CHAPTER II

PARAMETERS OF PUBLIC OPINION IN INDIA
AND PAKISTAN: GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS, SOCIO-
CULTURAL CONTEXTS AND POLITICAL PROCESS

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AND PUBLIC OPINION

We have demonstrated in the previous chapter that most of our knowledge about public opinion is derived from research conducted in the United States and the western Europe. So, to a large extent, it reflects characteristic values and attitudes of people in one particular type of culture and political system. Nevertheless, many of the conclusions are important for our purpose. For instance, public opinion data would infer a nation’s climate of opinion from a small number of persons informed, books, articles, speeches, editorials or legislative acts. However, public opinion because of low information levels is highly instable, changing frequently in reaction to events and trends. This necessitates a geo-political approach which may provide a better alternative for the study of public opinion. It is more significant in our case where we seek to examine the impact of an event of great geo-political and strategic importance like Soviet intervention in Afghanistan on public opinion in India and Pakistan—two uneasy neighbours. The geo-political approach shall deal with the territorial facts of political thinking and activities linked with historical, geographical, economic, cultural and other aspects.
Ratzel, the architect of the term as well as of the structure of Political Geography, was first to define its compass as the study of political area as earth organism that grow or wither in-accordance with their level of power and culture. This definition inspired scholars like Mackinder and T.A. Mahan to analyse and explain equations of political power on an universal scale, while this led to scholars like Kjellen and Karl Hauschofer to justify through the invention of the concept of Geopolitik the expansion of states. Geography, particularly war geography, became a national preoccupation which influenced and moulded public opinion in post war Germany from elementary school, from street corner and bookstore to the factory, club, beer-hall and dinner table.¹ Hauschofer and his colleagues distinguished Geopolitik from Political Geography by stating that while Political Geography studied space from the viewpoint of the state. According to Otto Maull, a German geographer "Geopolitik is concerned with the spatial requirements of a state while Political Geography examines only its space conditions... Geopolitik is a discipline which weighs and evaluates a given situation and, by its conclusions, seek to guide practical politics".² It was largely American and British geographers, impelled in part by the territorial consequences of the two World Wars, who wrested political geography from geopolitik, reevaluated the original Ratzelian percepts and gave it new definitions and new purposes.

In the modern times geopolitical approach deals with
the influence of geography, economics, demography, technology and strategic possibilities on shaping foreign policy of a country. As far as the difference between geo-politics and political geography is concerned, it is one of the start, approach, direction and of emphasis rather than of kind and quality exclusively. In the former the stance is political: in the latter geographical in the study of the interplay of geography, politics and history. The approach is increasingly inter-disciplinary, holistic and multi-dimensional. The point of convergence is human geography. Practically both terms are used interchangeably. So, geopolitics has been defined as political geography or appeared /practical/functional political geography as manifest in its socio-political milieu and human-institutional environment. It is also explained as the scientific evaluation of geopolitical cum political determinants and power patterns.

It has become common place for the subject matter of political geography to be organised into three geographical scales: an international, national and an intra-national scale. In fact modern geographical concern for scale has been in data analysis in the light of the fact that statistical results are not independent of the scale of analysis. This reduces to either a problem of aggregation (statistics) or resolution (geography). By studying activities or opinions at three separate scales, political geographers are implying that politics in some sense exists or at least occurs in three different types of arena.
Politics is defined by the state which should be the focus of attention. This then leads to consideration of the state itself at the state which should be the focus of attention. This then leads to consideration of the state itself at the national scale, relations between states at the international scale and the politics of parts of states at the intra-national scale. Nonetheless, we live in one world and the political process that operates at these scales constitute a single politics. Political geographers such as Mackinder were among the first to theorize a one world situation but traditional researchers never managed to produce an integrated Political Geography. Geo-Strategic studies remained separate from geography till 1970's when those scales were discovered. A further problem of political geography is the neglect of political philosophy. Whereas positive political science and critical political economy has provided base for analysis interpretation, the potential contributions of political geography are missing. Attention to the modern concerns of philosophy can improve our political geography at all scales.  

Public opinion, concepts of its nature and role have figured in almost all political writings and practices. Whether viewed with hope or alarm, public opinion was initially accepted by all as a potential powerful force, having a direct impact on policy. But owing to the behavioural revolution in Political Science in the post-1945 period, a radical transformation took place in conceptions of
the task and functions of theory. It developed its own language and new concepts were invented to make the study wholesome, matter of fact and meaningful. Among other things the concepts of public opinion and citizenship training have been replaced by the concepts of political culture and political socialization. So, instead of concerning itself with the depiction of the institutions of a just government in which public opinion was believed to have considerable say, attention was focussed on the functioning of those in existence i.e. how the study of the geography of elections had heralded political sociology which then came to dominate research. The new political science spoke in terms of classes, organisations, pressure groups, union and parties. It enabled one to grasp the difference between the polyarchies that one sees and the democracies which constitutions have tried to set up.

In the 1970's the behavioural approach to political science was thought to have failed to achieve desired results. This led to Post-Behaviouralism and revival of traditionalism. Political Geography during this period also witnessed the increased strength of traditional interpretation. Geo-strategy occupied prime place in examining the competition between superpowers and in the local conflicts through which they oppose each other or through which new territorial units try to make their mark in the world arena. Research in abandoning the rather restricted framework of traditional wars, it has bearing on the balance
of power and on the geographical forms of revolutionary movements and guerrilla actions. There has also been some renewed interest in the study of boundaries and frontiers - to the extent that the increased mobility has shaken conditions of life at the points of contact between two or more societies. These form an important part of the surface of Afghanistan, Pakistan and India.

