



# INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS 1947-2007

A DOCUMENTARY STUDY

VOL-I-X

Introduced & Edited by  
**AVTAR SINGH BHASIN**

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# **INDIA-PAKISTAN**

## **RELATIONS 1947-2007**

**A DOCUMENTARY STUDY**

The birth of Pakistan was a unique occurrence in history. It split a country, its people, its landmass, and its bounty; the linkages built over centuries vanished overnight. Roads and railroads were cut, rivers and streams divided, assets and liabilities apportioned, civil and defence services split. A single trading mart, where goods and services flowed freely, suddenly found itself split into two with tariff, non-tariff and immigration barriers. It was a great exercise in splitting an ancient civilization, a composite culture, a shared inheritance, all that constituted a nation and its wealth. History was made to stand on its head.

Pakistan, spread over two wings separated by over one thousand miles, was an artificial state. The majority of its people lived in the eastern wing but the centre of political power was in the western wing, making the majority subservient to the minority. The language of the majority was denied an honourable place; and given an iniquitous share in the power structure and resources. Dissatisfaction in the East against the Western wing was inevitable. It was only when the East consolidated its numbers, and challenged the West's monopoly of power at the centre, that the West was shaken out of its wits. What followed is history, as they say.

The partition was an opportunity for the two newly-born countries to go their own ways and build egalitarian societies, growing together and complementing each other. Unfortunately Pakistan, unable to transcend the two-nation theory, kept alive the animosities of the past and added fresh ones. The bogey of Indian hegemony was constructed and an anti-India bias was created. The democratic aspirations of its people remained constrained. The feeling of insecurity that it created for itself and its people drove Pakistan to seek security from sources, which exploited it for their own strategic needs. This vitiated the politics of the sub-continent and brought the Cold War to its door step. Obsession with Kashmir drove Pakistan to an uncompromising confrontation with India, which proved disastrous for its socio-political growth and economic development. Massive foreign involvement including in Pakistan's militarisation encouraged lopsided growth leading to an overwhelming role and influence of the military establishment in its society.

The present study is the saga of these pernicious developments which, after more than six decades of the post-colonial history, have made South Asia among the most volatile regions in the world.



**Avtar Singh Bhasin** (b. June 7, 1935) B.A. (Hons) and M.A in History. He had a short stint of service with the National Archives of India and the Ministry of Defence before joining the Ministry of External Affairs in 1963, where he served for three decades retiring in June 1993 as Director (Historical Division). He was posted in the Indian Missions in Kathmandu, Bonn, Vienna and Lagos. He travelled extensively within and outside the country in the discharge of his duties in the Ministry. He was a member of several official, ministerial and Prime Ministerial delegations for discussions with various countries.

He took to academic studies after retirement in 1993. He was **Senior Fellow at the Indian Council of Historical Research** from 1994 to 1996, and an **Honorary Fellow at the Institute of Contemporary Studies of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library** from 1996 to 2000. He attended several seminars on South Asia and contributed research papers at these dialogues. He has also published several articles on South Asian affairs in newspapers and journals.

His main focus has been documenting India's foreign relations, a task that had not been attempted in the past more than sixty years. His first work was a two-volume study of **India-Nepal-China Relations: 1947-92**; later expanded and updated to Five Volumes covering the period up to 2005. His second contribution was the documentary study of **India-Bangladesh Relations**, first published in two volumes covering the period 1971 to 1994, and then updated and expanded to Five Volumes covering the period up to 2002. The success of these two studies encouraged him to undertake a third one, a study on Sri Lanka, also in Five Volumes which was published under the title "**India-Sri Lanka Relations and Sri Lanka's Ethnic Conflict—1947-2000.**"

In the golden jubilee year of the Indian independence, 1997, he wrote 75 pieces for the *Asian Age* which were published consecutively from June 1 to August 14, 1997 every day as a throwback to the tumultuous days of 1947, to refresh the memories of the older generation and inform the younger generation of the sacrifices, trials and tribulations and travails, which the people had to go through, before independence. Subsequently, a larger version of these articles appeared in the book form "**Some Called it Partition, Some Freedom**".

Returning to the subject of Sri Lanka, he published a new book in 2005 under the title: "**India in Sri Lanka: Between Lion and the Tigers**", which studied the Indian role in resolving the Sri Lankan imbroglio. This book was published both in India and Sri Lanka.

He edits and publishes an annual series under the title "**INDIA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS**" in cooperation with the Public Diplomacy Division of the Ministry of External Affairs. It showcases the documents bearing on India's foreign relations in each year. Starting with 2002, so far ten volumes, covering the period up to 2011 have been published.

**INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS**  
**1947-2007**  
**A DOCUMENTARY STUDY**  
**VOLUME-I**

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Between Lion and the Tigers
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TO

*My Late Wife  
Mandip Kaur*

*Mother of  
Puneet and Mantosh*

*Mother- in- Law of  
Gurpreet & Kamaljeet*

*Grandmother of  
Arjan,  
Geetika  
Amitoj  
Zorawar*



## PRESIDENTS OF INDIA

|                               |                   |   |                   |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|---|-------------------|
| Dr. Rajendra Prasad           | January 26, 1950  | - | May 13, 1962      |
| Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan  | May 13, 1962      | - | May 13, 1967      |
| Zakir Hussain                 | May 13, 1967      | - | May 3, 1969       |
| Varahagiri Venkata Giri       | May 3, 1969       | - | July 20, 1969     |
| Muhammad Hidayatullah         | July 20, 1969     | - | August 24, 1969   |
| Varahagiri Venkata Giri       | August 24, 1969   | - | August 24, 1974   |
| Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed          | August 24, 1974   | - | February 11, 1977 |
| Basappa Danappa Jatti         | February 11, 1977 | - | July 25, 1977     |
| Neelam Sanjiva Reddy          | July 25, 1977     | - | July 25, 1982     |
| Giani Zail Singh              | July 25, 1982     | - | July 25, 1987     |
| Ramaswamy Venkataraman        | July 25, 1987     | - | July 25, 1992     |
| Shankar Dayal Sharma          | July 25, 1992     | - | July 25, 1997     |
| Kocheril Raman Narayanan      | July 25, 1997     | - | July 25, 2002     |
| A. P. J. Abdul Kalam          | July 25, 2002     | - | July 25, 2007     |
| Smt. Pratibha Devisingh Patil | July 25, 2007     | - | July 25, 2012     |





## PRIME MINISTERS OF INDIA

|     |                      | <b>From</b> | <b>To</b>  |
|-----|----------------------|-------------|------------|
| 1.  | Jawaharlal Nehru     | 15-08-1947  | 27-05-1964 |
| 2.  | Gulzari Lal Nanda    | 27-05-1964  | 09-06-1964 |
| 3.  | Lal Bahadur Shastri  | 09-06-1964  | 11-01-1966 |
| 4.  | Gulzari Lal Nanda    | 11-01-1966  | 24-01-1966 |
| 5.  | Mrs. Indira Gandhi   | 24-01-1966  | 24-03-1977 |
| 6.  | Morarji Desai        | 24-03-1977  | 28-07-1979 |
| 7.  | Charan Singh         | 28-07-1979  | 14-01-1980 |
| 8.  | Mrs. Indira Gandhi   | 14-01-1980  | 30-10-1984 |
| 9.  | Rajiv Gandhi         | 31-10-1984  | 01-12-1989 |
| 10. | V. P. Singh          | 02-12-1989  | 10-11-1990 |
| 11. | Chandra Shekhar      | 10-11-1990  | 21-06-1991 |
| 12. | P. V. Narasimha Rao  | 21-06-1991  | 10-05-1996 |
| 13. | Atal Bihari Vajpayee | 16-05-1996  | 01-06-1996 |
| 14. | H. D. Deve Gowda,    | 01-06-1996  | 21-04-1997 |
| 15. | Inder Kumar Gujral   | 21-04-1997  | 28-11-1997 |
| 16. | Atal Bihari Vajpayee | 19-03-1998  | 13-05-2004 |
| 17. | Dr. Manmohan Singh   | 22-05- 2004 | Incumbent  |







## EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTERS OF INDIA

|                            | <b>From</b> | <b>To</b>  |
|----------------------------|-------------|------------|
| Jawaharlal Nehru           | 15-8-1947   | 27-5-1964  |
| Lal Bahadur Shastri        | 9-6-1964    | 17-7-1964  |
| Swaran Singh               | 18-7-1964   | 14-11-1966 |
| M.C. Chagla                | 14-11-1966  | 5-9-1967   |
| Smt. Indira Gandhi         | 6-9-1967    | 13-2-1969  |
| Dinesh Singh               | 14-2-1969   | 27-6-1970  |
| Swaran Singh               | 27-6-1970   | 10-10-1974 |
| Y. B. Chavan               | 10-10-1974  | 24-3-1977  |
| Atal Bihari Vajpayee       | 26-3-1977   | 28-7-1979  |
| Shyam Nandan Prasad Mishra | 28-7-1979   | 31-1-1980  |
| P. V. Narasimha Rao        | 14-1-1980   | 19-7-1984  |
| Smt. Indira Gandhi         | 19-7-1984   | 31-10-1984 |
| Rajiv Gandhi               | 1-11-1984   | 24-9-1985  |
| Bali Ram Bhagat            | 25-9-1985   | 12-5-1986  |
| P. Shiv Shankar            | 12-5-1986   | 22-10-1986 |
| Narayan Dutt Tiwari        | 22-10-1986  | 25-7-1987  |
| Rajiv Gandhi               | 25-7-1987   | 25-6-1988  |
| P. V. Narasimha Rao        | 25-6-1988   | 2-12-1989  |
| Inder Kumar Gujral         | 5-12-1989   | 10-11-1990 |
| Vidya Charan Shukla        | 21-11-1990  | 20-2-1991  |
| Madhavsingh Solanki        | 21-6-1991   | 31-3-1992  |
| P. V. Narasimha Rao        | 31-3-1992   | 18-1-1993  |
| Dinesh Singh               | 18-1-1993   | 10-2-1995  |
| Pranab Mukherjee           | 10-2-1995   | 16-5-1996  |

**XIV****INDO-PAK RELATIONS**

|                      |            |            |
|----------------------|------------|------------|
| Sikander Bakht       | 21-5-1996  | 1-6-1996   |
| Inder Kumar Gujral   | 1-6-1996   | 18-3-1998  |
| Atal Bihari Vajpayee | 19-3-1998  | 5-12-1998  |
| Jaswant Singh        | 5-12-1998  | 23-6-2002  |
| Yashwant Sinha       | 1-7-2002   | 22-5-2004  |
| Natwar Singh         | 22-5-2004  | 6-11-2005  |
| Manmohan Singh       | 6-11-2005  | 24-10-2006 |
| Pranab Mukherjee     | 24-10-2006 | 22-5-2009  |
| S. M. Krishna        | 22-5-2009  | Incumbent  |



## FOREIGN SECRETARIES OF INDIA

|     | <b>Name</b>              | <b>From</b> | <b>To</b>  |
|-----|--------------------------|-------------|------------|
| 1.  | K. P. S. Menon           | 16-4-1947   | 21-9-1952  |
| 2.  | R. K. Nehru              | 22-09-1952  | 10-10-1955 |
| 3.  | Subimal Dutt             | 11-10-1955  | 17-1-1961  |
| 4.  | M. J. Desai              | 11-4-1961   | 4-12-1963  |
| 5.  | Y. D. Gundevia           | 5-12-1963   | 18-2-1965  |
| 6.  | C. S. Jha                | 19-2-1965   | 13-8-1967  |
| 7.  | Rajeshwar Dayal          | 19-8-1967   | 6-11-1968  |
| 8.  | Triloki Nath Kaul        | 7-11-1968   | 3-12-1972  |
| 9.  | Kewal Singh              | 4-12-1972   | 31-3-1976  |
| 10. | Jagat Mehta              | 1-4-1976    | 18-11-1979 |
| 11. | R. D. Sathe              | 19-11-1979  | 30-4-1982  |
| 12. | Maharaj Krishna Rasgotra | 1-5-1982    | 31-1-1985  |
| 13. | Romesh Bhandari          | 1-2-1985    | 31-3-1986  |
| 14. | A.P. Venkateshwaran      | 1-4-1986    | 20-1-1987  |
| 15. | K. P. S. Menon           | 21-1-1987   | 15-2-1989  |
| 16. | S. K. Singh              | 16-2-1989   | 19-4-1990  |
| 17. | Muchukundu Dubey         | 20-4-1990   | 30-11-1991 |
| 18. | J. N. Dixit              | 1-12-1991   | 31-1-1994  |
| 19. | K. Srinivasan            | 1-2-1994    | 28-2-1995  |
| 20. | Salman Haider            | 1-3-1995    | 30-6-1997  |
| 21. | K. Raghunath             | 1-7-1997    | 1-12-1999  |
| 22. | Lalit Mansingh           | 1-12-1999   | 11-3-2001  |
| 23. | Smt. Chokila Iyer        | 12-3-2001   | 29-6-2002  |
| 24. | Kanwal Sibal             | 1-7-2002    | 30-11-2003 |

