the global market.

The factors which contribute to India's stable economic accomplishment include a constant democratic process, dynamic and strong diplomacy. The above stated factors have also tempted the numerous trading partners, such as the EU, the Gulf States and the Middle East, these countries have contributed to the economic stability of India. Furthermore, the 'Look East Scheme' also confirmed greater economic accessibility for Indian goods to Southeast Asian markets. Pakistan economy in comparison to India, historically based on agriculture but, persistent domestic and local political uncertainty has increased economic dependency on external sources. Although back in 1960s the country has experienced a high growth rate.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Gul Nabiha, 'enhancing indo Pakistan trade: perspective.' *Pakistan institute of peace and conflict studies*,2009,p,2

However, the division of Pakistan harmed Pakistan's economy adversely. The other factors which have worsened the economic condition includes continuous shortage of agricultural products production, continuous political tension in Pakistan cost in losing investors. During 1988, the Structural Adjustment Program was introduced with the annual budget declaring a variety of items on the short and forbidden list of steps relating to Pakistani trade policy.⁷⁸

The tariff system aimed at improving, reducing the number of products on the restricted and prohibited list and streamlining the requirements for import licenses. Similarly, all capital and intermediate products, royalty payments regulations, all investment licensing, were abolished. Further manufacturing, banking, telecommunications and electricity, the public sector industry was divested. Regrettably, these structural reforms could not deliver the expected outcome and economic condition of the country remained unchanged. Furthermore, the country almost for the 20 years unable to handle with the economic crisis. The factors which obstructed economic growth of Pakistan includes weak democratic system, internal political unrest, unavailability of an industrial base, over dependency on foreign borrowings and payments and low investment and savings.

India Pakistan Two Way Trade

Mostly it is argued that the two countries lack commonalities and integration, hence these two twin countries are less likely to balance each other's economic growth by two-way trade. The perception stated above drawn after considering the tiny level of trade and the structural differences and gaps between the economies of neighboring countries India and Pakistan. Nevertheless, there are numerous approaches which are not only of the common concern to both India-Pakistan but these two countries have a chance to explore their mutual benefits. There exist opposite views on importance and promotion of bilateral trade between India and Pakistan.

The supporters of bilateral trade between India and Pakistan often claim that bilateral trade would encourage easy and cheaper access to goods for common poor nations. On the view of bilateral trade among these, on the importance of increased bilateral trade between the two countries, there are opposite views; one is that trade in both countries would encourage cheaper access to goods for consumers whereas the opponents of Indo-Pak bilateral trade claim that India is larger economy, therefore India could dominate the economic relations between India and

⁷⁸ IBID,P,12

Pakistan.⁷⁹ There are three different methods of organizing the current trade between Pakistan and India: dismal official trade, non-official trade and illegal trade.

Previously, Indo-Pak trade relations are ruined many times by a number of problems and the official Indo-Pak trade between the two countries failed to surpass the limited amount. India always linked official trade with the recognizing India as MFN (most favored nation status) by Pakistan. Although back 1995, India provided Diplomatic recognition to Pakistan, but Pakistan is still reluctant to respond. This act by Pakistan is seen as an intrusion of SAFTA, that the nation continues to be reluctant. However the non-official trade has grown between India and Pakistan because there are some products which are of mutual benefits of two countries. It is safe to say that the informal trade between India and Pakistan worth between two billion to three billion every year.⁸⁰

Additionally, there are number of products which are illegally across Indo-Pak border. This illegal trade across the border shows the vested interests of illegal traders. Moreover, increased tariffs, quotas, and even complete ban successfully prevent most products which Pakistan could export to India. There is also a ban imposed by Pakistan on imports on Indian products for the use by public sector, but the private sector has a permission to import a limited list of 322 goods from India. Recently, both India and Pakistan have listed the number of possible areas for joint ventures and mutual economic cooperation between the two countries.

