INTRODUCTION

Academic research into public opinion and its effect on foreign policy is a very recent phenomenon, beginning in the 1940s when totalitarian regimes used the propaganda as an effective instrument of foreign policy. In the post-War period, the Soviet propagation of communism and the US involvement in Vietnam War became encouraging factors for stimulating research in this field. Researches were also conducted constantly to study international incidents and make opinions from them about politically relevant consequences for a country concerned. The Soviet shooting of KAL 007, the U.S. invasion of Grenada and the Israeli attack on the Iraqi reactor are examples of such incidents involving an international dispute that shaped or reinforced expectation about lawfulness or otherwise by relevant international actors in ideological or geopolitical setting. Because of the structure of the international political system, an international event has its impact on the domestic public opinion in its neighbouring countries. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan has been a critical issue of international relations that influenced the climate of public opinion in India and Pakistan - the two uneasy neighbours of Afghanistan.

India and Pakistan represent the irrational division of the single geographical unit. The process of partition resulted from a situation created in which two groups, Hindus
and Muslims differentiated on the basis of religion, found conditions more comfortable to separate, notwithstanding the historical fact that both the traditions of Hinduism and Islam despite holistic value-themes in Islam have occurred differentiation on the basis of caste, hierarchy, ethnicity and living standards. It was, however, during the British period that Hindus and Muslims began to be politicised on the religious basis owing to the various factors viz., the British policy of divide and rule, Hindu revivalist movements, frustration of Muslims and the rise of Muslim revivalism, etc. The Muslim leadership (one section) claimed that there were two distinct nations in India in contradistinction to the Hindu leadership, together with another section of Muslim leadership's claim for a united, secular India with full protection for all religious minorities. The process of partition was extremely painful and Pakistan emerged amidst blood and fire.

Thus, the partition of the subcontinent has shaped the mentality of the people on both sides. The peoples and their opinions, their attitudes, their prejudices, their ways of looking at things in India have been very diverse depending on the nature of issues. In regard to the foreign policies, there has been no excessive pre-occupation with Pakistan, except in few cases where major events are involved. Rather, the major concern has been with Indian interests at the regional and global levels. While, in case of Pakistan, the major concern of most of the Pakistanis has been with Islamic
solidarity both within and outside the country and anti-Indian hysteria. It is in this psychological background that parameters of public opinion—mass media, press, legislature, political parties including interest/pressure groups, writers, intellectuals and leaders in other fields—have articulated and shaped the domestic public opinion in both the countries. At the same time, the ruling political leadership has manipulated this climate of public opinion in such a way that the continued hostility between India and Pakistan since 1947 has exercised considerable influence both on the internal situations in the two countries and on the external policies pursued by them—each country functioning as a domestic compulsion for the other. Whether it is the Kashmir problem or the acquisition of arms by the either country, it generates public hysteria on the other side. And so, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan had reasons of its own. Afghanistan due to its geographical and strategic location had played an important role in the Central as well as South Asia. The Aryans, the Greeks, the Huns, the Scythians, the Turks and other invading hordes came to India by crossing the passes in the Hindukush and Sulaiman ranges of mountains. However, the constant struggle over this land began from the competition and confrontation between Czarist Russia, which was expanding to the south to have, as some scholars see, an access towards the warm waters of the Indian ocean as well as to have the British more conciliatory in Europe by humiliating them on Indo-Afghan borders and the
British Empire, which wanted to protect the outer perimeter of its domination over India. The emergence of the Communist Russia in 1917 added an ideological dimension to the geopolitical reality of the Afghan question in the region. The post-War period saw the emergence of the USA and the Soviet Union as the two superpowers or the emergence of bipolar world with each camp extending its influence to the emerging Third world either bilaterally or through the extension of alliance system. The South Asian region and Afghanistan were also taken in this sweep.

Pakistan attracted greater Western sympathy in view of its geographical situation. The Pakistani leadership maintaining anti-Indian approach and due to Afghanistan's dispute with Pakistan over the Pakhtunistan issue entered into the U.S. sponsored alliance system. This inclined the Indian leadership to move close to the Soviet Union. The same case was with Afghanistan which shared her ethnic-boundary with the Soviet Union - the presence of Turkomen, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, etc. on the both sides of the Soviet-Afghan border. The geographical situation of developed areas in the periphery of Afghanistan has caused foreign political influence on the integration, which has actually been forged by a combination of Pushtun and Tajik political and cultural dominance in the centre. So, whenever the central authority has been undecisive or weak, there have been tribal revolts, rebellion, leading to the internal chaos in the country and foreign intervention. This has been the
story of Afghanistan from 1747 to 1979. So, it is in this context that the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan has been sought to be explained—more specifically so from the viewpoints of geopolitical and geo-strategic compulsions of the Soviet Union both within and outside her frontiers.