Any political relationship involves the exchange of information between governors and the governed. We know that most of what is expressed as opinion is little more than a series of habitual stereotyped response to subsequently perceived information in a geographical environment - an interplay between the conditioning limits of environment and the forces of socialization, with the individual personality structures and psychological motivations. Opinions are modified expression of deeper dispositions or attitudes which in turn are structured into relatively stable sets. The role of propaganda in a society and its impact on individual's behaviour, the information provided by the mass media considerably influence the state of public opinion.

GEO-POLITICS OF THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT:

The Indian sub-continent has always been the permanent site of geo-political significance. There had always been a close connection \"between what is historically called India and what today is called Afghanistan.\" The Aryans, the Greeks, the Huns, the Scythians and the Turks all came to
India by crossing the passes in the Hindukush and Sulaiman ranges of mountains. This long and violent immigration from Europe and other parts of Asia has led to racial, ethnic, religious, linguistic diversity. This diversity is seen in the patterns of rural as well as urban settlements, community life, forms of land tenure and agricultural operations. However, these are unifying factors as well of which process developed as several great rulers like Ashoka, Samudragupta, Akbar—brought large parts of the country under their power; but it was during the British rule that India became for the first time a single political entity.9

The Indian social structure and tradition have been characterised by hierarchy, holism, continuity and transcendence undergoing adoptive changes from time to time. From a strictly historical point of view, the Indian tradition is the product of synthesis of a number of indigenous or even alien cultural patterns.10 The four value-themes have been deeply interlocked with other elements of Indian social structure. For instance, hierarchy was engrained not only in the system of caste and sub-caste stratification but also in the Hindu concepts of human nature, occupational life cycles (ashrams) and moral duties (dharma). Holism implied a relationship between individual and group in which the former was encompassed by the latter in respect of duties and rights; what had precedence here was community or sangha and not the individual. This subsumption of individual by collectivity pressured all along the line of traditional
social structure, i.e. family, village community, caste and political territory or nation. Communalism in traditional social system was re-inforced through the value system of continuity which in Hinduism was symbolized by principles of karma, transmigration of soul and a cyclical view of change. The principle of transcendence also posited that legitimation could never be challenged on grounds of rationally derived from non-sacred or profane scales of evaluation. It formed a super-concept contributing to integration as well as rationalization of the value themes of the tradition. However, vast transformation has taken place in the social structure and culture as and when ecological conditions (which underline the actual socio-economic circumstances) underwent changes. Buddhism and Jainism emerged as protest movement against the Hindu caste system: their growth led to formation of now caste like segmentary groups which later degenerated into castes contributing further to pluralistic tradition. Such changes - orthogeneted also formed the bases of Sikhism in north India, of Bhakti movements in North and South India, of Arya Samaj and Brahmo Samaj during the British regime, Gandhian movement and various politico-socio-economic problems in the independent India. Historically, social structure and tradition in India remained impervious to major elements of modernity, until the contact with the West began through colonization.

The Islamic tradition in India came from a heterogenetic source, its (firm) establishment by conquest
introduced a complex emotional variable right from the beginning which has continued through time. Value-themes of Islam were holistic but the principle of hierarchy or caste was not accepted in theory: the idea of continuity was also less pronounced. Its value-theme on transcendence too was rooted in the principle of absolute monotheism. These contrasts of history and value-themes could not, however, render Islam as a systematic exogenous source for radical transformation. Large scale conversions to Islam during the Muslim period in India might be said to have offered a structural outlet for the deprived Hindus for social, economic and cultural mobility. But the extents to which the converts succeeded in it was always limited. Ashrafs (the four immigrant Muslim groups) generally maintained their social distance from these converts in the matters of marriage and kinship ties: they never recognised them as their equals. The caste-hierarchy continued within the converted Muslims and in most cases traditional occupations and caste rituals were also maintained. Such condition exists till today notwithstanding the efforts made by Muslim leadership to bring horizontal equality.

Both traditions, namely, Hinduism and Islam underwent changes. In the ancient time such changes were made through the reinterpretation of shastras by the leading saints and scholar resulting either the diversification of tradition or reconstitution of distinct and separate groups. Such moves were necessarily taken to sustain tradition by accommodating
changes therein. But in other terms these were efforts for opinion formation in society in its varying climates. The institution of opinion formation was mainly sanyas which took upon itself the task of moulding, organizing and building a sound opinion. This trend continued in the medieval period when Sufism emerged in Islam. This period also witnessed the birth and expansionism of Sikhism as the mixture of Hinduism and Islam. Given the geographical context, however, the cultural change in India had been brought about by pre-existing regional-cultures, coupled and continuous with the Great tradition. This cultural continuity was a product and cause of a cultural consciousness shared by most Indians and expressed in essential similarities of mental outlook and ethos. This trend persists till today in regard to traditional ways of life in a particular geographical area.