XVI

**INDO-PAK RELATIONS**

|     |                   |            |            |
|-----|-------------------|------------|------------|
| 25. | Shashank          | 1-12-2003  | 31-7-2004  |
| 26. | Shyam Saran       | 31-7-2004  | 31-8-2006  |
| 27. | Shivshankar Menon | 1-9-2006   | 31-7-2009  |
| 28. | Mrs. Nirupama Rao | 01-08-2009 | 31-07-2011 |
| 29. | Ranjan Mathai     | 01-08-2011 | Incumbent  |



**INDIAN HIGH COMMISSIONERS/AMBASSADORS  
IN PAKISTAN**

| <b>S.No.</b> | <b>Name of High Commissioner</b> | <b>Period</b>        |
|--------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1.           | Shri Sri Prakash                 | 1947 to 1949         |
| 2.           | Shri Sita Ram                    | 1949 to 1951         |
| 3.           | Shri Mohan Sinha Mehta           | 1951 to 1955         |
| 4.           | Shri C.C. Desai                  | 1955 to 1958         |
| 5.           | Shri Rajeshwar Dayal             | 1958 to 1962         |
| 6.           | Shri G. Parthasarathi            | 1962 to 1965         |
| 7.           | Shri Kewal Singh                 | 1965 to 1966         |
| 8.           | Shri S. Sen                      | 1966 to 1968         |
| 9.           | Shri B.K. Acharya                | 1968 to 1971         |
| 10.          | Shri J.K. Atal                   | 1971                 |
| 11.          | Shri K.S. Bajpai                 | 1976 to 1980         |
| 12.          | Shri K. Natwar Singh             | 1980 to 1982         |
| 13.          | Shri K.D. Sharma                 | 1982 to 1985         |
| 14.          | Shri S.K. Singh                  | 1985 to 1989         |
| 15.          | Shri J.N. Dixit                  | Apr 1989 to Nov 1991 |
| 16.          | Shri Satinder Kumar Lambah       | Jan 1992 to Jul 1995 |
| 17.          | Shri Satish Chandra              | Aug 1995 to Dec 1998 |
| 18.          | Shri G. Parthasarathy            | Feb 1999 to May 2000 |

- |     |                        |                      |
|-----|------------------------|----------------------|
| 19. | Shri Vijay K. Nambiar  | Aug 2000 to Dec 2001 |
| 20. | Shri Shivshankar Menon | Jul 2003 to Sep 2006 |
| 21. | Shri Satyabrata Pal    | Nov 2006 to Feb 2009 |
| 22. | Shri Sharat Sabharwal  | Apr 2009 - Incumbent |



**GOVERNORS GENERAL/PRESIDENTS  
OF PAKISTAN**

|     |                              | <b>From</b> | <b>To</b>  |
|-----|------------------------------|-------------|------------|
| 1.  | Muhammad Ali Jinnah          | 14-8-1947   | 11-9-1948  |
| 2.  | Khawaja Nazimuddin           | 11-9-1948   | 17-10-1951 |
| 3.  | Ghulam Muhammad              | 17-10-1951  | 6-10-1955  |
| 4.  | Maj. Gen. Iskander Mirza     | 6-10-1955   | 27-10-1958 |
| 5.  | General Muhammad Ayub Khan   | 27-10-1958  | 25-3-1969  |
| 6.  | General Agha Muhd. Yaha Khan | 25-3-1969   | 20-12-1971 |
| 7.  | Zulfikar Ali Bhutto          | 20-12-1971  | 14-8-1973  |
| 8.  | Fazil Ilahi Chaudhry         | 14-8-1973   | 16-9-1978  |
| 9.  | General Zia-ul-Haq           | 16-9-1978   | 17-8-1988  |
| 10. | Ghulam Ishaq Khan            | 17-8-1988   | 18-7-1993  |
| 11. | Farooq Ahmad Khan Legheri    | 14-11-1993  | 2-12-1997  |
| 12. | Muhammad Rafiq Trar          | 1-1-1998    | 20-6-2001  |
| 13. | General Pervez Musharraf     | 20-6-2001   | 18-1-2008  |
| 14. | Asif Ali Zardari             | 09-09-2008  | Incumbent  |







