The objective of this thesis is an analysis of Indo-Pakistani relations during the period 1977-1992. More specifically, it aims at an exploration of the conditions of conflict and cooperation between the two countries.

The period selected for study is significant for many reasons. First, during the period under review no war took place between the two countries occasional border skirmishes notwithstanding. Yet many new bilateral issues cropped up and some new situations developed in this region which adversely affected bilateral relations. Moreover, external involvement during the period in this region continued as before. Secondly, the period selected is also significant for the formation of Janata government in New Delhi which veered to a liberal and accommodative approach to the normalization of Indo-Pak relations. Thirdly, the second Indira regime witnessed the signing of an agreement to set up a Joint Indo-Pak Commission to boost bilateral cooperation in economic and cultural fields.

In the past much work has been done in both the countries on Indo-Pakistani relations but nobody
has appreciated the significance of post-Simla Indo-Pak arms race and the ensuing cold war which led the two countries to the brink of a hot war (probably nuclear) during the later part of 1991. This study has, therefore, taken special notice of the strategic dimension. The subject has been studied in an independent, impartial and unbiased way free from nationalist bias and proclivities. In the course of this analysis I have given a balanced view of the approaches, viewpoints and policies of both the countries.

This dissertation is organized under three Parts. Part I (Chapters I - IV) deals with Indo-Pakistani relations in the historical perspective.

Chapter I deals with the initial phase of Indo-Pakistani relations. The major issues such as the question of minorities', evacuee properties, division of military stores, demarcation of borders, currency problems, and problems of refugees are explained in detail, and how these problems were by and large overcome by the two countries through talks and meetings.

But the princely states particularly Kashmir and Hyderabad became great problems for both countries. Eventually the latter two acceded to India. But
Pakistan disputed Kashmir's accession to India and Kashmir is still the stumbling block in the way of normalization of Indo-Pak relations.

Chapter II deals with the role of external factors in disrupting Indo-Pakistani relations. Pakistan was and still inferior to India in each and every field. So, Pakistan, in order to come on equal level with India, began to mature her contact with Islamic and Western countries for all kind of help. In the early fifties, Pakistan could look only to the United States for this kind of help. U.S.A., in turn was seeking allies in Asia to counter the growing influence of communists countries particularly of China and U.S.S.R. Pakistan, later on, received a lot of arms and military equipments. This acceptance of military aid of United States by Pakistan created two problems especially Pakistan had no her own policies and was controlled by the other powers because Pakistan became an American stooge and was moving according to the direction of U.S. Secondly, Pakistan's alliance with western countries disturbed the balance of power in this region and India became bound to have an alliance with some one for her own defence. Thus, India joined U.S.S.R. and a new wave of cold war again created in the region.
For further help in military and economic field, Pakistan joined some regional organisation such as South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) and Baghdad Pact (later named CENTO). After joining these organisations, Pakistan got chance to raise bilateral issues particularly Kashmir issue in the above Organisations and received support on this issue. At this juncture, Pakistan also took much interest to solve the Kashmir issue through United Nation because most of the permanent members of Security Council were in favour of Pakistan. Thus, Pakistan raised Kashmir issue in U.N. many times but the efforts of U.N. as well as of super-powers ended with no result.

The Farakha barrage issue and the Indus water dispute were another two problems between India and Pakistan. Many meetings for resolving these issues were taken place between the two countries. Regarding Farakha Barrage, both the countries got success in ironing out some of the differences. But regarding Indus water disputes, both the countries, after the continuous eight years discussion and negotiations, reached at the conclusion of Indus waters Treaty through the mediation of World Bank. The treaty recognises the need for fixing the delimitation in a spirit of good-
will and friendship, and defines the rights and obligations of the Government of India and of the Government of Pakistan concerning the use of water of the Indus river system. Till 1960, in the history of India-Pakistan relations, the Indus waters dispute was the only dispute where both the Governments had shown a positive spirit of cooperation.

The Chinese border invasion on several places of India abruptly complicated not only India-China relationship but India-Pakistan relationship also. In this conflict, India suffered much militarily and this brought a profound consequences for both Indian foreign policy and national security policy. India which was earlier believing and following only non-aligned policy, suddenly gave up her much vaunted non-aligned policy and dramatically expanded defence budget in order to strengthen defence system. This Indian programme of strengthening defence system against China was taken by Pakistan as her national threat. So, Pakistan came in close contact of China and a secret military pact between Pakistan and China was signed. Many economic aid was also provided by China to Pakistan. Thus, India realized the great need of military capability in order to hold off China and Pakistan simultaneously.
Chapter III deals with a long list of factors that had affected the situations in the region in different ways and finally India and Pakistan met with a war. This war of 1965 showed that Pakistan attacked on India by two reasons basically. One is that Pakistan thought that India had become very weak because of 1962 war with China and India is not in a position to win the war. Secondly, Pakistan believed that if she did not attack in a decisive manner, the State of Kashmir would be integrated into India and international interest for Pakistan's concerns would dwindle.

