CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Conflict and co-operation are the basic characteristics of human life. It is inconceivable to think of human society without their presence and interaction. Therefore, the fundamental or the basic question before any researcher specializing on conflict resolution study or peace research is not the elimination or eradication of conflict from human society, but its control, management, de-escalation and resolution since it is a permanent feature and omnipresent reality of human existence.

Conflict within a group sometimes helps to revitalize existent norms, material base and social dynamics, or it contributes to the emergence of new norms. In this sense social conflict is a mechanism for adjustment of norms, material base and social dynamics, adequate to new environment and conditions. Hence conflict is an inevitable component of change and transformation dialectics.¹

Conflict is a social phenomenon of immense complexity and variety and is characterized by multiple causations both with respect to its origin and development. It can emerge on a single or on numerous primary issues which through the

processes of proliferation and escalation\textsuperscript{2} may become intertwined with a diversity of secondary and more emotional issues, such as hatred, mistrust and lack of confidence. Hence conflict is typically a mixture of the objective and subjective or the sociological and psychological variations.\textsuperscript{3}

The objective nature of conflict is especially evident in the basic field of perception, cognition and communication. Objective factors in conflict also entail subjective evaluations, so that modification in tangible differences and incompatibilities of interest are possible through bilateral consultations, dialogues, negotiations and bargaining.\textsuperscript{4}

\begin{enumerate}
\item Jonathan Wilkenfield, \textit{Conflict Behaviour and Linkage Politics} (New York, 1973);
Elton B. McNeil, ed., \textit{The Nature of Human Conflict} (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1965); and
\item Charles Fred Ikle, \textit{How Nations Negotiate} (New York, 1967). In this volume Ikle analysed various techniques and methods for the resolution of international conflict;
Winham Gilbert T., "International Negotiation in the Age of Transition", \textit{International Journal} (CIIA), vol. 35, no. 1, winter 1979-80, pp. 1-20;
"Bargaining and Negotiations in International Relations", in Herbert C. Kelman, ed., \textit{International Behaviour: A Social-Psychological Analysis} (New York, 1965), pp. 464-520; and
\end{enumerate}
Conflict appears inherently open to certain self-aggravating mechanism, which foster escalation onto a variety of dimensions. There is a strong and powerful tendency for conflict escalation moves to be reciprocated, often in the interest of defence, security and caution and economic benefits. On the other hand conflict management, de-escalation, resolution and conciliatory acts are not reciprocated quite so readily.

However, most of the aspects of conflict behaviour of social entities are predominantly understandable and modifiable reactions to a complex and difficult environment, rather than due to inherent and unchangeable properties of the entities themselves or of their relationship. This is not to deny the significance of socio-structural determinants of conflict, but to pinpoint that these and many other aspects can be dealt with and modified if the parties so desire. Thus the complexity of social conflict is characteristically reflected in a mixture of functional and dysfunctional actions and outcomes. Hence it would be an oversimplification to characterise conflict exclusively as either negative or

5 Kenneth E. Boulding, Conflict and Defence: A General Theory (New York, 1962). In this book Boulding applied techniques of econometrics to the study of conflict between the Superpowers. However, these techniques are relevant for the study of conflict among various developing and underdeveloped nation-states in general and Indo-Pakistani relations in particular.

6 Jonathan Wilkenfield, op. cit.
positive. 7

As conflict has its existence at the individual and societal levels, it has its existence even at international level, i.e., among different nation-states. 8 These nation-states in their quest or search for security, defence, welfare, prestige, self-identity and aggrandisement, usually pursue incompatible policies, which bring them into clash or conflict. 9 However, we cannot simply assume that international conflicts arise merely from misunderstanding and misperception. Indeed most conflicts involve real clash of

7 Lewis A. Coser, op. cit., n. 4.

Evan Luard, Types of International Societies (New York, 1976);


Thomas Schelling presumes conflict neither as an abnormal condition to be cured, nor in terms of personality or motivation but rather as a type of social interaction in which strategy and bargaining behaviour are the focus of attention. He calls his analysis a "mixture of game theory, organization theory, theory of evidence, theory of choice and theory of collective decision"; and


interest and ideologies, centring around incompatible goals and structural realities. 10