## PRIME MINISTERS OF PAKISTAN

|                            | <b>From</b>       | <b>To</b>        |
|----------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Liaquat Ali Khan           | 14-8-1947         | 16-10-1951       |
| Khwaja Nazimuddin          | 17-10-1951        | 17-4-1953        |
| Muhammad Ali Bogra         | 17-4-1953         | 12-8-1955        |
| Chaudhry Muhammad Ali      | 12-8-1955         | 12-9-1956        |
| Husain Shaheed Suhrawardy  | 12-9-1956         | 17-10-1957       |
| Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar  | 17-10-1957        | 16-12-1957       |
| Feroz Khan Noon            | 16-12-1957        | 7-10-1958        |
| <b>Post Abolished from</b> | <b>7-10-1958</b>  | <b>7-12-1971</b> |
| Nurul Amin                 | 7-12-1971         | 20-12-1971       |
| <b>Post Abolished from</b> | <b>20-12-1971</b> | <b>14-8-1973</b> |
| Zulfikar Ali Bhutto        | 14-8-1973         | 5-7-1977         |
| <b>Post Abolished from</b> | <b>5-7-1977</b>   | <b>24-3-1985</b> |
| Muhammad Khan Junejo       | 24-3-1985         | 29-5-1988        |
| <b>Post Abolished from</b> | <b>29-5-1988</b>  | <b>2-12-1988</b> |
| Ms. Benazir Bhutto         | 2-12-1988         | 6-8-1990         |
| Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi       | 6-8-1990          | 6-11-1990        |
| Nawaz Sharif               | 6-11-1990         | 18-4-1993        |
| Balakh Sher Mazari         | 18-4-1993         | 26-5-1993        |
| Nawaz Sharif               | 26-5-1993         | 18-7-1993        |
| Meenuddin Ahmad Qureshi    | 18-7-1993         | 19-10-1993       |
| Ms. Benazir Bhutto         | 19-10-1993        | 5-11-1996        |
| Malik Miraj Khalid         | 5-11-1996         | 17-2-1997        |
| Nawaz Sharif               | 17-2-1997         | 12-10-1999       |

| <b>Post Abolished from</b> | <b>12-10-1999</b> | <b>21-11-2002</b> |
|----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Zafarullah Khan Jamali     | 21-11-2002        | 6-6-2004          |
| Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain   | 30-6-2004         | 20-8-2004         |
| Shaukat Aziz               | 20-8-2004         | 16-11-2007        |
| Muhammad Mian Soomro       | 16-11-2007        | 25-3-2008         |
| Yousaf Raza Gilani         | 25-3-2008         | 26-6-2012         |



## FOREIGN MINISTERS OF PAKISTAN

| S. No | Name                             | From       | To         |
|-------|----------------------------------|------------|------------|
| 1.    | Sir Mohammad Zafarullah Khan     | 27-12-1947 | 31-10-1954 |
| 2.    | Muhammad Ali Bogra               | 24-10-1954 | 11-08-1955 |
| 3.    | Hamidul Haq Chowdhry             | 28-09-1955 | 12-09-1956 |
| 4.    | Malik Feroz Khan Noon            | 14-09-1956 | 16-12-1957 |
| 5.    | Manzoor Qadir                    | 29-10-1958 | 08-06-1962 |
| 6.    | Muhammad Ali Bogra               | 13-06-1962 | 23-01-1963 |
| 7.    | Zulfikar Ali Bhutto              | 24-01-1963 | 31-08-1966 |
| 8.    | Sharifuddin Pirzada              | 20-07-1966 | 25-04-1968 |
| 9.    | Mian Arshad Hussain              | 25-04-1968 | 04-04-1969 |
| 10.   | General Yahya Khan               | 05-04-1969 | 20-12-1971 |
| 11.   | Zulfikar Ali Bhutto              | 20-12-1971 | 28-03-1977 |
| 12.   | Aziz Ahmed                       | 30-03-1977 | 05-07-1977 |
| 13.   | Agha Shahi                       | 14-01-1978 | 09-03-1982 |
| 14.   | Sahabzada Yaqub Khan             | 21-03-1982 | 01-11-1987 |
| 15.   | Sahabzada Yaqub Khan             | 09-06-1988 | 20-03-1991 |
| 16.   | Abdul Sattar                     | 23-07-1993 | 19-10-1993 |
| 17.   | Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari        | 19-10-1993 | 14-11-1993 |
| 18.   | Aseef Ahmad Ali                  | 16-11-1993 | 04-11-1996 |
| 19.   | Sahabzada Yaqub Khan (Caretaker) | 11-11-1996 | 24-02-1997 |
| 20.   | Gohar Ayub                       | 25-02-1997 | 07-08-1998 |
| 21.   | Sartaj Aziz                      | 07-08-1998 | 12-10-1999 |
| 22.   | Abdul Sattar                     | 23-07-1999 | 14-06-2002 |
| 23.   | Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri           | 23-11-2002 | 15-11-2007 |

|     |                               |            |            |
|-----|-------------------------------|------------|------------|
| 24. | Inam-ul-Haq (Caretaker)       | 15-11-2007 | 24-03-2008 |
| 25. | Makhdoom Shah Mahmood Qureshi | 31-03-2008 | 09-02-2011 |
| 26. | Ms. Hina Rabbani Khar         | 19-07-2011 | Incumbent  |