Whatever the impression, Pakistan was having about India before occurring the war proved completely wrong because both the countries suffered in this war and Pakistan also realized that Indian armed forces could not be easily routed and Indian forces had come a long way from the Chinese debacle of 1962. On the Indian side, the war provided a degree of comfort to the military whose prestige and morale had sunk to an all-time low in the aftermath of 1962 conflict.

A new hope of mutual cooperation between the two countries was seen when Tashkent Declaration was signed through the mediation of Soviet Union. But as for as permanent settlement of India-Pakistan problems
are concerned, it did nothing new at all. It brought a temporary respite to India-Pakistan hostilities. India and Pakistan remained suspicious and unyielding towards each other.

In Chapter IV the significance of ideological differences between the two wings of the United Pakistan has been explained. In the beginning before the outbreak of the war, the ideological differences created the internal crisis in Pakistan, and the East Pakistani peoples refused to accept a subservient role in Pakistan and demanded maximum autonomy. The autonomist demands were met with harsh measures by Pakistan. With this, the refugees started to proceed towards India. So, India thought that it was cheaper to go to war than to absorb the refugees into its already bloated population. Finally, these factors propelled India and Pakistan to war and subsequent creation of Bangladesh.

India, in this war of 1971, badly defeated Pakistan and unquestionably established her military superiority not only over Pakistan but even in South Asia region as a whole. With this superiority of India and the defeat of Pakistan, two new things emerged. One is that Pakistan, after recognising her inferiority in conventional war, felt the threat for her security
in the sub-continent. So, it made a sense for Pakistan to develop some nuclear capability in order to meet with India in future. Second, Pakistan's claim on Kashmir after the separation of Bangladesh, also eroded in a major way. The inability of the West Pakistan to convince their brethren in the East to remain in the same polity, made it exceedingly difficult for the Pakistani leadership to lay a claim on Kashmir on the basis of its religious composition. Naturally, India took advantage of the discrepancy between theory and practice.

This chapter also discusses the importance of the Simla Agreement of 1972 in normalizing Indo-Pakistan relations. The Simla Agreement played a very important role in the establishment of durable peace in the sub-continent and for the settlement of problems arising out of Bangladesh war. The greatest merit of the Simla Pact is that the two countries decided to renounce the use or threat of use of force against each other, to put an end to the era of conflict and confrontation; and commit themselves to standing cooperation and peaceful coexistence.

Part II covering chapters V - VII, deals with the period from 1977-1987 which had been prescribed for my doctoral work, but I have covered the events up to 1992.
In Chapter V the main emphasis is given on the coming of Janata Government in Power and on the re-orientation of Indian foreign policy. The Janata Government followed a foreign policy which was a fresh thrust to the promotion of the cause of peace and disarmament, to strengthen stability and cooperative spirit, to fortify independence and freedom from exploitation. With the formation of Janata Government in India, a new chapter in India-Pakistan relations was started. The Janata Government repeatedly emphasised "beneficial bilateralism" and "good neighbourliness". The main aim of Janata foreign policy was to promote and enrich India's relations with the neighbours in general and with Pakistan in particular as a means not only to solve inherited problems but also to create a climate of confidence and mutual good-will so that more harmonious and beneficial relations in economic, political and cultural fields might be promoted in the true spirit of peaceful coexistence. The leaders of India and Pakistan during Janata Regime, exchanged a lot of visits from each other country. Through this exchange of visits, the leaders of both the countries got success in dispelling the apprehensions of fundamentalism of some of the Muslim and Hindu organizations from the minds of the people of both countries. With this, many ou-
standing disputes between India and Pakistan were resolved and the areas of mutual cooperation in various fields were expanded.

The above hopes and spirit of cooperation received a jolt when Janata Government fell and mainly when the Soviet Union occupied Afghanistan. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan produced a crisis not simply for Afghan people but for the South Asian region as a whole. It mainly confronted the main regional actors- India and Pakistan with a new political and strategic situation to which they reacted in distinctive ways. India and Pakistan both took the consequences of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan not on the basis of the needs and aspirations of the Afghan people but they took into account their own interests. Their responses differed from each other. Pakistan pursued active opposition to the Soviet invasion and India made no public condemnation because of her close ties with Soviet Union. The massive arms and economic help to Pakistan by U.S. was vehemently criticised by India because India felt a threat for security in the region due to this supply of arms. Thus, the Soviet invasion brought the cold war to the region and escalated the differences between India and Pakistan.
Chapter VI deals with the impediments in the way of Indo-Pak cooperation. There is no doubt that some of the bilateral issues have been the major irritants between the two countries but in addition to these, external involvement has exacerbated the situation and intensified intra-regional rivalries.