One of the important characteristics of international conflict is that each party thinks that it regards some issue as unimportant, so that it will be easy for the other party to back down on it. But it is the adversary's perception of what is important and what is not important, which controls their decision, not the general perceptions or some objective standards. No matter how irrational an adversary may be, if the other party wants to influence her, it should deal with her on its own ground, rationally. Conflict is desirable for stimulation of human progress, as long as it does not become destructive or catastrophic. 11 Indeed, it is in conflict situations that the finest co-operative and creative spirit, both among individuals and groups, manifests and asserts itself. An individual or a nation-state at perfect peace may not be fully capable of constructive action. It is a historical fact that great works of art, significant inventions


and important movements are often initiated by those who are confronted with challenges or crisis. Thus conflict is desirable as long as it is evocative and has a touch of creativity. However, the moment it turns out to be destructive and catastrophic, it is essential that it should be managed, de-escalated and resolved through peaceful means.\textsuperscript{12}

Conflict \textit{per se} is not necessarily destructive and evil. It may have and often does have constructive values. Therefore, conflict de-escalation and resolution endeavour possess both integrative and creative values for individuals as well as for nation-states. According to Arthur Larson one of the challenges of 'Warless World' is to enable the individuals and nation-states to learn to engage in conflict (in the sense of difficulties and challenges) without


For further details of peaceful means, see Chapter II of this thesis, "Conflict and Co-operation: Nature and Interaction", under sub-heading: "Techniques and Methods for the Management, Deescalation and Resolution of International Conflict".

Charles Fred Ikle, \textit{op. cit.}, and

recourse to violence. 13

The quest for international peace and co-operation has been the central aim in the life of the individual from time immemorial. 14 But the concern for peace and co-operation has acquired greater significance in the modern international system, because of the catastrophic nature of the nuclear weapons and nuclear warfare. 15 For instance if a nuclear war breaks out, it would mean total or complete annihilation or destruction. It is the recognition and realisation of this potential threat and deterrence to human survival that has led responsible people in all walks of life (i.e., intellectuals, policy-makers, diplomats and statesmen) to think over the means

13 Evan Luard, op. cit., n. 8;
Anthony De Reuck and Julie Knight, eds., op. cit.
Arthur Larson, ed., A Warless World (New York, 1962);
Anatol Rapoport, Conflict in Man-Made Environment (Harmondsworth, 1974); and
Johan Galtung, op. cit., n. 10.


15 Frankel Joseph, International Politics: Conflict and Co-operation (London, 1969); and
Nazir A. Kamal, op. cit., n. 11, pp. 1-10.
and techniques to avoid such annihilation or destruction and to evolve a peaceful and co-operative international system. 16

Johan Galtung raised the important question of an interdisciplinary approach to contemporary questions of international relations. He puts the problem of exploring the range of possibilities for peace and co-operation as follows:

Development -- which gives an opportunity to present basic values, basic trends, the state of affairs in the world.

Conflict -- which gives an opportunity to discuss what happens when values, goals and interests ... are in conflict, to discuss conflict creation, conflict dynamics and conflict resolution.

Peace -- which gives an opportunity to discuss how development and a creative approach to conflict can come together, in the fight against direct as well as structural violence.

Future -- which gives an opportunity to project all this on the screen of the future analyzing trends, making proposals for action. 17

16 Thomas C. Schelling, "Negotiation in Warfare", in Pfaltzgraff Robert L., ed., op. cit., pp. 445-9. For instance, Nazir A. Kamal emphasises that co-operation and collaboration are a way of life so to speak; they are not compliments to diplomacy, they are the constituents of diplomacy itself because of the nature of problems which cannot be yield only to co-operative and collaborative enterprise among states. The premium on concerted effort and multilateral planning, which presupposes a measure of consensus, is extremely high. As such, in comparative terms, quite apart from the relative position of military force, the usefulness of such force is greatly surpassed by the art and science of co-operation and collaboration for the pursuit and promotion of interest. Nazir A. Kamal, op. cit., p. 15.

17 Johan Galtung, "On Peace Education", in Christoph Wulf, ed., Handbook on Peace Education (Frankfurt/Main, 1974); p. 171.
As stated above, the phenomena of conflict and co-operation are distinctive features of human interaction and world politics. Interaction among nations is no exception. Conflict, being discord, is meaningful only when it is resolved, creating harmony, mutual confidence-building and co-operative understanding. Peaceful co-operation is inevitable for smooth interaction among the nations. It is conflict and hostility which ultimately leads the nation-states towards harmony and peaceful co-existence.