The potential sector of economic co-operation between India and Pakistan includes agricultural products, particularly tea, automotive parts, minerals, chemicals, leather and textiles, pharmaceuticals, telecommunications, iron ore, natural resources, electricity, etc. Among the sectors mentioned above, energy and textile sectors have hue capacity for cooperation mainly in conventional ready-made industries. There are many private sectors where there is a potential for trade such as health, entertainment services, information technology and tourism. There are many common multi-nation companies in both twin countries Pakistan and India such as Standard Chartered, Unilever and laxo SmithKline (SK). These multinationals serve as considerable intermediaries for trade and investment, but these organizations are forced to exploited because if these organizations source raw material from each other. SAFTA has

⁷⁹ Akbar Zaidi, "India-Pakistan trade", *South Asian Journal (Lahore)*, No. 4, April-June 2004.

⁸⁰ Abid Qamar, "Trade between India and Pakistan: Potential items and the MFN status", *SBP Research Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2005,p.6

provided an opportunity to both twin countries India and Pakistan to being multilateral Intra-regional exchange, which would open up new possibilities not only for the two nations (India and Pakistan), but also for their regional neighbors.

The bilateral trade relation between India and Pakistan was one of the topmost agendas of India and Pakistan official meetings in 2005. During 2005, the meeting took place between former President Prevaiz Musharraf of Pakistan and Indian Prime Minister Maan Mohan Sinh in Delhi. During the meeting both head of the states discussed many issues including bilateral trade between these twin countries. The dialogs focused heavily on improving bilateral trade in various sectors. India and Pakistan, both countries decided to establish a Joint Business Council to enhance bilateral trade and cooperation in the energy sector; transportation sector to facilitate trade, to encompass road and rail connection; to revitalize trade promotion panels; and to initiate and implement extraordinary confidence-building measures.⁸¹ The reopening of the Khokhrapar Munabao railway route was among such initiatives to enhance and strengthen bilateral relations.

Many analysts emphasized to strengthening of trade relation between twin countries India and Pakistan for several reasons. The topmost reason stated by analysts, India and Pakistan are two biggest countries of South Asia but the lack of cooperation between these twin countries has hampered the regional economic integration. Secondly both these countries could explore mutual avenues of economic cooperation in order to promote regional economic integration or to speed up the regional economic growth and without the cooperation of these two countries the efforts towards regional economic integration would end in vain.

Furthermore, both India and Pakistan are relatively weak economies and both countries need to harness the unexploited trade and investment opportunities via combined projects with an idea of mutual well-being in order to provide their public with better economic opportunities and boost their economic quality. Thirdly, bilateral trade could between India and Pakistan also open up opportunities for international investors. Additionally, both countries to develop and stabilize their economies require foreign exchanges and improved two-way trade to strengthen the confidence of foreign investors. Fourthly, it will boost the Indo-Pak economies by increasing direct official trade. They share common boundaries, and direct trade is less expensive and more

⁸¹ Tariq Ikram, ‘‘Identifying avenues for Pakistan-India trade’’ Dawn (Karachi), 13 February 2006.

profitable. It is estimated that the potential of increased direct trade is 10 times the existing potential.⁸²

Improvement in Economic Relations Through Composite Dialogue Tulbul Navigation and Wullar Barrage

The Tulbul Navigation Project/Wullar Barrage between Pakistan and India was presented as part of the Collective Dialogue Process. Negotiations between the Ministries of Water of Pakistan and India on this water issue were resumed at the secretariat level on 29-30 July 2004. These talks took place under the terms of the Indus Water Treaty, but no rational outcome could be achieved. Interestingly, it is noted that both twin countries Pakistan and India are not in agreement on the very term. On the one side, it is named Wullar Barrage by Pakistan and, on the other hand, it is referred to by India as the Tulbul Navigation Project.

The dispute is over India's construction of a 40-foot-wide and 439-foot-long dam on the Jhelum River, near Spore, a town in Kashmir, at the mouth of Wullar Lake.⁸³ During 1984, Pakistan protested against India due to which the mutual work and cooperation was stopped in 1987, started in 1984 as far as project work is concerned. Since then, there have been many rounds of talks at the level of the Secretary, but without any positive outcome. India defended its position by arguing that water was authorized to be used for navigational purposes by the Indus Water, while Pakistan accused India of being used for navigational purposes.