## MINISTERS OF STATE OF PAKISTAN

| S.No. | Name                      | Assumed Charge | Left Office |
|-------|---------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| 1     | Aziz Ahmad                | 07-02-1973     | 28-03-1977  |
| 2     | Agha Shahi                | 18-07-1978     | 29-05-1980  |
| 3     | Zain Noorani              | 10-04-1985     | 29-05-1988  |
| 4     | Siddiq Khan Kanju         | 10-09-1991     | 18-07-1993  |
| 5     | Siddiq Khan Kanju         | 11-07-1997     | 12-10-1999  |
| 6     | Inam-ul-Haq               | 22-06-2002     | 22-11-2002  |
| 7     | Makhdoom Khusro Bakhtyar  | 04-09-2004     | 15-11-2007  |
| 8     | Nawabzada Malik Amad Khan | 04-11-2008     | ----        |
| 9     | Ms. Hina Rabbani Khar     | 12-02-2011     | 18-07-2011  |





### FOREIGN SECRETARIES OF PAKISTAN

| Sl. No | Name                 | Assumed Charge | Left Office |
|--------|----------------------|----------------|-------------|
| 1      | Mohammad Ikramullah  | 15-08-1947     | 16-10-1951  |
| 2      | Mirza Osman Ali Baig | 16-10-1951     | 30-11-1952  |
| 3      | Akhtar Hussain       | 1-12-1952      | 4-06-1953   |
| 4      | J.A. Rahim           | 4-06-1953      | 11-01-1955  |
| 5      | Sikandar Ali Baig    | 10-10-1955     | 30-06-1959  |
| 6      | Mohammad Ikramullah  | 01-07-1959     | 11-05-1961  |
| 7      | S.K. Dehlavi         | 12-05-1961     | 26-07-1963  |
| 8      | Aziz Ahmed           | 26-07-1963     | 23-06-1966  |
| 9      | S.M. Yusuf           | 24-06-1966     | 1-07-1970   |
| 10     | Sultan Muhammad Khan | 1-07-1970      | 31-03-1972  |
| 11     | Iftikhar Ali         | 31-03-1972     | 01-01-1973  |
| 12     | Mumtaz Ali Alvie     | 01-01-1973     | 07-05-1973  |
| 13     | Agha Shahi           | 06-07-1973     | 6-07-1977   |
| 14     | Sardar Shah Nawaz    | 06-07-1977     | 29-05-1980  |
| 15     | Riaz Piracha         | 29-05-1980     | 10-07-1982  |
| 16     | Niaz A. Naik         | 11-07-1982     | 30-05-1986  |
| 17     | Abdul Sattar         | 31-05-1986     | 02-08-1988  |
| 18     | Dr. Humayun Khan     | 03-08-1988     | 22-02-1989  |
| 19     | Tanvir Ahmad Khan    | 30-12-1989     | 30-08-1990  |
| 20     | Shahryar M. Khan     | 30-08-1990     | 29-03-1994  |

|    |                     |            |            |
|----|---------------------|------------|------------|
| 21 | Najmuddin A. Shaikh | 30-04-1994 | 24-02-1997 |
| 22 | Shamshad Ahmad      | 25-02-1997 | 17-02-2000 |
| 23 | Inam-ul-Haq         | 17-02-2000 | 21-06-2002 |
| 24 | Riaz H. Khokhar     | 06-08-2002 | 14-02-2005 |
| 25 | Riaz Mohammad Khan  | 15-02-2005 | 25-04-2008 |
| 26 | Salman Bashir       | 03-04-2008 | 04-03-2012 |