During the British period the relations between Hindus and Muslims began to be politicized. This was sparked off by many factors, viz. the Hindu revivalist movements, frustration of Muslims with the British, beginning of the national movement for freedom which also witnessed Muslim league's movement for a separate homeland. As a consequence of such politicisation, India was divided, adding a new dimension to the region. In principle, the two nation theory of the Muslim League was never accepted by the congress in view of geo-political and cultural realities which continue to affect the internal as well as external conditions and policies.
Geo-politically, South Asia seems to appear a unit, distinct and self-contained in its many physical and human environments. It forms an integral part of Mackinder's world island that is the Eur-African-Asiatic land mass, the most important single geographical unit of the world. More specifically, South Asia is the strategic divide between India and Pakistan. The partition of British India and the rise of Pakistan, out of half a century of communal politics removed the sound foundations of the politico-military edifice existing during the British period. A compact defence area provided with the best natural barrier of the world became divided within itself with consequent systematic disintegration, locking up of the armed forces of the area in hostile confrontation and dissipation of resources in general. Two parts of the subcontinent, which were economically complementary, became mutually exclusive and competitive in the world market, with consequent economic loss to both. The process of partition itself left unresolved, the most important of which was Kashmir and which to this day has been dissipating the economic, military, political, diplomatic and even moral resources of the two states. The partition of a country is the most crucial as well as complex phenomenon to be investigated in Political Geography and is much more so in case of India and Pakistan where the basis of partition has been two-nation theory leading to political division of a single geographical, ecological, social and cultural unit, with all consequent
ills and irrationalities. Conceptually partition is a process resulting from a situation in which two or more groups differentiated on the basis of ethnicity, nationality or ideology find conditions more comfortable to govern separate, more uniform areas than to live in partnership with one-another. Thus, partition usually results when a specific combination of political and geographical forces are sufficiently strong to permit it. In case of India and Pakistan, partition was planned and perceived as a proper solution to a set of many problems with all its spatial and behaviourable consequences. The partition has brought the problem of religious and ethnic minorities trapped in enclaves and mixed with majority group in both the countries. As stated earlier, the Muslims in the process of politicisation during the British period demanded a separate homeland for themselves, even if it did not include all the Muslim population of British India. The British complied with this wish. The congress conceded to it rather reluctantly and perhaps in view of the fact that this was the solution least likely to bring bloodshed. Consequently, India's political tradition continues to be secular democratic contrary to Pakistan which has been mostly under military rule pursuing the Islamic tradition.

The India-Pakistan relations have been acrimonious since 1947. Henderson and Labour note that relations among divided states are a function of (1) the degree of stability and legitimacy of each divided state, (2) the relations
between the divided and its superpower and (3) the current superpower relationship. Viewed in the context of India-Pakistan relations, the very partition of the subcontinent has exercised considerable influence on the internal situations in both the countries and on the external policies pursued by them. Pakistan's acute sense of identity and insecurity vis-a-vis India and her failure to secure viable and stable political order from the start attracted greater Western sympathy than India, leading their bilateral relations intricately in cold war politics of the superpowers. So, the close cultural linguistic, and racial identification of Indians and Pakistanis did not lead to an ability to harmonize national differences; but instead to doubt in India that the secessionist state had national interests of its own other than artificially whipped up by communal passions and in Pakistan to a more vigorous assertion of its different interests and culture. Mutual suspicion, which sometimes reached fratricidal proportions, produced a diplomacy from which emotion and personal grievance could scarcely be eliminated.

Within the geographical framework has developed that extra-ordinary and self-sufficing culture inadequately summarised, or rather symbolized, by the protean word Hinduism. Incredibly diverse as are the Indian peoples and their manners, fragmented by race, religion and caste, there is yet an underlying unity of ways of life and of culture, a unity more readily recognizable than definable which (except
in the far-Western border-land) has influenced even the Muslims most of whom after all are descendants of converts from Hinduism. Physiography, topography, climate, vegetation-soil and other biotic factors have been influencing the strategic situation, the internal unity or disunity, relations with other neighbours, economic viability and the regional diversity of the subcontinent.

The socio-cultural milieu within a geographical setting forms the very infra-structure on which public opinion is based. As there are transformations in the milieu, public opinion would be transformed or changed. In fact, socio-cultural factors act as the spiral of silence which might be one of the forms in which public opinion appears, it is the process through which a new youthful public opinion develops or whereby the transformed meaning of an old opinion spreads. So, the two political societies offer evidence of different kinds of influence in shaping their public institutions. Even when their legal and political institutions, bureaucracy, army, system of education, economic, and financial scheme and political process etc., are emulated or borrowed from a common source, they came to acquire different characteristic of their own in both the countries. Despite the superficial resemblance of such institutions at the formal level, in their actual operations they are deeply influenced by the social and cultural conditions within which they function. The whole South Asian region with long phases of common historical experience and similar cultural
roots, with an identical exposure to British political ideas, public institutions and educational system and also with a more or less similar choice of political institutions in their post-colonial period have developed, in a span of more than four decades since independence, legal and political institutions which are different from each other's.

PARAMETERS OF PUBLIC OPINION IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

The main parameters of public opinion are elections, the newspaper press, which is today considered a good reflector of public opinion notwithstanding the possibility of no necessary correlation between their opinion and those of general public, television, politicians, other public personalities, their fan mail, pressure group's pronouncements, legislative bodies etc. Out of all them, press is very easy for access. News stories, feature articles, comics, propaganda, editorials, letters to editor etc., are the main components of press. For our purpose, two factors shall remain sufficient: one, newspaper press, two, important public personalities.