The entry of Soviet troops in Afghanistan became the subject of most intense debate in Pakistan, where on July 5, 1977 Gen. Zia-ul Haq came to power through a military takeover in the course of a nation-wide strike by the opposition parties against Bhutto’s sweeping victory in the elections of March 1977. At first he declared that he had taken office only for a brief period of about 90 days in order to calm the nation. However, as the time for elections approached, he spoke of the correction of number of irregularities in the government. Meanwhile he also advocated the transformation of Pakistan from the western parliamentary system to Islamic state under Nizam-i-Mustafa drawing inspiration from the religiously conservative party Jamaat-i-Islami. Pleading for presidential form of government, he assumed this office on 16 September, 1978 to fill the vacuum. All this evoked widespread reaction. The press opposed the move. The Karachi daily Jasarat had made its humble submission to Gen. Zia-ul Haq that instead of being carried away by his sincerity, he should keep in mind the country’s past experiences as the concentration of power in few hands would result in alienating the different units by denying them participation in the government. The various political
parties like PPP, the Tehrike-e-Ishtiqal, the JVP etc., also criticised this more. As a result, Zia's regime became unpopular both internally as well as externally. Internally conflicting views took place between Sunni and Shia; rural and urban; fundamentalist and modern; provincialism etc. to curb which he had to impose restriction on press and other communication media. And externally, he sought to develop better relations with the Middle East on the basis of his professed Islam. Simultaneously he very cunningly tried to maintain equal relationship with USA, the Soviet Union and China. He also spoke of good relations with India. But in these efforts he was hardly successful.

The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan created an altogether new and different environment inside Pakistan. It served as a prop for the Zia regime which expressed profound concern over the Soviet presence in Afghanistan on account of Afghanistan being an Islamic and non-aligned neighbour, on account of the swelling number of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan and on account of aggravation of Pakistan's security across the Khyber Pass. This created a favourable climate of public opinion for Zia's regime. The perceptible change took place in attitude of the USA and some Middle East countries vis-a-vis Pakistan in this changed geo-political situation and Zia began to bargain with the US as well as to anchor his foreign policy on the Islamic tenor. This led to the varied public discussions on the nature and extent of the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan amidst internal
developments inside Afghanistan, its possible fallout on the security and economic development of Pakistan, the role and impact of the Afghan refugees on the society, economy, culture and geography of Pakistan and the review of the entire gamut of Pakistan's foreign policy, more particularly its relations with USA, the Soviet Union, the Middle East, India, Afghanistan by all the sections of public opinions in Pakistan - the press, the political leaders and intellectuals and other mass-media. It is this discussion that has got extensive coverage in the dissertation.

The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan created intense debate in India as both Afghanistan and the Soviet Union were her traditional friends causing annoyance for Pakistani leadership. The domestic public opinion in India was, prior to the Soviet intervention, never directly influenced by the happenings in Kabul - whether it was Daoud's ouster in 1963 or his Coup in 1973 or the Saur Revolution in 1978 - except some brief commentary in the press and Government's emphasis that the Afghan government should get the credibility among people and that the Afghan rebels were supported from outside. Even the caretaker government under Charan Singh expressed Indian opposition to foreign interference. But the Afghan issue could not figure in the electoral campaign despite its impression on public opinion in India. Even the former Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi, who, while maintaining India's traditional opposition to all foreign interferences in the internal affairs of a country, took the regional view
of the Afghan crisis and had no reason to disbelieve the friendly country like the Soviet Union, had to succumb to the pressure of the domestic public opinion in India which spoke largely against the Soviet move. The Hindu saw it as a clear military aggression and along with other sections of press saw a threat to India. The political leaders and the leading intellectuals in the field of international studies also saw likewise. However, the main emphasis on the part of the domestic public opinion in India in this context was upon the Pakistan's acquisition of arms. Pakistan's policy perspectives towards India were also of concern to the Indian public opinion and the ruling leadership.