### PAKISTAN'S HIGH COMMISSIONERS IN INDIA

| <b>S. No.</b> | <b>Names</b>                  | <b>Period</b>                    |
|---------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1.            | H. E. Mr. Zahid Hussain       | 15 August 1947 to 31 March 1948  |
| 2.            | H. E. Khawaja Shahabuddin,    | 1st April 1948 to 1st May 1948   |
| 3.            | H. E. Mr. M. Ismail           | 02 May 1948 to 30 September 1952 |
| 4.            | H. E. Mr. Shuaib Qureshi      | October 1952 to April 1953       |
| 5.            | H. E. Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan | August 1953 to June 1956         |
| 6.            | H. E. Mian Ziauddin           | June 1956 to July 1958           |
| 7.            | H. E. Mr. A. K. Brohi         | 1959 to 1961                     |
| 8.            | H. E. Mr. Agha Hilaly         | September 1961 to 1963           |
| 9.            | H. E. Mr. M. Arshad Hussain   | October 1963 to 1968             |
| 10.           | H. E. Mr. Sajjad Hyder        | June 1968 to December 1971       |
| 11.           | H. E. Mr. S. Fida Hassan      | July 1976 to December 1977       |
| 12.           | H. E. Mr. Abdul Sattar        | July 1978 to June 1982           |
| 13.           | H. E. Mr. Riaz Piracha        | July 1982 to October 1983        |
| 14.           | H. E. Dr. M. Humayun Khan     | May 1984 to August 1988          |
| 15.           | H. E. Mr. Niaz A. Naik        | September 1988 to 1989           |
| 16.           | H.E. Mr. M. Bashir Khan Babar | October 1989 to October 1990     |
| 17.           | H. E. Mr. Abdul Sattar        | November 1990 to July 1992       |
| 18.           | H. E. Mr. Riaz H. Khokhar     | October 1992 to March 1997       |

19. H. E. Mr. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi March 1997 to July 2000
20. H. E. Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan 1st July 2003 to 30 November 2006
21. H. E. Mr. Shahid Malik 11 December 2006 to 13 June 2012
22. H. E. Mr. Salman Bashir 21 June 2012 to date

## PREFACE

**History** is the sum total of incidents, that take place in the social, economic or political life of a society, a community, a nation or a country. The documents are a record of those incidents and the manner in which they take place and shape those events. In that context, they play a critical role in the writing of history. They could be public records, records of societies or the private records. They are the primary source of history writing today. In the academic world today, if there are no records, there is no authentic history. In fact, scholars are expected to authenticate each statement with evidence. History by hearsay is a allegory or an anecdote. A record created after the event, with the advantage of hindsight, is a suspect document and not a dependable basis for history. Hence preservation of records for the posterity is the first step towards creating and writing of history.

2. Making them available for research is the next important step. I am glad that the Ministry of External Affairs, for the first time, took a major step, in making available a very large body of its records throwing light on the events since 1947. So far, the scholars working on India's foreign relations had to depend on the newspaper reports and other material available in the public domain to articulate the Indian position on bilateral and international issues. Quite often, the assessment based on secondary sources, resulted in not-so-flattering conclusions. With the availability of the records now, there would be a fresh impetus to undertake a rigorous research on India's foreign relations.

3. In my three-decade service with the Ministry of External Affairs in various capacities, I dealt with a variety of issues. When preparing notes or briefs, at short notice, which invariably was the case, I faced the problem of getting hold of the earlier records, which were needed to make an in-depth analysis and a sound judgement of the issues under consideration. Since time was the essence, willy-nilly one had inevitably to make do with the papers/

reports readily available. It was not the ideal situation, but one had to be content, to make do, with what was readily available. While still in service, I had decided to make up for this deficiency after retirement by undertaking the publication of documents in original, in readily available volumes. Therefore when I retired in 1993, I decided to redeem my promise made to myself.

4. Looking back, at the two decades of my retirement, I am happy to say, that I am not disappointed with myself. Before undertaking the present study, I published three separate compendiums of documents on India's relations with Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka in Five Volumes each. The present ten volumes give me the satisfaction of having covered India's relations with four of its major neighbours.

5. Separately, I took the initiative to publish each year a volume on 'India's Foreign Relations' in cooperation with the Public Diplomacy Division of the Ministry of External Affairs. As of today, ten volumes in this series, covering the period 2002 to 2011 have been published. These volumes showcase the documents bearing on India's foreign relations each year. Given the enlarged scope of foreign relations in the globalised world, several Ministries and Departments of the Government of India, besides, the Ministry of External Affairs contribute to the conduct of foreign relations, which are today multi-faceted. While the Ministry of External Affairs determines the broad framework and contours of the foreign policy and diplomacy, and is also the principal player in that field, several other Ministries and Departments complement its efforts in their respective spheres of activity. Foreign relations are no longer an instrument for interaction at diplomatic level alone. One looks up to them for procuring the sinews for development and progress in trade and industry, science and technology, education and agriculture and various other fields, like energy, climate change, investments etc. In short foreign relations are a product and interplay of multiple forces impinging on and promoting the country's national interest.