Pakistan's purchase of arms from the U.S., China and other countries has always been directed against India. Pakistan has tried to exploit every situation which occurred in South Asia or outside to the detriment of India. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, it was Zia-ul Haq who made Pakistan very important to the United States overnight and Pakistan became a "frontline state" in U.S. perception. Through this tactics, Pakistan received a lot of arms and economic aid from United States and other countries and built up her defence system more strong. The aim of Pakistan for improving relations with China and also to bring China's role as a counter-vailing power in South Asia especially against India. With this massive supply of arms and economic aid, India felt a great danger to her security in the region. Thus, India was compelled to join some one for resisting this
danger. In this way, India opposed more to the supply of arms to Pakistan from United States and China than that of Soviet invasion. India with an alliance of Soviet Union had to face Pakistan + U.S. and China in this region. But from the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan and finally with the disintegration of Soviet Union, the cold war in South Asia ended. Thus, Pakistan's usefulness to U.S. policy calculations was changed. U.S., which was believing blindly in Pakistan's nuclear programme during Afghan crisis, quickly changed her policy and suspended her military and economic assistance to Pakistan under the Presser Amendment. United States not only suspended her economic and military aid to Pakistan but also shifted her priorities towards India. Thus whatever the burden India was facing during Afghan crisis from the side of Pakistan helped by United States was reduced and this burden was shifted to Pakistan upto some extent. In this condition, Pakistan, in order to bring the balance of powers in her own favour, tried to improve her contact more and more with China, France and some other countries. Here one thing is to be noted that both India and Pakistan are suspecting about each other and both are trying to receive arms and other kind of help from external powers. Both the countries had
never stopped themselves from taking such help but according to their interest they have changed their track of receiving the outside help from time to time.

Further, the Kashmir, Punjab and Siachin glacier issues have been the major irritants between India and Pakistan relations. Kashmir has been the problem since partition. Before 1971, Pakistan tried to take Kashmir through military efforts but after the defeat in Bangladesh war of 1971, realised that no military action could separate Kashmir from India or could make Kashmir an independent State. Thus, Pakistan changed her strategy to one of creating a climate of unlawful activities, insurrection by giving support to extremists and militants of Kashmir as well of Punjab. This attitude of Pakistan has created tension between the two countries.

Chapter VII has analysed the framework of Indo-Pakistan Joint Commission and its constituent sub-commissions, and appreciated its potential role in promoting their bilateral cooperation between India and Pakistan. The Joint Commission was established between the two countries for mutual benefit in economic,
trade, industrial, educational, cultural, consular, tourism, travel, information, scientific and technological fields. The Commission also suggested for the exchange of academicians from each other country. Another important point is the division of commission into four sub-commissions each dealing with specified fields, which have provided opportunities to both Indian and Pakistani leaders to have a meeting for discussing some particular matters entrusted to a particular sub-commission. The neighbourly relation and promoting cooperation in the agreement were maintained with the exception of political and military questions. In this agreement, we have seen one thing that the normal function of the agreement was disturbed whenever India and Pakistan adopted rigid attitude against each other and whenever they gave more weightage to the trade with some other countries.

In addition to avenues of bilateral interaction there are also regional and international forums which provide an opportunity to both India and Pakistan to develop their political as well economic relations. In this way, the formation of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) of which India and
Pakistan are the two major partners, and the regional and international organisations held out some hope of not only multilateral cooperation but also bilateral improvement between India and Pakistan. India and Pakistan along with other members of the various organisation got opportunity to discuss and suppress terrorism in the region and to highlight the importance of human rights.

The final part of the study offers suggestions to avoid the hurdles which are coming in the way of mutual cooperation between India and Pakistan. At present both the countries are having nuclear capability and both are facing nuclear threat from each other. In bringing consensus between India and Pakistan, there is need for some reorientation of policies to take into account in the changed circumstances in Southern Asia. At present, it is difficult to visualise any meaningful process which could lead to a reversal and denuclearisation. So, early consultations to work for strategic stability in the post nuclearisation stage are necessary. Both India and Pakistan should move towards the stabilisation of the situation that lowers the dangers of use of nuclear weapons against each other because the existence or possession of nuclear weapons are not
dangerous but the most dangerous thing is their use against each other.

As far as Kashmir problem is concerned, both India and Pakistan should not do any thing through force or sentimental attitudes but through multidirectional approach such as political, economic, psychological and diplomatic. Both the countries should opt the tough measures against the terrorists and militants and should control them. Pakistan should not opt suicidal path about Kashmir again and again. Jammu and Kashmir can not be allowed to drift away from India because the separation of Kashmir from India will further escalate the tension between India and Pakistan.

In the economic and trade field, both the countries should give priorities to the items of each other rather than other countries and both should do maximum import and export between themselves. The economic expansion or trade relation between the two countries received a jolt whenever the bilateral disputes took place or whenever the external involvement was more in the region. Thus, India and Pakistan should normalise their political relations, and should avoid the external involvement in the region.
Finally Chapter IX sums up the main findings of the study. Our analysis leads to a somewhat pessimistic assessment of conflict resolution between India and Pakistan. Since Partition both India and Pakistan are trying to browbeat each other in each and every field particularly in improving their military strength and the nuclear capabilities. Both are struggling to strengthen themselves in their own way and both are having large forces and more sophisticated weapons than in the past. So if war does take place between the two countries, its cost will be substantially greater than the three previous wars.

Another point is that in spite of bilateral bickerings regional and international organisations have set the stage for normalisation and improvement of Indo-Pak cooperation. The opportunities available cannot be grasped because of the lack of a consensus on politico-strategic issues and lack of moral courage to resolve the outstanding disputes.