The domestic climate of public opinion in both India and Pakistan vis-a-vis the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan affected the prospect of their mutual relations which had been governed by mutual distrust and suspicious since 1947. The policy of Pakistan of having special relationship with the USA, China and the Muslim world, especially Pakistan's role as a frontline state in the US global strategy, became the subject of the gravest concern to the defence and security of India in as much way that India's policy of crisis diffusion of the Afghan crisis along with her friendly relations with the Soviet Union and acquisition of the Soviet arms by India became the chief concern of Pakistani policy makers. All this led to the mutual rivalry and on-going arms race between them, adversely affecting the economic development of the entire Indian sub-continent,
which made them aware from time to time to realize the need of cooperation in various fields. The concrete efforts were also made in the form of Pakistan's proposal of a No-War pact in 1981 to Indian's proposal of a Treaty of Peace, friendship and Cooperation in 1982 with the result that out of other bilateral discussions, an agreement was signed on March 10, 1983 to constitute a Joint Commission of India and Pakistan having four subcommissions on various matters. This climate of bilateral discussion at various levels amidst mutual rivalry is still going on espousing hope for the good-neighbourly relations between them in the times to come.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The subject of this research project is very vast and complex, clouded with a lot of diverse and polarized explanations and conflicting interpretations. Whether it is the conceptual frame of public opinion or its climate in India and Pakistan or the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan every aspect is controversial and coloured with conceptual or/and ideological viewpoint. However, the literature on the subject is enormous but in scattered fashion. Information material from all sources is being taken in comprehensive manner. It consists of both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include the official documents of the Soviet Union, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and the United States, debates of the legislatures there; manifestos and press releases of political parties, memories, speeches and writings of political leaders, intellectuals,
and the official records of UN General Assembly and Security Council. The secondary sources include various books, articles, news and other information like poll analysis, survey etc. conducted by different scholars and organizations. The space does not permit us here to detail each source used in this study, which is given in the bibliography. There are some studies which are worth-mentioning here.


The history and geopolitics of Afghanistan, particularly, since the later nineteenth century has found vivid expressions at the hands of great intellectual writers from all quarters of international community. Some of the material consulted is: Olaf Caroe. The Pathans: 550 B.C. - 1957, London 1965; Louis Dupree, Afghanistan, Princeton,
The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and its geopolitical fallouts like the events leading to the intervention, Soviet motives and objects to intervene, historic, strategic, economic and ideological aspects of Afghanistan's relations with the USSR; the Afghan resistance its external supports with internal-external ramifications, the super-power rivalry and the efforts to resolve the Afghan crisis have widely been discussed with a great intensity - To mention a few works, Thomas T. Hammond, Red Flag over Afghanistan: The Communist Coup, the Soviet Invasion and the Consequences, Colorado, 1984; Mark T. Urban, War in Afghanistan, London, 1988; Selig, S. Harrison, In Afghanistan's Shadow, Baluch Nationalism and Soviet Temptations, New York, 1981; Anthony Hymen, Afghanistan Under Soviet Domination 1964-81, London, 1982; Mikhail Ilinsky, Afghanistan: Onward March of the Revolution, New Delhi, 1982;

The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was an international event that evoked the terms of international law. Therefore, some works concerning the theoretical


Other relevant material is also important that has to be mentioned here. For the Indo-Pak relations and the impact of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan on them, some of the works include: 1968 Amaury de Reincourt, "India and Pakistan in the Shadow of Afghanistan" Foreign Affairs. 1982-83 Washington', Aswini Kumar Ray, Domestic Compulsions and Foreign Policy: Pakistan in Indo-Soviet Relations. New Delhi: G.W. Chodhury, Pakistan's Relations with India, Meerut, 1977; Mushtaq Ahmed, "Kabul and New Delhi", Pakistan Times. April 16, 1980; Charles H. Kennedy, "Policy of Ethnic Preferences in Pakistan", Asian Survey, June 1984; Jagat S. Mehta, "Afghanistan: A Neutral Solution" Foreign Policy. Washington, 1982; Ram Rahul Sheel, "Shadow of Afghanistan: India and
Pakistan Welcome Soviets, The Statesman, May 20, 1987; K.D. Sharma. "A Decade of Indo-Pak Relations", Strategic Digest, April, 1985. To this list may also be added some work concerned with the geopolitical approach of the study. These are: John R. Short, Introduction to Political Geography, London 1982; Peter Taylor and John House eds., Political Geography: Recent Advances and Future Direction, London, 1984, etc.