Conflict in its various forms is an omnipresent reality of human existence. Since it often includes dysfunctional and destructive components. Experts on conflict management, de-escalation and resolution studies have explored numerous methods and techniques, as adjustment, accommodation, conciliation, mediation, moot, arbitration, autocratic-decision making, mutual confidence-building, mutual co-operative understanding, regulation, bargaining, negotiation and dialogues, on the issues of creating conflict for its management,


19 A list of experts:

de-escalation and resolution. However, the traditional peaceful means such as international law and international organisation have with minor exceptions failed in bringing world peace and co-operation.

Conflict resolution through the application of physical force has become increasingly inapplicable in international politics. Modern era is known for negotiation and dialogues, and for reconciliation and compromise among nation-states on various controversial issues. These negotiations, talks and dialogues are of different nature, i.e., multilateral, mediatory, bilateral etc. etc. But among them bilateral approach appears to be the most suitable for the resolution of outstanding disputes and conflicts because the parties to the disputes themselves know best 'where the shoe pinches' and about the extent to which mutual accommodation, bargaining and adjustment is possible.

The problem of management, de-escalation and resolution of international conflict depends upon many factors and the success of these factors depends upon how strongly the disputants desire to reach conciliation, compromise and


21 Anatol Rapoport, Fights, Games and Debates (Harmondsworth, 1960).
intend to resolve their conflict and disputes and to live in a peaceful and co-operative system and the reaction of its public opinion towards its national policies. 22

To analyse any conflict each and every concept in the mind of the disputants must be considered. 23 Therefore, the proper method of action is not to try to single out individual causes of conflict but to consider them in their totality. The proper means of resolving conflict is to let the participants reach their own agreement and decision without any outside concern or constraint. To effect this the two parties in conflict must be brought into active and prolonged consultations, discussions, dialogues and negotiations so that they can breakdown their "mirror-images" of each other's position and reach an acceptable agreement. Though a "genuine"

22 F.S. Northedge, ed., op. cit., n. 20. In this book the author analysed the active role of public opinion as a powerful restraints of policy formulation and implication and had discussed various types of public actions.

I. Negligible and passive public opinion
II. Active public opinion,
   a - Credible threats of public action
   b - Moderate public action
   c - Extreme public action;


J.N. Rosenau, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy (New York, 1969);

R.W. White, Opinion and Personality (New York, 1956);


compromise may not satisfy either side but may lead to a working connection of new behavioural patterns. This would further assist the conflicting parties to initiate the process of greater interaction and to prepare the ground for peaceful co-existence and friendly understanding.

According to Willy Brandt,

*It has become clearer and clearer that the reduction of military strength - beyond some modest measures - cannot be attained independent of a reduction of political tensions and cannot in isolation lead to a secure peace.* 24

In studying conflict at its macro level among various nation-states, the first technique to be applied is the system in which relations are influenced above all by the conventions, norms and customs of the society within which they exist, because the relations of nation-states are influenced by the conventions, norms and customs of their system. However, the principal and the major factors to be considered in each system are the types of units involved, the number and nature of their contacts, their goals towards each other, their means of achieving these goals and the common institutions they establish. 25


Detente, peaceful co-existence and co-operative relationship have gained vital significance in contemporary international politics. \(^{26}\) In the words of Willy Brandt:

Tensions are the expression of conflicts of interest. All peace policies must concentrate on the accommodation of conflicting interests and on the elimination of the tensions bound up with them. Thus the much used *Leitmotiv* of the present day is 'detente'. It is worth making the conception of detente precise so that it does not degenerate into a meaningless or misused magical formula. \(^{27}\)

Detente, according to Philip Windsor is characterised by a decrease in tension between Super Powers and their allies. \(^{28}\) In the Soviet view, detente might be characterised as the realisation of peaceful co-existence. \(^{29}\) In the context of the attainment of European peace Willy Brandt highlighted that it should be soberly recognised that the policy of detente is not in itself the goal and he explained it as follows:

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27 Willy Brandt, *op. cit.*, p. 166.


1. Detente is not a magic word. The conception itself will not bring about the disappearance of tensions and contradictions between East and West. The policy of detente is a policy of accommodation of conflicting aims and interests.

2. Detente is not a goal in itself. It is meant to make possible an accommodation of interests that will create the foundations of an enduring European Peace Order. A policy of detente is no capitulation and no flight from reality but is the attempt to gain more and more areas for cooperation.

3. Detente is a comprehensive program. Of course, not all problems can be solved in a single action. One must start where a beginning can be made; one must content oneself with small steps where larger ones are premature. But all this must constantly be in the perspective of wider situations.

However, the concept of detente now has wider applicability not only between the Super Powers, and for the attainment of European peace but also peace among the under-developed and developing nations of the Third World and specially between India and Pakistan.