MASS-MEDIA:

Today, television with its color and sound creates extensive confusion between one's own observation and medicated observation. People have long been questioning the effects of the mass media. The reality of media effects is much more complex and differ considerably from the individual
conversation model. Walter Lippmann taught us this when he showed how the media imprint stereotypes through innumerable repetitions and how these become building blocks in that inbetween world which intervenes between people and the objective external world to serve as their pseudo-reality. Moreover, the media influence the individual's perception of what can be said or done without danger of isolation. And finally we encounter something that could be called the articulation function of the mass-media. This is more so problematic in case of both India and Pakistan which are characterized by high rate of illiteracy and larger concentration of population in rural areas, which have no sound system of transport and communication. Further, radio and television are the government controlled medias. Their influence on public opinion can be studied from the wide coverage of news, discussions interviews and presentation of government's views, national leaders being given coverage in the aforesaid items. There is considerable justification for considering Radio, T.V. together because they exemplify somewhat more exactly than the newspapers can concert. However, due to some technical problems we cannot go into them.

Notwithstanding the influence of television, the press is an important factor in the formation of public opinion. The word press is used with varying degrees of inclusiveness, sometimes referring only to the newspapers, sometimes to periodicals and general carriers of the printed word or to
all mass-media. But it is mainly newspapers which have got tremendous significance. "The newspaper, says Harwood L. Childs, is both things and people, process and effects, functions and accomplishments". A particular newspaper has its importance because of the influence and role of owners and publishers, of the staff from editors and business managers to the type-setter, mechanic, reporter and other staff workers and of the newspaper readers. Technological invention and development have been playing their part too, including the advertisers, the government and pressure groups of all kinds. However, its power is reputed to mould public opinion, to shape public policy, to create and destroy governments, to make war and maintain peace, to preserve the status quo and to reconstruct society. This is the reason why governments try to suppress, control or use it, to which individuals and organised groups so jealously try to gain access and which circulates so widely to have considerable influence. Advertisers, politicians, organised groups of all kinds, business and religious leaders devote much time and money to press.

There are various ways in which newspapers exert their influence. It does this by screening and selecting the items to be printed, by the way these items are presented, the emphasis and treatment accorded to them, the headlines and pictures used, the typography and format employed, the position in the paper and the skill employed in the writing and pictoral presentations. Today, various techniques are
used to make paper interesting, readable, attractive, standout, entertaining, informative, exciting, shocking, and infinitum to enhance their influence. The competence of the public (however) depends on the information it has and on its use that informalize wisely. Newspapers supply their readers with more information than ever before—more in quality and variety also in quality. But what is required is comprehensive, accurate, important and meaningful information. However, newspapers have little or no control over what people do with the news, facts, and ideas the newspapers bring to them. Also, lack of agreement over what is and what is not newsworthy among newspapers, profit motives of newspaper's owners including their bias and their influence being later after the full impact of family, religion, and school make newspapers less effective, credible, and durable.

As regards important public personalities, it is generally assumed are those who are most informed on and about the problem. In our analysis of a complex event like the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and its impact on public opinion some influences may be made about the normative expectations of those who are politically effective in the region. These expectations constitute significant variables in international political behaviour because shared notions of what is right influence perception, reaction, and capacity for mobilization. These inferences about what other actors think is acceptable behaviour are not derived from
international judgement or from constitutional documents, statutes or treaties. They are almost entirely derived from the responses of key actors to a critical event.26 There are methodologically speaking for observational standpoint of appearing an event, that of participant, spectator, interviewer, or collector. The views of the politically relevant actors provide both facts and views in regard to incidents, but it is very difficult to have access to participants. The media may become a participant in an incident as reports or the possibility of coverage influences the perspectives and behaviour of participants. Under the right circumstances, the power of media to focus public attention on a situation might be sufficient to transform that situation into an accident.27

With the spread of Western education and consequent growth of Indian press, there was acceleration in the growth and formation of public opinion in India. By the end of the 19th century public opinion began to exercise influence on British administration in rather significant way. The newspapers and political leaders actually started the process of making public opinion in India and guided its formation and articulated it. Mahatma Gandhi also influenced the press—particularly vernacular press by outlining the duty of press thus: "one of the objects of a newspaper is to understand the popular feeling and give expression to it; another is to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments; and the
third is fearlessly to express popular defects". So, by the end of the 19th century, the Indian press was becoming an important vehicle of expression of the public opinion due to tremendous growth in number of newspapers from 478 in 1875 to 658 in 1911. It criticized the measures and policies of the Government with great vigour and independence. This led even Lord Curzon, whose earlier refusal to accept Congress as the spokesman of Indian public opinion had led him pay attention to Indian press to get annoyed with it.

There has been substantial growth of Indian press since independence. However, statistical data, in relation to the Indian press, are incomplete and inadequate. The total number of newspapers, including dailies and periodicals is about more than 20,000 with approximate total circulation of more than 52 million copies. But as in other countries people as a whole are more concerned with domestic policy than with foreign policy in India. Our economic, education and social backgroundness makes the case still worse. J. Bandyopadhyaya argues three main difficulties in way of opinion, "are in the way of public opinion consciously influencing the making of our foreign policy to any significant extent. The first difficulty arises out of the backward condition of our people. Approximately 70 per cent of our people neither sign their names nor have any acquaintance with the alphabet. It is not possible for them, by and large, to get the benefit of the national and international press, or parliamentary debates and policy
statements. Moreover, caste, community, religion, local sentiments, regional loyalty, and other similar non-rational factors sway their passions and exercise their minds infinitely more than foreign policy during elections and at other times except perhaps a war or some other form of acute international crisis in which India is directly involved. The second difficulty is caused by the extremely meagre correct information which is generally available in India on foreign policy. The relative absence of pressure groups, the inadequate attention paid by the political parties in general to the concrete problems of foreign policy, the relatively uninformed, often incompetent parliamentary deliberations on foreign policy, which in any case almost always centre on broad generalities rather than on specific concrete problems, and the unnecessarily and unjustifiably secretative nature of government with regard to foreign policy, are responsible for too little information on foreign policy being available to the public. The third difficulty arises out of the relative absence of modern means of communication between the transmitting and the receiving ends. In a population which is predominantly illiterate, modern audio-visual means of political and social education such as television can play a useful role in the dissemination of whatever little information is available on matters of foreign policy. But in the almost total absence of television and even the paucity of radios, there are practically no modern means of communication available in India. Such vague ideas on foreign policy as the common
people have are linked by them mostly from the interested propaganda of the political parties, generally during elections, but to some extent also at other times.”