The initial agreement, which is the Indus Basin agreement, permits water usage via each other's rivers with following four intentions: agriculture use; domestic use Limited consumption of river flow of hydroelectric power; Non-consumptive use, i.e. navigation, etc., so as not to reduce the amount of water. India defends its stance by claiming that the object of navigation didn't disrupt the agreement of Indus water and India desired to make the River of Jhelum a maneuverable river by which trivial boats would intervene between Srinagar and Baramulla, however India was blamed by Pakistan for disrespecting the agreement as the Treaty forbids two countries India and Pakistan from taken up some "man-made obstruction" producing a change in the treaty Article III(4) also prohibited India from building, with the exception of a

⁸² Mohsin S. Khan, "India-Pakistan Trade: A roadmap for enhancing economic relations", *Peterson Institute for International Economics*, July 2009

⁸³ M. Nasrullah Mirza, "Economic cooperation between Pakistan and India: Need, problems and prospects" *ACDIS Occasional Paper*, 29 July 2008

very slight amount (10,000 acres ft.) to control floods, any storage facility the rivers that are flowing on west.⁸⁴

Delegations from two sides India and Pakistan met in New Delhi on 28-29 June 2005 to further discuss this issue. In June 2005, about the Tulbul Navigation Project as well as Wuller Barrage both countries Pakistan and India issued a mutual declaration in which both were agreed to carry on negotiations under the terms of the treaty to resolve the disputed question. The storage capacity of the project was 32 times greater than that required by the project. The Indus Water agreement (point one million tracts of water loading in Jhelum); India has not notified Pakistan prior to initiate the project. Similarly the other meeting on the subject took place in New Delhi on 30-31 August 2007, with the Pakistani delegation represented by Mr. Muha's Secretary of the Ministry of Water and Power. Both sides expressed and clarified their stances on the topic and both parties respected each other's cordial approach to further continue discussions. Pakistan rejected India's defensive position on this issue, although discussions continued throughout the process of the Composite Dialogue.

Balighar Dam Project

In Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan and India conducted secretary-level talks on the contested Indian initiative on the Chenab River in New Delhi on June 20, 2004. The two countries' water secretaries and commissioners were part of those negotiations. In the Doda district, Balighar Dam was under construction with the Jammu and Kashmir region The 450 MW power generation capacity. The Indian stance in this project, was the design made for the project of Balighar dam has not breached the terms and conditions of the Indus Water Agreement moreover that was aligned with domestic and global procedures. On the other side, Pakistan objected to this project because this hydropower project could impact the water flow downstream. Additionally, the aged based structure of the project would avoid approximately 8,000 cusecs of the project. During 2003 October, a mission from Pakistan's Indus Committee surveyed the dam site in Indian Administered Jammu and Kashmir.⁸⁵ Following this visit, Pakistan agreed to invite in experts from the World Bank who are impartial. During the January and May 2004 sessions, both countries addressed the matter again. Pakistan took the matter to experts in World Bank to get fair solution in June 2005.

⁸⁴ “Wullar Barrage”, *The Nation, Islamabad* (Pakistan), May 15, 2010.

⁸⁵ Khaleeq Kiani, “India offers to amend design of Wuller Barrage”, *Dawn, Karachi* (Pakistan), May 14, 2009.

Kishenganga

Pakistan has also objected to another Indian hydropower project. India planned to build this project in the Gurez Valley on the Neelum River and India also wanted to divert the course of the river through a tunnel to Wullar Lake. India again defended this project in such a way that, under the Indus Water Treaty, the alteration of water from one Jhelum tributary to another was permitted. Pakistan and India have held three rounds of talks on this issue. The last round of talks took place from 9 to 11 May 2005, in which both parties India and Pakistan were represented by their respective constant Indus Water committee officials. The design of Indian project was opposed by Pakistan, although Pakistan as well planned to build a power station at Jhelum that would be influenced by India's deliberate water diversion.

According to Pakistan, the terms of the Indus Water Treaty could be breached by a project with a capacity of 330 MW". Pakistan opposed the Indian proposal to accept such design modifications and favored international mediation by the World Bank on this very matter of the project Balihar.⁸⁶ The Hague Indian Court of Arbitration began arbitral proceedings against India in 2010 at the behest of Pakistan, asking India for clarification of the status and permissibility of the diversion of Neelum/Kishenana waters to India in 2010 "The Court delivered its final ruling on 20 December 2013, i.e. Final Award, enabling India to release a minimum flow of 9 Cubic to Kishenana/Neelum River at all times below the Kishenana Hydro Electric Project. However, after seven years after, the first water diversion from the Kishengana/Neelum River via the treaty of Indus water."