An analysis of the post-colonial period in the Indian subcontinent highlights the fact that the two major regional powers -- India and Pakistan -- have had a history of conflictual relations since their very inception.

These conflicts led to four armed confrontations and produced unfortunate results and left a legacy of unresolved problems. However, a common feature observed in the policies of both the countries was that at every stage after the war, these nations tried to have normal relations, but their basic structure of threat, deterrence, antagonism and incompatibility of interest remained and both of them faced policy paradoxes in the era of detente.

Moreover, while analysing the field of tensions between India and Pakistan, policy-makers and experts of both countries on this sensitive subject maintained a tendency to exaggerate their negative factors and to underestimate the possibilities of positive interaction. Further, efforts were

31. There are various reasons for the perpetuation of conflictual relations between India and Pakistan. However, the main reasons to be mentioned are:

a. The very principle of division of British India into India and Pakistan as separate sovereign entities.

b. The ideological differences between India and Pakistan, i.e., India being a secular state and Pakistan being a theocratic state.

c. The unfortunate circumstances under which these two countries were created.

d. Desire to maintain mirror images and prejudices and apparently hostile intentions.

e. Rank-consciousness and minority problems.

f. Dispute over Kashmir; and

g. The major problems arising from partition, such as:
   (1) Problems of assets and liabilities; (2) Canal waters distribution; (3) Distribution of Military equipments; (4) Fear psychosis or perceived security threats.
not made by them to reinterpret the existing conflict-oriented data and hence most of the existing studies 32

32 A representative list of the existing studies:

Mohammad Ayoob, India-Pakistan and Bangladesh: Search for New Relationship (New Delhi, 1975),

Mohammad Ayoob and K. Subrahmanyan, Our Liberation War (New Delhi, 1972).

G.S. Bhargava, Success or Surrender? The Simla Summit (New Delhi, 1972).

S.M. Burke, Mainsprings of Indian and Pakistani Foreign Policies (Minneapolis, 1974).


Pran Chopra, India's Second Liberation (New Delhi, 1973).

G.W. Choudhary, Pakistan's Relations with India (Meerut, 1971).


B.M. Kaul, Confrontation with Pakistan (New Delhi, 1974).


Sangat Singh, Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Appraisal (Bombay, 1970).


, Kashmir: A Study in India-Pakistan Relations (Bombay, 1967).

M. Zafrulla Khan, Pakistan's Foreign Relations (Karachi, 1951).
delineate some features of the conflict situations which have left their scars on India-Pakistan relations. It is widely accepted in both countries\textsuperscript{33} that these approaches are inadequate and point to the need for a careful and impartial study of the causes of conflict between India and Pakistan through interdisciplinary research on the problems of "conflict and co-operation". And the warning given by Willy Brandt is relevant here. To cite him, "Foreign policy, as a means of a worldwide security policy, must protect the peace, promote the forces of evolution and strengthen communication".\textsuperscript{34} Hence it is generally accepted by most of the experts on Indo-Pakistani relations, that some new thinking and new perspectives are necessary if progress is to be made to de-escalate and resolve conflict, to remove misperception and misunderstanding and to establish long-term

\textsuperscript{33} As for Pakistani society's reaction is concerned, during this scholar's study visit to Pakistan it was felt that a substantial section of it feels that in the past efforts were not made for fair and impartial study on the part of policy-makers, statesmen and scholars in both the countries. However, it is their understanding that it is high time for either of the countries to forget about the past and should undertake initiative to live in peace. They expect that the scholars, policy-makers, political elites would come forward to assist their respective country in achieving this objective.

\textsuperscript{34} Willy Brandt, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 27.
peace and cooperation between New Delhi and Islamabad. It is not possible in the present study to do much beyond demonstrating that this is a productive field of enquiry. The biased perceptions of Indian or Pakistani writers undoubtedly raise moral and intellectual problems for which in the final analysis some sort of 'World Education' (in Johan Galtung's terminology) is the appropriate answer. The purpose of this study is to focus on the need for applying the general conflict resolution and confidence-building theory and its differentiated concepts to the specific political situations