Political parties as a matter of principle act as link between the people and the policy-makers. The meetings, conferences and public tours of party leaders help in making people conscious of their policies vis-a-vis others. Further party newspapers and journals also contribute to it despite the common man prefers a general paper to a party organ which carries little news of general interest. To this may be added the fact that party newspapers do not provide adequate information and education to the public. For example, the congress party does not invest in its own press but indirectly controls newspapers like the National Herald, the Hindustan, Standard, the Eastern Times and the Advance. Notwithstanding the better quality and low cost of communists' papers, they have little impact for limited circulation. The party newspapers are also generally shortlived. For instance, between 1960 and 1970 the Congress stopped publishing fourteen journals, the INDC two, the PSP ten, the SSP seven, the communists eighteen and the RSP one.

The press also allots less space to the foreign policy issues. Even the press in U.S.A gives around ten percent of its space to foreign policy matters. In India it is more so less. This limited space allotment adversely affects the public involvement in foreign policy making. As a matter of
fact, the press has a dual role. Primarily, it is a medium of expression and communication of information and ideas. It is also an industry carrying on business with profit motives. There are widespread allegation that the Indian press is in the hands of monopolists whose dictates the journalists have to obey and this affects freedom of the press in an invidious manner. It is also asserted that there has been further concentration of ownership in the newspaper industry and what is worse, the bulk of the industry is a subsidiary to, and a handmaiden of, other powerful financial empires of the industrialist. In India, the newspaper industry is an accessory of big business and a means of exercising extraneous influence and power. With the result that in India the newspapers have lost their status and dignity and that factory managers are managing directors of newspapers and they think that newspapers are products no different from gunny bags. Out of 19144 newspapers in 1982, 12521 were owned by individuals, 3240 by societies and associations, 956 by firms and partnerships, 782 by joint stock companies and 597 by central and state governments. The ownership pattern of the remaining newspapers is not available. Among the top dailies, Hindustan Times is controlled by the Birla Group and Times of India by Bennet Coleman Co. No other papers are substantially controlled by big business houses. The Indian Express group of companies is controlled by Goenka. The Statesman, The Amrit Bazar Patrika, the Ananda Bazar Patrika and the Hindu are all to some extent family papers whose primary interest is in newspaper industry.
For many years after 1947 till 1964, the highest political leadership which participated in the Indian freedom movement, developed a wide popular base and had come to understand the outlook of the masses as well as of the elites on national and global issues. Nehru and his senior colleagues continued to maintain close contacts with various sections of people for many years and thus had a first hand the broad trends of public opinion. Yet foreign policy of India has been elitist in its formulation and implementation. Nonetheless the Prime Minister Nehru despite his personal popularity gave direction to his party units to the lowest level, to mobilise public opinion without any condemnation against Pakistan or against the United States either as a country or a government but that policy should be condemned as dangerous to world peace and injurious to India.\(^\text{34}\) It was first successful attempt made by Nehru to bypass the elite and seek endorsement for his foreign policy of non-alignment from the mass base to which he had wide access. He referred to this issue in almost all his public speeches during the period. The Communist Party welcomed the government's resistance to the arms aid.\(^\text{35}\) The Praja Socialist Party indicated its support for the government\(^\text{36}\) as did the Hindu Mahasabha. But afterwards and of course together with the growing sophistication of public opinion through experience and education as well, the necessity was felt to devise ways and means of ascertaining public opinion on foreign policy for the guidance of the decision-makers. These ways and
means have been till now the mass media. All the post-Nehru congress foreign ministers depended on such indirect sources of public opinion as newspaper editorials, parliamentary debates. For instance, Krishna Menon regarded newspaper editorial playing sometimes a negative role with regard to the making of foreign policy.\(^3\) Mrs Indira Gandhi was also known to have consulted many journalists, academicians and intellectuals on various aspects of foreign policy. Frequent informal discussions with some specialists in foreign policy among academics, journalists and others are held by foreign minister till today.

The surveys conducted by the Indian Institute of public opinion on various foreign policy matters may also serve an important source of information for the decision-makers in the foreign policy process. However, we cannot expect much from these surveys because they are infrequent, sporadic and non-competitive in character. Secondly, these are ex-post facto surveys of past trends and thus do not provide a continuous assessment. Nor do they tell us whether public opinion leads or is led by official foreign policy. Moreover, the popularity indices of foreign countries, though useful for the making of foreign policy, do not tell us anything definite about public opinion in the country on the success or failure of our foreign policy, either generally or in specific areas of the globe.\(^3\) However, long-term behaviour of Indian public opinion can be surmised from the two conclusions of Indian Institute of public opinion in its
surveys. The first conclusion is that it is the particular backdrop of international events, especially those affecting the national interests of this country as perceived by the government and the people, that conditions popular images of leading countries. The second conclusion is that the Indian people are incapable of nursing bitter memories against a country for too long even where that country’s posture was hostile whenever India faced a crisis vis-a-vis its neighbours.