**METHODOLOGY**

The methods employed to study the complexity of the subject of research are, historical, analytical and comparative. The study makes the extensive use of primary and secondary sources mentioned above. Since the study deals with the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and its impact on the domestic public opinion, greater emphasis has been laid on the secondary sources, especially newspapers which make the fusion of personal opinions into local opinions, and this into national and world opinion. Because of the fact that an incident might be viewed from any of four observational standpoints: that of participant, spectator, interviewer or collector and it is the media which occupies at various times each of the four observational standpoints. However, due to the extensive involvement of media in the events they report aggravates the problems of bias inherent in the reports. Therefore, optimum care has been taken to have dispassionate and objective indepth analysis through geopolitical approach of analysing the strands linking spatial structure (the
incident of Soviet intervention, the opinions in Pakistan and India and, the local problem associated) public opinion process and socio-economic systems affected, including the people's perception of security or the attempt is to use those concepts and methods which cast light on the real world amidst different contradictory view points.

The study is mainly based on the document analysis approach. The researcher has had the limitations for eliciting direct public opinion through the empirical techniques of opinion polls or surveying, but an attempt has been made to gain an access to press and other media, available within the reach. The study though involving considerable empirical work is not a fact-opinion finding endeavour, but also analytic and prescriptive one.

A number of prevalent hypotheses that seek to shed light on possible correlations between an international event and public opinion has been brought to be examined in the course of analysing the theme of the research project.

**The interaction hypothesis:** The domestic public opinion in a country is directly affected by international events, which in turn influence the decision-makers of foreign policy. The greater the intensity of an event for a country, the greater will be the articulation and assertion of public opinion in that country.

**The domestic problems compulsion hypothesis:** For the
historical reasons, both India and Pakistan act as domestic compulsion for each other. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan had impact on the domestic scenario of Pakistan by creating intense debate on its course of foreign policy options. This factor influenced India’s stand vis-a-vis the developments in Afghanistan, which again led to reactions in Pakistan.

**The presence hypothesis:** the greater the geopolitical risks of a superpower in its neighbour, the more likely that superpower is to exercise its options in and around its neighbour or the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan may be explained better from such geopolitical point of view in which both USA and USSR had global vested interests of their own.

**The border crisis hypothesis:** The neighbour B on A’s border is A’s enemy and C—the neighbour of B is A’s friend or the enemies of A’s enemies are A’s friends while enemies of A’s friends are A’s enemies. The unfriendly regime in Afghanistan caused grave concern for Pakistan on account of Soviet relations with Afghanistan on its west and with India on its east in the same manner that Pakistan’s acquisition of arms from U.S.A. and its relations with China caused concern for India. Hence, great debate started in both countries as how to pursue the best national interest in the changed geopolitical context.

**The influence building hypothesis:** the greater the efforts by the political leadership to mobilise the domestic
public opinion for an international event, the more likely domestic issues are led towards diversion. Both India and Pakistan found the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in this manner - India in the context of its problems with Pakistan and Pakistan in the context of its problems with India and Afghanistan. However, rapprochement between India and Pakistan is essential in view of the peace and development of the entire region.

It is in these set of hypotheses that the role of mass media, political parties, press, and intellectuals has been analysed and discussed in the contextual frame of our subject. The scheme of this dissertation is as follows: Chapter I: International Events, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy explicates conceptual framework of public opinion in the context of international events and foreign policy, and accounts for how international events influence the domestic public opinions of a country which, in turn, influences foreign policy issues. Chapter II, Parameters of Public Opinion in India and Pakistan seeks to discuss the determinants of the climate of public opinion, the role of press, opposition parties, official media, writers etc. in influencing public opinion process in India and Pakistan, both prior to and after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Chapter III, The Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan traces the facts and circumstances leading to the incident of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, evaluates both grounds of justifying as well as condemning it and also
summarises the trends of the changed strategic situation at the regional and global level. Chapter IV, The Impact of Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan on the domestic Public Opinion in Pakistan analyses how the government, the press, the opposition leaders and other writers and intellectuals viewed the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in the light of the historic and geopolitical facts and images. Likewise the Chapter V, The Impact of Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan on the Domestic Public Opinion in India covers the views and opinion of the government, opposition, press and other experts in the field of international studies. The Chapter VI, Resultant Impact of Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan on India-Pakistan Relations discusses the impact of domestic public opinion in both the countries on each other’s domestic scenario, their bilateral relations and foreign policies. Lastly, conclusion draws together the summary of the major findings of the research project and makes certain suggestions for improving Indo-Pakistan relations in the interest of peace and development in the region.