35 For instance during this scholar's field trip to Pakistan detailed discussions and consultations on this point were conducted with some Pakistani academicians, strategists and policy makers with a view to know their ideas. Academicians like Ashen M Choudhury, Mustafa Razvi, Parvez Iqbal Cheema, Shamim Akhtar, Rafiq Ahmed, Mian Nazir Ahmad, Afzal Mohammad, A.K. Barohi, Hassan Habib; strategists like Brig. Noor Ahmad Hussain, Brig. Basheer Ahmad, Lt-Gen. A.I. Akram, Brig Abdul Basit, Syed Anvar Hussain; journalists like Ahmad Hussain, A.T. Choudhury; Zubedia Mustafa, Musahid Hussain, Masooma Hassan; policy-makers like Niaz A. Naik, Abdul Sattar, Mujahid Hussain, and the Pakistan President Gen. Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq and Foreign Minister Sahibzada Yakub Khan were inclined to such a view. On the Indian side, persons like Badruddin Tayabjee, B.G. Verghese, Rajinder Sareen and many others, came out with a similar view on the occasion of former Pakistani Foreign Minister, Agha Sahib's visit to New Delhi in January 1982; The Hindu (Madras), 1 February, 1982 and Times of India (New Delhi), 31 January 1982


38 Differentiated concepts of conflict resolution and confidence building theory dealt with in detail in II Chapter of this thesis.
in the Indian subcontinent and especially with reference to the international and inter-societal conflict dynamics between Indians and Pakistanis.

The application of an approach based exclusively on the concept of security for the study of the problem of relations between India and Pakistan narrows the range of scrutiny. But conflict resolution and confidence-building approach on the other hand poses the problem in terms of the overall need to create equitable, symmetrical and horizontal interdependence\textsuperscript{39} between New Delhi and Islamabad. At the same time since both India and Pakistan are the developing Third World countries, the theoretical considerations have to be extended beyond bilateral consensus and bridge-building to the assessment of development and constructive problems faced by all the developing Third World countries. Structural dependence of both these countries on the global economic system — (both being underdeveloped peripheries in relation to the developed metropolitan areas) — must be recognised as part of an adequate analytical framework for understanding the relationship between the two countries and for outlining the proposals for a reorientation process. Though in the present

\textsuperscript{39} Horizontal interdependence in the areas like sports, cinematography, fine arts, academic collaboration in the fields of art, science, agriculture, medicine, commerce and trade, Third World forum, with the intention to narrow the gap of suspicion and to acknowledge the necessity of peaceful coexistence.
context of Indo-Pakistani relations, it seems that still the conflictual tendencies are dominating over the peace-building ethos. Hence under such conditions what is required is that steps should be taken to initiate the process of peace-building ethos and the conflictual structure should be shifted into the pre-eminent peace-building structure, so that the desire for peaceful co-existence and friendly co-operation should dominate over the present conflict-oriented existence.

Hence, any realistic approach to the accumulation of conflicts between India and Pakistan must recognize the "high", "low" or "medium" pattern of explosive conflicts which have depended on the background and antecedent factors threatening peace and security on the subcontinent since the British withdrawal. It is therefore misleading to compare India and Pakistan like Professor Robert Oppenheimer once compared Soviet Union and United States to "two scorpions locked in a bottle". The implication of this perspective would result in over-dramatising of the power confrontation and ignoring the possibility of countervailing measures and self-imposed restraints. Drawing upon relations among young children Kenneth E. Boulding explained the parameters of conflict and indicated the "pathological learning process" which would substitute bellicose attitudes by those reinforcing mutual confidence: "Young children easily resort to violence, they fall into prisoner's dilemmas again and again."
The general pattern of their relationship is remarkably like that of international relations.  

It deserves to be noted that in Indo-Pakistani relations although lines of tension remain sharply drawn, theoretically speaking conflict itself may contribute to the development of integrative functions, and may therefore help in fundamental transformation towards the enhancement of mutual confidence. There are several ways to view the successive crises between India and Pakistan, if the analytical emphasis is not exclusively on India's "non-aligned ideology" and Pakistan's "Pan-Islamic ideology", but on inter-system relations and structures and processes which could generate functional equivalents of offensive strategic concepts, then it is possible to avoid extreme positions. In practice there have been flexible responses by India or Pakistan, and although it has always been a somewhat tenuous patchwork yet thinking in terms of mutual confidence-building has not been entirely absent.