Foreign policy has never been an electoral issue in India except in the 1980 Parliamentary elections in which Indira Gandhi used the Janata government’s foreign policy as an electoral issue. She charged the Janata government to have weakened the non-aligned policy of India. In the support of her argument she gave the instance of the Foreign Minister of Israel, Moshe Dayan’s meeting with Morarji Desai and Vajpayee proving departure of India’s policy from the traditional Indian support to the Arab countries. However, the Afghan issue could not figure in the electoral campaign in India. The opposition parties against Indira Gandhi did not raise the issue of India’s security in the wake of Afghan crisis lest this might direct voter’s mind towards strong government under Indira Gandhi. And Indira Gandhi drew electorate’s attention to the US moves to rearm Pakistan, thus overshadowing the Afghan crisis.

There has been a substantial agreement within Indian public opinion on foreign policy since independence despite
variegated diversities within. For example, all sections of Indian people have approved the Indo-Pakistan war of 1947-48, the India-China agreement of 1954, India's military action in Goa in 1961, the border war with Pakistan in 1965, the Indo-Soviet treaty of 1971, the Indian military intervention in Bangladesh, the Simla agreement of 1972, the merger of Sikkim in India in 1976 and the Janata government's initiative for normalising relations with Pakistan and China.41

Pakistan was born out of fear of a section of the Indian Muslims of being dominated by "Hindu India". It was created to be the state organisation of the Muslim nation of the Indian subcontinent. It does not possess a history of national unity, it has neither common language nor uniform culture, and it is not a geographical or an economic unit. The force behind its establishment was based very largely on a feeling of insecurity.42 Also, Pakistan was not only a new but also a very unusual state owing to the separation and geographical dissimilarity of its two units separated by nearly a thousand miles which broke away in 1971 to form independent state of Bangladesh. This unusual situation then existing evoked considerable criticism of Pakistan in India as well as abroad by the persons like Nehru, Gandhi, K. Michell, M.S. Amery, OHK Spate, S. Van Valkenburg etc. "The greater the weight, said OHK Spate, we attach to (these) geographical factors, the more difficult does it become to accept the racial and ideological aspects of the two-nation
Similarly Dr. Van Valkenburg also opined: "the present separation of India and Pakistan is so illogical from a geographical point of view, especially, that one wonders how long these conditions will continue". These factors are to some extent to be considered to describe analyse and explain the geographical imperatives of the South Asian region. So, despite the claim of Pakistan that every achievement and even a proof of the validity and strength of Muslim Nationalism in India, Pakistan has not been able to grow her sense of identity and security, particularly against her giant neighbour India.

Pakistan like India is still in a transition period suffering from instable socio-political and economic conditions. The society of Pakistan exhibits cultural pluralism and represents a higher level of socio-cultural and linguistic diversities. Notwithstanding overwhelming Muslim population, political and cultural localism are very pronounced in Pakistan. At one time (1955) these localism had become so serious that central government had to abolish provincial boundaries and amalgamated the provinces into a single unit in the hope of curbing internal dissensions. Now Pakistan is divided into four states, each state with its own language, culture and tradition. Urdu, Punjabi, Pushto and Sindhi, as well as several minor languages are spoken in Pakistan which had been made up of three provinces, various tribal areas and ten princely states. Even caste and tribal identities are pronounced, for instance, a Punjabi relates
his ethnic consciousness to caste and tribal groups, identifying himself as Syed, Qureshi, Mughal, Qizilbash, Rajput or Gujjar, among many other groups. The Sindhi does substantially the same. The Baluchis and the Pathans are conscious not only of their tribal identities but also of their larger ethnic personalities. In Baluchistan, the Pathans, Brahuis, Mekranis, Punjabis and Sindhis together far outnumber the Baluchis. Those whom the Pathans do not regard as fellow-Pathans constitute the majority in the city of Peshawar and in the districts of Hazara and Dera Ismail Khan in the North Western Frontier Province.47

Politically speaking Pakistan began her political career as a modern constitutional state with an effort to create social conditions which would facilitate the pursuit of the ideals of Islam. The two founding fathers of Pakistan, namely Jinnah and Liquat Ali Khan laid the foundation of a composite constitutional state which could guarantee conditions for the pursuit of Islamic ideals. In different political circumstances, the relationship between state and religion can be followed by two factors: since the nation was created for the pursuit of the ideals of Islam, such ideals should be assimilated and guaranteed in the constitution; and, second the need to build a strong Islamic state so that it could not only practise the ideals of islam but also defend itself with the support of religion. Soldiers in Pakistan, in and out of office, often used the second argument to justify their capture and retention of power.48
However, the problem of the relationship between state and religion has acted as hindrances to the development of an effective political process which could compel her ruling elites to think and act according to the rule of law, respond to public demands and render accountability for their performance in office.

