PREFACE

The modern state of Pakistan, which came into being to provide a homeland for the exploited Muslims of the Indian subcontinent, barely within a quarter century of its existence, became a broken home. It is always a social inhibition not to tell the tale of a broken house for, it exposes unpalatable truth that man wants to hide from the glare of the society. But, a poet always takes licence to sing its glory, so also a novelist runs amuck with words to weave a story of its grandeur. But a social scientist untrammelled by any emotional commitment to the broken house, because of his cold logic, sound reasoning and scientific temper of mind, only probes the dynamics of its integration that rip through its myriad myths. This is the value-structure that underlie the present research into the foreign policy behaviour of Pakistan during 1947-71, which is sought to be explored in a systems perspective based on an analytical model accompanied by a framework of analysis to guide the modes of enquiry. This model is based on a number of inter-related concepts and assumptions to justify its analytical utility, which is covered in the first part of our enquiry.

In the second part, we have dealt with five major clusters of variables affecting the foreign policy behaviour
of Pakistan. Each chapter commences with a major variable, which in many cases subsumes a number of distinct subvariables or relational variables. And each one tests one major hypothesis, excluding many minor ones, which are proved by many relational variables.

In part three, which deals with the decision making in Pakistan's foreign policy, we have divided the last chapter into two segments, each incorporates a major variable. In the first section, we have assumed that decision making in any foreign policy system proceeds in two stages: policy preference leading to decision, and action or output. In the first stage, the cognitive beliefs of key decision makers predominate while between decision and action the bureaucratic and organizational dynamics distort the policy process which shapes the resultant output. For our empirical testing, we have taken Pakistan's decision to conclude the Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement with the United States in 1954.

In a work of this nature, one owes gratitudes to many individuals, groups and institutions. But in case of me, I am in bounden gratitude to my revered guide Professor K.P. Misra. It was Prof. Misra, who offered me a seat for M.Phil and subsequently accepted me to work under him. For
a young man who had been languishing for lack of an academic environment, Jawaharlal Nehru University opened new vistas for my intellectual curiosity. And, it was Prof. Misra who was the main source of emotional inspiration for my subsequent growth. I had a feeling that I may not grow under a great man like him, but, contrary to my fear, I flourished like a parasite drawing my intellectual substance from his vast experience and learning. It will always remain a memento of my life his loving care and the academic freedom one enjoys while working under him. In years to come, I can assure him that it will lie heavy on my shoulder.

I am also grateful to the Chairman of the Centre, Prof. K.P. Saxena, Prof. M. Zuberi and Prof. T.T. Poulse for their countless help and humanely concern.

Besides, my heart goes out in utter humility and admiration to Prof. Stephen Phillip Cohen of University of Illinois, who during one of his trips to India, was kind enough to see my draft and give me many constructive suggestions for a fruitful empirical enquiry. Beyond all these eminent academics, my unfailing source of inspiration is Prof. A.K. Roy, who means to me so much in life.
I am equally grateful to Mr. Sanjay Kumar Rout, a member of Indian Information Service and Mr. Suman Das, a Ph.D. research scholar in the Centre for Political Studies, JNU, for having taken enormous pain to go through my draft and correct many nagging mistakes. I am also indebted to Mr. A.K. Jaiswal, Assistant Librarian, JNU Central Library, for his constant cooperation, and also its members and the members of Sapru House Library, Indian Institute of Defence and Analysis Library, Rattan Tata Library of Delhi University, and Nehru Memorial Library, Teenmurty.

Of all, I am failing in my duty, if I do not convey my sincerest thankfulness to Mr. Gajanan Hegde of Type-O-Graphic Centre, Munirka, New Delhi, who spent many sleepless nights to type out this voluminous work which but would have lost its charm. So also, my thankfulness to Mr. Sanjay Kumar Jain for his many-sided cooperations.

Any intellectual enterprise is an intensely personal one, so do mine. The views expressed are entirely mine for which I am alone responsible.

NEW DELHI.  

[SUDHANSU KUMAR PATNAIK] 5.10.67