Kenneth E. Boulding has underlined the essential instability of "threat-systems" and has stressed the need to


build "peace-defending" organizational structures.\textsuperscript{42} The actions and counter-actions of India and Pakistan as adversaries can also be understood in terms of the Lewis Richardson's model of arms race.\textsuperscript{43} Any genuine desire to evaluate the prospects for accommodation between India and Pakistan in the prevailing circumstances, requires that there should not be an exaggeration of emphasis on the arms race\textsuperscript{44} between New Delhi and Islamabad. The Richardson model provides an interesting facet of the conflictual behaviour and can help in forecasting armament expenditures of India and Pakistan, but armament expenditures do not provide an adequate reference framework for comprehending many decisive issues in the regulation of conflict between the two countries. This particular view of disarmament in international arena has been further supported by Willy Brandt as follows:

\textbf{42} In India-Pakistan case peace-defending organizational structures, such as, unbiast and well-defined communication system, institution to facilitate the nationals for exchange of visits, co-operative and interdependent press, administrative institutions, research institutions in the fields of arts, commerce, science and technology, agriculture, medicine, applied science and industries, would possibly play constructive role.

\textbf{43} L.F. Richardson, ed., \textit{Arms and Insecurity: A Mathematical Study of the Causes and Origins of War} (Pittsburgh, 1960), p. 180; and


\textbf{44} A joint commission should be established to evaluate the arms requirement through debates and mutual consensus for India and Pakistan. Further facilities for the frequent exchange of inspection should be allowed within a particular span of time for the delegates of either countries.
The idea of general disarmament is no novelty. From being a component of historical utopias it has turned into a postulate of practical politics. Nevertheless, to this day things have scarcely advanced even to the point of beginning a freely agreed on disarmament. 45

However, in order to obtain practical results in achieving accommodation and co-operation on common objectives between India and Pakistan, the conflict potential between them has to be assessed with the help of a 'Totality Key-note approach' (plurality of concepts). To develop options to promote accommodation critical insights must be obtained into both constructive and destructive processes in the behaviour pattern of India and Pakistan. In order to characterise a realistic peace policy for either of the two countries, subjective perceptions of reality should be avoided. The warning given by J.W. Burton is relevant here.

An arbitrary shifting of what appears to be relevant facts usually draws attention to personality and ideological features, the aspects that press reporters might find newsworthy. A shifting on the basis of a framework or theory would call attention to a different set of features. It would warn against decisions to employ power in the suppression of indigenous uprisings and at the same time point to other means of achieving stated policy goals, and even to alteration in these goals. It would protect decision-makers against stereotypes and hasty conclusions based on preconceived ideological notions. 46

45 Willy Brandt, op. cit., n. 24, p. 166.

46 J.W. Burton, "Conflict as a Function of Change", in Anthony De Reuck and Julie Knight, eds., op. cit., p. 397.
The area of study for promoting measures towards confidence-building and accommodation among nations has therefore to be structured deliberately to avoid distorted conceptions of reality, such as those which were formed when national feelings were exacerbated. Morton Deutsch gives the reason why attention should not be restricted to only the disintegrative elements of inter-state behaviour:

Behaviour, particularly in a time of high tension and crisis, is more likely to be determined by anxiety, stereotypes, self esteem defence manoeuvres, and social conformity pressures, than by simple rational estimates of economic loss and gain. 47

Therefore, the question of accommodation and reconciliation between India and Pakistan is related to these three factors: (i) The Fresh interpretation of data, (ii) Proper emphasis on the possibilities of positive interaction, (iii) The broad issues of policy-innovation. A well-structured over-view would include the following:

1. **The Contribution of Game Theory**

   Many of the conditions necessary for the establishment


48 To mention few conditions, like, the genuine desire to live in peace, this was successively demonstrated by either of the countries after each armed conflict, both being Third World developing nations have to look after their ultimate problems, i.e., rising the living standard of their poor masses, eradication of poverty, illiteracy, they share common culture, language and geo-strategic problems plus both being influential among the Third World countries to play their due role in the attainment of constructive and co-operative purposes.
of a comprehensive peace settlement between India and Pakistan are present but a retrospective look at historical events highlights that positive ways of solving problems were not accepted at a level of official perception and decision-making. It is possible to overcome obstacles if it can be demonstrated that relations between two nations are not "zero-sum" (i.e., the gain of one will not be at the cost of other or "non-zero-sum"). We can take into account: (i) the Prisoners' Dilemma, and (ii) the Game of "Chicken", to find out how confidence was undermined between India and Pakistan, and also to establish guidelines for resolving conflicts through negotiations, dialogues and discussions. In particular, the fundamental theorem of game theory states the following:

Given two players with diametrically opposed interests and with a finite number of strategies available to each, there exists an optimum strategy (which may be a mixture of available ones) for each player. This optimum strategy has the property that, if both players play "rationally", the strategy guarantees to each player that he will receive a pay off no smaller than he can expect given an equally rational opponent. 49