The political history has passed from six different periods. One, from 1947 to 1954 characterized by transition from colonialism to independence and consolidation; two, from 1954 to 1958 an era of parliamentary government, multi-party system and coalition of politics; three, from 1958 to 1969 witnessing first Martial law regime under Ayub Khan exhibiting sound economic development; four, from 1969 to 1971 having second Martial Law regime under Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan showing acute federal crisis resulting into the secession of Bangladesh; five, from 1971 to 1977 showing the democratization of polity under the banner of Islamic socialism under the leadership of Z.A.Bhutto; six, from 1977 to August 1988- General Zia-Ul-Haq's regime which has seen the Afghan crisis. These periods characterized by different political actualities make it amply clear that no other new nation which gained independence after 1947 has experienced the variety or the intensity of traumas that Pakistan has suffered. 49 Braibanti mentions eight of these traumas: (1) Pakistan is unique in having had four constitutions in a quarter of a century; (2) no other new state has rearranged the crucial relationship of space, power and culture four
times from five provinces to two, then again to five provinces and with the secession of East Pakistan to four provinces: (3) No other state outside the communist system has tried to depart from the colonial heritage of local government and the global ideological persuasion of the community development theory by divising a structure—basic democracies that, while not totally original, was an ingenious adaption to cultural content: (4) Pakistan was also the major example of an effort to sedate the participation explosion while building institutional capabilities: (5) Nor any army in other new state changed its basic structure of government from a parliamentary to a presidential system, then refused to parliamentary form and simultaneously adjusted from a unicameral to a bicameral legislative system: (6) as though these major changes in polity and power were not enough, there was also long period in which both the legislative and political party process were suspended: (7) these changes occurred within the context of two periods of Martial law, three wars with India including the only successful war of secession among the new states in post—independence period: (5) further, few nations have had such a massive infusion of technological and economic aid from the US or allied themselves in foreign policy so closely, with that country. Nor have many new nations so shrewdly and intelligently adjusted their foreign policies to a highly multilateral set of relations coupled with a renaissance of Islamic connection, once the futility of exclusivity with the
US was realized. In sum, Pakistan has experienced to all intense degree of the crises of political development—the crisis of identity, legitimacy, integration, penetration, participation and distribution. Due to the lack of space we cannot discuss these here.

However, Pakistan's historical experience and political development are very complex defying theoretical and conceptual scheme because from the very beginning there have been many different interpretations thereof, including even the reasons for its creation why Pakistan? Wayne Wilcox observes "with the realization that differing interpretations about the roots of the state had important consequences after its creation". He has suggested five different hypotheses without attempting to treat any one of them in detail or to evaluate their relative validity and significance. These he called pull hypothesis, the push hypothesis, the secular interests hypothesis, divided rule hypothesis and party leaders competition hypothesis.

Amidst such diversities of many types—geographical, socio-cultural and politico-historical Pakistan is bound to have multi-layered public opinion depending on the views and attitudes of the people in all groups. Pakistan has been under the military regime for long period. So, the public opinion has been shaped, manipulated and controlled by the ruling elite using the mass-media, censorship, elimination of opposition, rigged elections and Islamic propaganda. Further-more in terms of foreign policies, the opinions in
Pakistan are shaped by a different mould from the other neighbouring countries. In most of the cases, these countries constitute an international reference group. What happens in one is closely watched by the rest. Their individual success becomes a source of envy for the rest, and failure provides a warning that it could happen to them. The government in each tries to mobilize these issues in masses to have some sort of diversion from socio-economic internal problems, and the mass media plays here the crucial role. However and despite a common heritage and aspiration, the public opinions have been shaped by different organizations and forces which could not fill the vacuum left behind by the relationship between religion and state on the one hand, and the uncrystallized institutions of government and politics on the other. The main voices have been urged by elites to the people to have more and more conformity of Islamic injunctions for the purpose of securing just socio-economic order. This has benefited mainly the bureaucracy, the army, large landlords, a select number of families with commercial and industrial undertakings, and the clergy. Together, they have successfully subverted several efforts to develop an effective political process where-by the public opinion of larger sections of the population could be employed through elected representatives of the peoples. Apart from the ruthlessness of military rulers, the failure of political elites to come together in a spirit of give and take for a common purpose has been responsible for a feeble impression of public opinion in Pakistan.
Pakistan's multi-layered society has developing institutions and authorities and their educated class. It is their views which are commonly referred to as public opinion.54