The Commercial and Economic Cooperation

The additional essential element of the two-way dialogue was economic, commercial cooperation, and different agreements were reached in this regard. The Joint Business Councils and Joint Trade Committees entered into impact in 2004. A second round of talks on economic relations took place in August 2005, which the two countries agreed:

- joint negotiations to appraise the 1975 transport procedure, according to which paragraphs 3 and 5 were omitted, and this initiative removed the ban on the lifting by a third country of cargo between the two countries and also the relating by India or Pakistan

⁸⁶ Suryakant Samir." Composite Dialogue Process, IPCS Special Report," *New Delhi: Institute of Conflict and Peace Studies (IPCS)*, Vol. 53, June 2008, pp. 9

of third-country flag vessels from each other's ports. This agreement permitted increased tonnage to be carried by the ships of the two countries and also had a positive effect on competitive shipping rates.

- During that era, the Composite Dialogue also addressed bilateral maritime shipping agreements.
- Aeronautics consultations to review the air service agreement
- Joint Research group meeting to concentrate on collaboration in the area of customs and commerce, particularly nontariff barriers; Banking and economic collaboration between both nations.
- It is essential to remember that through the commercial collaboration, banking coordination has been established in the two states. It was decided that in India the National Bank of Pakistan will open its first branch by Reserve Bank of India by the Reserve Bank of India.

In addition to these concerns, the problem of awarding MFN rank to India has also been taken up by Pakistan. When the South Asian Free Trade Association (SAFTA) came into action in January 2006, India immediately inherited De Facto MFN rank from Pakistan, but Pakistan was initially reluctant to approve SAFTA. While Pakistan ratified SAFTA in February 2006, it first linked the grant of MFN status to India with the Kashmir dispute resolution. These talks were held in a cordial atmosphere⁸⁷ Pakistan agreed, as did cement imports to India via Pakistan expedite tea. Rail imports from India with further agreement to grant duty concessions for tea imports from India; A committee from Pakistan also visited India to sense-enable telemedicine facilities at India's invitation in order to improve cooperation and collaboration in this field; An agreement between the two countries was also reached to appoint members to the Joint Working group to jointly negotiate the Basmati rice re-exportation issue as a Geographical Indication (GI). In order to alleviate pressure on the Attari-Lahore rail route and further improve trade ties, the Indian side has also suggested that the Munabao-Khokrapar freight route should be made usable and operational.

India has issued a list of 484 tariff lines to be included in the positive list of Indian importable goods in order to increase trade between the two countries. Pakistan agreed at a meeting with stakeholders to consider the proposal in a meeting with stakeholders. Most of the healthy moves taken

⁸⁷Mallika Joseph, "Delhi Round of Indo-Pak Talks – II: Tulbul Navigation Project/Wullar Barrage," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI)*, November 21, 1998

en in these trade talks was the option to encourage and conduct trade shows in each other's countries. In this respect, India invited Pakistan to host a trade show in India called 'Made in Pakistan'.

In order to promote Pakistan's exports to India, Pakistan was invited by India to recognise 20 products of its export interest to India, allowing India to provide Pakistan with detailed information of its import regime on items detected by Pakistan.

The group of Indian delegates reported that a Task Force was in the process of making recommendations to abolish all obstacles to market access for all SAARC members to consider nontariff barriers and paratariffs. Pakistan and India shared their views and presented their positions on both sides with respect to infrastructure and development plans in order to create an Integrated CheckPost (ICP) on the Wahi/Atari border. They agreed to continue the sharing of ICP growth and partnership knowledge. Both Pakistan and India shared satisfaction with their decision to allow crossborder truck movement up to Wahi/Atari for unloading and reloading freight.

In order to decide on modalities in this respect, both parties agreed to attend additional discussions. In order to coordinate the understanding achieved at the meeting and to track the activities accordingly, an agreement was reached between the two sides for the establishment of a joint group represented on both sides by the Joint Secretaries of Commerce. "Bilateral trade between Pakistan and India amounted to \$1.7 billion during 2007-08, and this figure remained in favour of India. The amount of trade between Pakistan and India rose from \$235 million in 2002" to \$1.956 billion in 2008.⁸⁸ However, compared to Pakistan's exports to India, the amount of Indian exports to Pakistan has remained high.