Though there are many things common between India and Pakistan yet over the years it had been observed that they had clash of interest on different issues and this has perpetuated the conflictual tendencies in their relations. But Anatol Rapoport's stress on rational dealing for the resolution of international conflict seems to possess equal weightage in India-Pakistan case.
2. The Contribution of Psychological Approaches

The general pattern of Indo-Pakistani relations from the time the two countries became independent till the Simla Agreement of 2 July 1972, has been one of internecine struggle partly because of psychological obstacles to the creation of a new network of relations in the subcontinent, irrespective of the possibilities of wider reorientation of policies, both the Governments as successor-administrations to the British Government in pre-partitioned India looked up the perspectives for further political developments in terms of "mirror-images". A psychological study of the elements

50 However, according to Lt. Gen. A.I. Akram, a Pakistani scholar, Indian rulers claimed themselves as the true successor of British India and Pakistani rulers as the genuine descendent of Delhi Sultanate and both of them followed competitive policies in almost all sectors with the intention to distort each other's image in international forums. Thus this psychological set up undermined the possibilities of co-operation between them, in their earlier phases of separate existence. For further details on this point see, A.I. Akram, "Make Peace Not War", Muslim (Islamabad), series of articles, 10 August 1982 to 28 August 1982.

51 Evan Luard, "Psychological Factors", in: Types of International Societies (New York, 1976);

H.J. Eysenck, The Psychology of Politics (London, 1955);


T.H. Pear, ed., Psychological Factors in Peace and War (New York, 1950);


Rayman Aron, Peace and War (London, 1966); and

of attraction and repulsion in the imagery and models within which the polarisation took place -- would help to avoid the "all or nothing" projections for peaceful co-existence. But countries can gain control of the conflict dynamics by understanding peace-building measures and by stimulating perceptions of common interests.

3. **Crisis Management Studies**

The management of crisis\(^5\) continues to be a task of grave political significance and has given rise to a literature which is broadly divided into two approaches, viz. (i) Systemic Approach, and (ii) Decision-making Approach. The premises and conclusions from both these approaches can be usually applied to Indo-Pakistani relations, provided it is remembered that political values and processes in India and Pakistan do not accord with the assumptions which underlie the decisive turning points in crisis management in the Western world.

4. **Simulation and Peace Studies**

The use of simulation in the study of international relations can help in charting the direction of policy. What

are the factors contributing to the conflictual nature of the strategies and goals of Indian and Pakistani decision-makers?

These can be discovered through international relations simulations and alternative features can be outlined. Given the realities of Indo-Pakistani interaction, it should be possible to evaluate key conflict resolution and mutual confidence-building concepts. According to Paul Smoker, there are at least five purposes for which simulation have been used:

(i) Group behaviour with reference to variables like cultural differences, crisis situations, information flows, threats, negotiations etc.

(ii) Historical events and precise kinds of political situations.

(iii) Islands of Theory: This refers to the studies on some specific theoretical or functional aspects of the international system in-depth involving theoretical concern, e.g., alliance formation, decision-making processes, or deterrence.

(iv) Integrated theory which brings together the "islands" to depict the total international interactive process.

(v) Evaluation of Policy Formation: In India-Pakistan context this would specifically include all conflict-reducing strategies. 53

Simulation cannot provide answers to all questions relating to alternative futures of Indo-Pakistani relations. As a conceptual and methodological tool it can, however, directly

contribute to widening the scope for political dialogue in
furtherance of a genuine process of rapprochement. But the
volume and range of Indo-Pakistani transactions cannot be
viewed exclusively as power-political because domestic and
foreign policies are subject to common societal permeation.

Therefore, the relevance of conflict resolution
approach depends crucially on the assumption of symmetry.
Symmetrical conflicts are the most visible and understandable
in the framework of thought, governing the traditional concept
of international relations. However, the symmetrical concept
of conflict either ignores or misperceives other types of
conflict that have only recently come into the forefront of
attention -- distinctly asymmetrical conflict whose genesis
is hot, issues to be settled, but the very structure of a
situation that cannot be eliminated or modified without
conflict. Indeed, the suspension of conflict or making
conflict impossible is in these instances entirely in the
interest of the parties concerned.

As stated above, in the past much work has been
done in India, Pakistan and some Western countries on Indo-
Pakistan relations, but most of these authors have not studied
India and Pakistan at a symmetrical and horizontal level,
neither discussed the relevant techniques of peace-building
ethos, mutual confidence-building, free and fair exchange
of communication, in maintaining their relations. In this
study we make an attempt to analyse the significance of these instruments in relation to India-Pakistan relations.