Since the inception of Pakistan, its leadership—political, journalist as well as academic has to more extent sought to advocate Islamisation of society internally and obsession with India externally. Both these factors lie in the logic of the history of partition of the Indian subcontinent characterized by the communal excitement and discords both before and after the partition. Consequently, in case of socio-economic crisis; the need for an external diversionary symbol to hold together a spiritless body-public is, if anything, more conspicuous than in case of India. The indeterminate character of her own nationalism leaves Pakistan with India as the indispensable rallying point for diverse regional and social groups.55 In this sense, threat from India has played a useful role in mobilizing people towards unifying the diverse forces inside Pakistan. According to a Pakistani scholar, the fear of India always dominated Pakistan's foreign policy. The problem of Pakistan's defence against India—the immediate and continuing danger seems to come from India. Pakistan believes that Indian hostility poses as far greater problem to them than Chinese expansion or Soviet threats, neither country having a dispute with Pakistan".56 To quote another well-known Pakistani. "Unfortunately, the foreign policy of
Pakistan has been dominated by considerations of security and independence from its neighbour, India.\textsuperscript{57} The same voice has been echoed by press. A Karachi daily the Dawn for example advocated in 1963, "if the main concern of Christian West is the containment of Chinese communism, the main concern of Muslim Pakistan is the containment of militarist and militant Hinduism".\textsuperscript{58} Ayub Khan also mentioned his task as commander-in-chief of Pakistan's army: "our first concern was the defence of Pakistan against any possible aggression by India".\textsuperscript{59} Relations with India are still the main pre-occupation of the foreign policy of Pakistan, notwithstanding various ongoing developments in Afghanistan. According to Francis Fukuyama, "the central point made by the officers-in-charge of planning at the joint staff headquarters and by numerous other Pakistanis was that regardless of what happened on the western border Pakistan's major pre-occupation was and would remain India".\textsuperscript{60} A leading Pakistani military thinker Lt. Gen (retd) A.I. Akram also opined, "Pakistan's defence capabilities must correspond to the size of the threat it faced and not to the size of its territory or population. The main military threat to India, if it is there, comes from Pakistan. There is no serious threat to India from China because there cannot be a great war in the Himalayas and peninsular India was out of the invasion courses. But we are under a bigger threat both from India and the Soviet Union".\textsuperscript{61} This can be explained by the fact that the atmosphere between India and Pakistan is emotionally
highly charged and more so on the Pakistani than on the Indian side. This love-hate relationship has all the earmarks of a deep family quarrel. Urdu speaking Pakistanis understand perfectly Hindi speaking Indians, share the same culinary taste, enjoy the same music, laugh at the same jokes. Yet most Indians traveling to Pakistan on some errand or other are warned never to stress the profound similarities between their respective ways of life, for fear of offending the Pakistani’s determination to be different to the point where the wearing of saris by Pakistani women is frowned upon.62 There has been public approval of Pakistani leadership’s obsession with India which means the endorsement of the politically alert, articulate and active part of the population—particularly intellectual, journalist and ruling elites. So, for the purpose of analysis their judgements that follow may be referred to the public opinion as a force in the political process of Pakistan, contrary to the mass public.

The situation of the press in Pakistan is not comfortable. A standard technique in a political takeover by the military regimes was the imposition of drastic censorship of local newspapers as well as the banning of Indian newspapers. Freedom of the press has been considerably reduced by many regulations throughout. To this may also be added government’s propaganda to mould public opinion in its interests. It has always launched a massive publicity campaign to inform the public about its provisions
and to attempt to assure the peoples approval through television, radio and other governmental media.

About 1,120 newspapers are published in Pakistan. However, Pakistan Times, Dawn, Morning News, Pakistan Observer, Naw-i-Waqt have nation-wide circulation. The Dawn is semi-official paper, only occasionally opposing the government’s policies. It was founded in New Delhi in 1943 by M.A.Jinnah to propagate the demand of the Muslim League for the creation of Pakistan and was supported by Aga Khan and other influential Muslims. It was first published in Karachi on Pakistani Independence day, August 14, 1947. By 1959 it was said to have the largest circulation and the highest prestige among the newspapers of Pakistan. While the Pakistan Times of Lahore was initially owned by Mian Iftikharuddin, a millionaire with leftist leanings and a crypto-Communist politician under whose aegis it strongly opposed Pakistan in pro-Western policy. The Morning News of Karachi founded in 1942 actually began as a weekly in Dhaka in 1940 and soon changed to a daily, tends to strive for objectivity by avoiding controversial subjects. The Nawa-i-Waqt, together with Pakistan Times has served as organ of opposition— the former reflecting the lower middle class. Dawn and Pakistan Times project modernist view of Islam, whereas Nawa-i-Waqt supported the traditional view. Together all these newspapers enjoy a fairly wide circulation representing a cross section of public opinion in all four provinces of the country in addition to many other dailies, periodicals and journals.
Despite the climate of repression, the press has worked in Pakistan. Intimations of public opinion may be gleaned from the newspapers. The contents examined shall include news editorials, letters and articles and views of leading personalities. News comprise the demands made by political leaders, parties, various organisation affected or sought to be affected by Government's policies, their reactions to such policies. Letters are in the nature of feedbacks from the general public; they also help to bring into the open what is latent. Articles are designed to raise and resolve issues through open discussion sometimes projecting individual opinion on the subject. Editorials comprise the feedback from the mass-media and play a large part in political communication and mobilization. The news, letters, articles and editorials together constitute basic parameters of public opinion and perform the task of political communication in the society of Pakistan as well as of India.
NOTES:


10. This issue is full of controversies. Due to the lack of space; it is difficult here to deal with them. See, Surjit Sinha, "The Tribal Cultures of Peninsular India" in Milton Singer (ed.). Traditional India: Structure and Change, pp. 10-12; G.S. Ghurye, The aborigines - "so called" - and their future, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, 1943; A.L. Basham, The Wonder That was India. New York: Grove Press Inc., 1954, Ch. I I, pp. 10-43.


12. Ibid., p. 193.


25. Ibid., pp.181-89.


30. Ibid., p.344.


43. OHK Spate, "Geographical Aspects of Pakistan Scheme". Geographical Journal, September, p.129.


46. Ibid., p.18.


50. Ibid., pp.438-40.

51. For details see Lucian W. Pye, Aspects of Political Development. Boston: Little Brown, 1966, pp.62-66; Lucian W. Pye and Lonard W. Pye, et. al., Crisis and Sequences in Political Development. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971. As a matter of fact these crises of political development were identified and analysed by the Committee on Comparative Politics of the Social Science Research Council of U.S.A.


53. Ibid., pp.27-37.


