PREFACE

Inio-Pak friendship is a subject in which every single Indian and every Pakistani has a stake. Compulsions of geography, history, culture, and above all the economic and strategic needs necessitate that the two countries should subscribe to permanent peace. This was the consensus opinion of all the participants at a symposium organized by the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi on 26th February 1982. Speaking under the general theme of 'Peace and Indo-Pak Relations', the participants expressed their considered views on the subject while subscribing to the basic needs of peace on the subcontinent. Yet, it would be unrealistic and hypocritical to overlook the fact that there are difficulties in arriving at this state even when this ought to be the normal condition in this part of the world.

The bewildering nature of India - Pakistan relations is a love-hate relationship between the two countries, a relationship of great bonhomie one day and going to war the next. Past histories and long memories do not enable an easy change from confrontation to co-operation, especially because the relationship is subject to sharp fluctuations. The task of improving relations between India and Pakistan is really the task of Sisyphus.
Sysiphus was mythical Greek character whose faith it was to roll a rock up the hill and to start again when it inevitably rolled down. I hope we will have better luck than Sysiphus.

It is not our practice in this part of the world, to hark back again and again to the circumstances of one's birth. Millions of people cannot even remember the dates of their birth accurately. Therefore, there seems to be no reason whatever why, in our mutual relations also, we should not come to concentrate on the future, instead of the past. In a word, the future on both sides must be free and based on interest and reason - and not on emotion. It is not difficult to see that both countries can and should now co-exist, since in the world of today that is the only way to exist. It is high time that a clear - minded awareness of this new future is heralded and fostered continuously between India and Pakistan.

This study of Indo - Pakistan Relations embraces the period from 1947 to the present (August, 1983). This study, however, has its own limitations. In the treatment of the subject, internal dynamics of India and Pakistan have been left untouched. We are aware of the risks involved in neglecting domestic issues, which often make their impact felt on the external relations of a country, but a detailed analysis of the internal developments of the two states would have made the work unwieldy.
Secondly, although the role of the individuals in the shaping of national politics is not insignificant in any country and far less in India and Pakistan, this work is more a study of the historical forces and trends rather than of personalities. This accounts for the conspicuous absence of many familiar names and the rather inadequate treatment accorded to the great leaders of the past and present, as our choice lay in analysing the forces which shaped India's relations with Pakistan, keeping the leaders into the background.

Any study of contemporary history is difficult in the sense that one has to stop somewhere. The story of Indo-Pakistan relations, like all other history, is a continuous one and the attempt to isolate a definite period from the stream of events meets with the difficulty that even the nature and content of the problems discussed may undergo significant changes afterwards, necessitating sometimes a complete recast of the issues (already examined) from other angles. Yet, somewhere the boundary line has to be drawn.

An effort has been made in this thesis to review the circumstances leading to the Partition of the sub-continent and Indo-Pakistan relations as they have been existing since then. It appears that the beginning and end of all that Pakistan would like to be discussed
between the two countries boil down to the single issue of Kashmir as Pakistan sees it. Therefore, special reference has been made to the Kashmir Problem covering from the historical background to the Accession of the State to India, all the three Wars and their consequences, The Tashkent Agreement, Simla Pact and accord with Sheikh Abdullah, as well as the plans and proposals presented by the Security Council from time to time.

The work has been completed under the kind supervision and able guidance of Dr. Ram Ghulam Gupta Ex-Head of the Deptt. of Political Science, Christ Church College, Kanpur, who has been kind enough to spare his precious time to supervise my work and without whose able guidance the work would have not taken the present shape. I am also indebted to my husband Prof. R.S. Saxena who inspired me and helped me at every stage.

I wish gratefully to acknowledge permissions for the use of copyright material and brief quotations acknowledged in the footnotes. I shall consider my labour amply rewarded if this humble work adds some thing to the volume of literature available for a correct appraisal of Indo-Pak Relations.

Shashi Saxena

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