The Simla Agreement of 2 July 1972, concluded after the dismemberment of Pakistan in December 1971 war was the starting point of a new operational framework. In this phase it seems that both India and Pakistan realised that confrontation and conflicts cannot resolve their outstanding disputes, neither enhance the advancement in economic, scientific and technological fields, on the contrary it will create a negative impact on their relations. The Bangladesh crisis of 1971, altered the very structure of the Indian subcontinent and enhanced the geo-political and strategic importance of this sensitive region in world politics, with the emergence of a strong India.\(^{54}\) It demolished the concept of 'two-nation

\(^{54}\) Majority of experts on Indo-Pakistani relations agreed on this point. Moreover, the Super Powers too have given the same impression. Henry Kissinger during his visit to India in October 1974, addressing ICWA admitted this fact.

Bhabani Sen Gupta, "The Super Powers and India", in M.S. Rajan and Shivaji Ganguly, eds., Great Power Relations, World Order and the Third World (New Delhi, 1981) - analysed the views of George Kennan, Stephen P. Cohen and Richard L. Park about India's being the 'pre-eminent' power in South Asia and the conclusion drawn was that all these three experts on South Asian politics agreed that India emerged as the 'pre-eminent power' - a status denied to her since its independence.


John W. Mellor, ed., India: A Rising Middle Power (Boulder, 1979);
theory' which led to the partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947. 55 Today's Pakistan is more united, homogenous, geographically compact, and prosperous than what it was before the war. 56 The characteristic confrontational posture of Pakistan has disappeared after its loss of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). In the words of Surjit Mansingh: "Military


Norman D. Palmer, "India in International System", in M.S. Rajan and Shivaji Ganguly, eds, *op. cit.*

Above all the present ruler of Pakistan Gen. Zia in an interview during the study trip to Pakistan with this scholar frankly admitted this reality. To cite Zia's exact words:

India is emerging as a very strong power both economically and militarily in this region. And this status or position which she has achieved or is trying to achieve, goes to her in her own right because of her size, of her capacity, and perhaps because of the requirement that India has in our region, we do not grudge, we do not envy India on that score.


Norman D. Palmer, "Pakistan : The Long Search for Foreign Policy", in Lawrence Ziring and others, eds., *Pakistan : The Long View* (Duke, 1977). According to him the break-up of united Pakistan in 1971 showed that a common ideology was not enough to transcend antagonism between the two wings of a country.

victory in December and the emergence of a friendly independent Bangladesh from the erstwhile East-Pakistan ended the major challenge to India's predominance in South Asia posed by Pakistan." This provides the best opportunity for Pakistan to make efforts to establish co-operative and peaceful relations with India within the framework of Simla Agreement. Simultaneously these developments greatly improved the Indian security environment and gave much needed confidence to her policy-makers.

The significance of Simla Agreement is that both the parties to the agreement agreed for the first time, since their inception to resolve their outstanding disputes and those arising from the 1971 crisis, through bilateral negotiations, dialogue and mutual consensus, whereas in the past they were mediated either by Super Powers or the United Nations. The consequences, however, were unsatisfactory.


However during my discussion with many Pakistani policymakers, it was observed that they too have consensus on this point since they feel that Pakistan has lost its potentiality to compete with India. Further they admit that Pakistan is ten times smaller than India and future confrontation with India means for them suicide. To mention few of them who had given this impression are: Dr Anwar Khan, Niaz A. Naik, Sajjad Haider, Mian Ziauddin, Brig. Basheer Ahmad, Lt. Gen. A.I. Akram, Abdus Sattar, Haga Hilaly and many others.

58 A detailed analytical study of the positive and negative aspects of the Simla Agreement have been attempted in Chapter IV of this thesis.
Though India and Pakistan fought four wars in the short duration of their separate history as the independent entities. But the important point to be observed in their relations was that after each war both the countries made genuine endeavours to resolve their outstanding disputes amicably and through mutually agreed procedures. Thus the nature of Indo-Pakistani conflict is of the type of the "chicken game" or "the two scorpions locked in a battle" or "prisoner's dilemma", i.e., there are both elements of conflict and co-operation in their interrelationship. Hence it is the clear obligation of leadership in both the countries to narrow down the elements of conflict and expand the area of peace and co-operation through domestic and bilateral actions, such as the following: eradication of poverty, illiteracy, diseases, revival of cultural linkages, co-operation in the fields of science and technology, collective positive role for the development of Third World countries, trade linkages, agricultural co-operation, population control, racial harmony, economic development etc. etc.