The two countries, however, planned to meet the \$10 billion target of mutual trade. Two countries permitted delivery of trucks to transport commodities from one another's regions in October 2007. It was forecast that many agricultural goods would benefit from the policies of the two countries.⁸⁹

Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) as Pipeline

This project has a significant importance not only to increase the confidence between India and Pakistan but also it can play a vital role to strengthening economic ties between India

⁸⁸ Qudssia Akhlaque. "Final Notice to be served on India: Balihar Dam Issue", *Dawn, Karachi (Pakistan)*, November 30, 2003,

⁸⁹ "Pakistan-India Relations", Islamabad: *Pakistani Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT)*, June 13, 2011, pp. 13-14.

and Pakistan. The internal issues of Pakistan, unclear behavior of India and the global and international position of Iran are the factors due to which the development and negotiation on suggested project had remained unfinished. In the year 2007 all three countries one more time began negotiations about the project further more India and Pakistan attempted to settle the matter of the transit fee. In the contrast to Pakistan's demand of 0.493 million BTU, India offered 0.15 million BTU. Eventually, both sides began negotiations upon the resolution of the problem also, in April 2007, the technical staff of the two countries met to formulate structural bodies and to speed up the process of settling the transit trade and project-related tariff issues.⁹⁰

The dedicated position upon that venture could undoubtedly lead the gates for the member sides to coordinate in the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) as Pipeline Project. The IPI pipeline project has a potential of creating job opportunities in both neighboring countries Pakistan and India. The political cooperation between two most significant import dependent and energy deficit countries India and Pakistan in order to make this project effective and to improve the economic condition of partner countries.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Shamila N. Chaudhary. "Iran to India Natural as Pipeline: Implications for Conflict Resolution & Regionalism in India, Iran, and Pakistan," *Washington D.C: School of International Service*, American University, March 3, 2010.

⁹¹ Sohaib Shahid. "Iran-Pak-India as Pipeline: Implications and Prospects," *Business & Finance Review (Jan group of Newspaper, Islamabad)*, January 15, 2007.

CONCLUSION

Since independence South Asian twin countries (India and Pakistan) have witness the history of mistrust and strong competition. There has been very rare expression of friendship between these two countries and the bond between these two countries never lasted longer. Although India and Pakistan are two prominent south Asian countries and both states could contribute to the region's socioeconomic growth, but the hostility between these two countries hindered the future development and advancement in the region. This is the main reason the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) has been hostage to the hostility of these two countries. Apart from hostility South Asia remained the most little developed region in the world.

It is the fact the both countries India and Pakistan post-independence made taken initiatives to the dialogue mechanism on numerous occasions, which, to some extent eradicated the ill-feeling on both sides, but this could not last loner due to the deferral of talks on various occasions. The approach of conciliation and collaboration is the need of the day instead of war. The continuation of the peace effort and negotiation process between two countries, has expanded cultural exchange and business delegations and the media helped aimed the access to the opinions prevailing on both sides. The absence of two way cultural, business and media previously affected some encouraging progress in the peace keeping efforts.

In the era of this economic assistance and territorial stability, the change in point of view toward peaceful coexistence in both countries is a positive omen for South Asia's promising future. In the two countries, think tanks and scholarly forums have been to favor a positive approach for peace and collaboration. For India, it is very important to settle its conflicts with neighbor in order to become a power in Asia, and for Pakistan, on the other hand, it is necessary for peace with India to overcome some of its domestic, economic and social problems. It is evident that once the Kashmir problem et resolved, the old prerequisite on the Pakistani side to hold discussions on all other economic and political problems would ease and all the issues would be addressed with fair style and awareness simultaneously.

It should be seen that, along with the willingness and signing of agreements on rail and road connections, dramatic steps have been made in the area of peace and stability. This was the

problems that, in terms of their negative thinking towards each other, neither group could consider addressing. The bus service between Srinagar (Indian Kashmir) and Muzaffarabad (Kashmir's Pakistani side) gave the Kashmiri citizen an opportunity to interact and visit their loved ones across the borderline. Although it was not an easy for Pakistan and India to decide and address such issue, as it is always considered as bone of contention and a source of distrust between the both countries India and Pakistan. The process to take peace keeping measure which was been during 1999 unlocked the ways to collaboration through the theme of "Not looking back."

The normal relations between Pakistan and India rely on the sincerity leadership of both countries. Both countries must focus on all the issues that can be addressed for the union discussion ahead. The further Pakistan and India come to recognize one another, the more the possibility of their dissimilarities being shunned. It is very important to make spirited attempts to address divisive problems and to do so in order to improve the existing Pakistan India dial our mechanism and to eliminate the barriers that may impair the Composite Dialogue.

Findings

- Sustainable peace process is not possible between Pakistan and India without resolving major issue of Kashmir. both countries tried to address this issue during dialogue process in 2004 and in 2005 a bus service was also started between Muzaffarabad to Srinagar
- SAARC and other regional organizations cannot play their role in the region without friend relations between states.
- The friendly relationship between both countries can boost the economy of both countries.
- There are elements on both sides that don't want peace and dialogue like RSS, Shiv Shina, Jihadist groups etc.

Recommendation

- In bringing the two states together, Track II diplomacy also played a significant part. In contrast to previous encounters, the Composite Dialogue phase represented an influential shift.
- It is the reality that both countries being nuclear power can neither alter their geography nor for war. The only way to deal with this situation is the process of negotiation that would lead to a deeper understanding and solution of the issues hindering their national growth.
- Enhancing the mutual connections and the It is important for both India and Pakistan to settle all kinds of disputes not just meant for the existence of the individuals, as well as for the alteration of economic capital from security to development goals. e determination to sustain a cease-fire in Kashmir evidently signifies that both sides have a modest approach to finding an agreement on the issue.

SUMMARY

Relations between India and Pakistan have remained complicated because of a number of historical and political events. Since inception Pakistan and India refused to accept each other due to the multiple disputed issues like Kashmir, Sir Creek and water dispute. On these issues the two nations have fought three major wars (1948, 1956, and 1971), a military confrontation in Kargil (1999) and other armed skirmishes at the line of control including the Siachen glacier conflict on the highest battlefield in the world. With the acquisition of strategic arms and the modernization of the region the ties between the two old rivals have added a new dimension. The nuclear power status of both Pakistan and India along with the international pressures has increased the need for peace and collaboration more intensely than before.

Socio-economic ties between countries remain an important global problem as there is no nation that can survive in isolation. The process to improve Pakistan India Socio-economic relation was started in 1999 when India P.M visited Pakistan which clearly marked a significant change in the status quo which prevailed during the previous eras. The launch of the bus service included the CBMs that led to individual contacts, one of the greatest measures to allow people to become familiar with each other. In 1999, a bus service from Lahore to New Delhi was started by both countries before the start of the Composite Dialogue in 2004. The cricket series, held in March 2004, is worth mentioning and truly symbolize a significant incident in transforming both sides' psychology for help and peace building rather than pessimistic thought. The members of civil society of Pakistan from different fields of the life like the media, sports, culture and the arts have paid significantly to the establishment of friendly ties between the two nuclear neighbors.

In the year 2008 an agreement was signed by Pakistan and India regarding cooperation and exchange of different think tanks run by state, i.e., Islamabad (Pakistan) Institute of Strategic Studies Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad (Pakistan) and the Institute of Security Studies and Analysis, New Delhi (India), in order to establish and promote contact and knowledge between the two countries. To foster warm interactions, in 2006 Pakistan and India became agree to conduct film festivals of one another. In 2008, a decision to mutually release Indian films in

Pakistan was made public by the government of Pakistan. To improve economic relation between India and Pakistan the bilateral trade relation between India and Pakistan was one of the topmost agendas of India and Pakistan official meetings in 2005. Bilateral trade between Pakistan and India amounted to \$1.7 billion during 2007-2008. One can clearly see and hope for a very close cooperation in economic, and social fields. War is no more an option for these nuclear powers and in the world of today where regional economic integration is a way forward for development and stability, Pakistan and India need to increase their cooperation in all the potential fields and move for the resolution of all the outstanding disputes. This will surely lead towards the improvement of conditions of the poor people on both sides coupled with the economic integration and development of the whole South Asian region.

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