6. Before undertaking the present study on Pakistan, I had several hesitations and reservations. Enough material was not available in the earlier years. Given the scope and extent of India - Pakistan relations, in comparison to other neighbours, it was a daunting task. But Shri Shivshankar Menon, who as High Commissioner in Pakistan insisted that having successfully done similar projects on Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, I had gathered enough experience, which I should put to some more use. Soon thereafter, Shri Menon assumed the charge of Foreign Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs. It was about this time that the Ministry under him, appreciating the need for transparency in administration in the age of RTI, and aware that in the absence of hard information, Indian story suffered by default, together with the argument of the research scholars and historians, that the classification of records was time related and lost its sensitivity once the operational requirement was over, decided to make available a substantial body of the Ministry's records for research. As luck would have it, I found that a large number of senior officials who in the last few decades had played crucial role in the conduct of India's foreign relations, particularly with Pakistan, had deposited their private papers with the Archives of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library at Teen Murti House in New Delhi. These papers belonged principally to P. N. Haksar, B. K. Nehru, T. N. Kaul, Y.D. Gundevia, Subimal Dutt and others and contained the correspondence, which threw fresh light on the subject of my immediate interest. These papers gave a very rich harvest, which in my opinion, has substantially enhanced the utility of the present effort. Encouraged by these developments, I decided to take the plunge. Five years of sustained work has enabled the study to see the light of the day and I feel satisfied and redeemed.

7. The arrangement of the documents presented a peculiar difficulty. In most of them, particularly in the letters exchanged between the leaders of the two countries and in the transcript of their discussions, there were always more than one subject and it was not possible to segregate them. Broad issues like Kutch, the Indus and the Ganga

Waters, evacuee property, issues relating to the Minorities, Financial issues, Border demarcation, Passport and Visa etc., have been grouped separately under relevant heads. But there were many other issues, of which, documents could not form an independent group. These have been placed under the head 'Political Relations'. Even in the case of groups, which have been independently dealt with, a lot of material relevant to them, will be found in the papers under the head-'Political Relations'. All the ten volumes, however, form one single unit and should be taken as that only.

8. Kashmir has been and continues to be the core of the entire India - Pakistan discourse and Pakistan did not hesitate to raise it every time and any time there was a handshake. Placing of these documents presented its own difficulty. The documents which are purely Kashmir related have been put under the head 'Kashmir'. But where Kashmir becomes part of the India - Pakistan narrative, I have taken the liberty of placing them under the head 'Political Relations'. Needless to say, Kashmir will be found at all the places and everywhere in these volumes. It is likely that the users of these volumes may have to struggle a little bit to lay their hands on the entire range of material while studying any particular subject. They will kindly bear with me with some patience.

9. When I started on this project, I had thought, that it would not exceed more than five thousand pages. But as it progressed, its dimensions stared me in the face, I realised that even with ten thousand pages, I would not be able to claim that a comprehensive job had been done. The Foreign Secretary who reviewed the project midway in December 2008, felt that it was for the first time that such a study was being attempted and one did not know, when and if at all, another such effort would be made. He therefore advised that we should aim at a comprehensive job even if it meant ten thousand pages. Hence the present study of ten volumes. Having said that let me hasten to add that given the dimensions of the subject, I find it difficult to claim that these volumes are indeed a comprehensive work. Perhaps another ten volumes would be needed to make such a claim. But that is for another day.

10. It may not be irrelevant to point out here that for the present project as well as for other projects referred to above, I did not receive any grant or financial assistance from any source. These studies have somehow, been financed out of my own, not too deep pockets. However, the External Publicity Division and later the Public Diplomacy Division of the Ministry of External Affairs extended their help by the purchase of sufficient number of copies on publication. The sale proceeds from one project got ploughed in the other and the cycle kept running. I feel grateful to the Ministry of External Affairs for this arrangement. But the entire risk was mine.

11. In preparation of this study, as hinted above, I have drawn extensively on the archival holdings of the National Archives of India, the Archives and Record Management Division of the Ministry of External Affairs and Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. I will like to extend my grateful thanks to all of them for giving me access to their material. I also drew heavily on the Libraries of the Ministry of External Affairs, Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, India International Centre, The United Services Institution and the Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis. I am grateful to the officers and staff of these institutions. I particularly like to mention the Library of the India International Centre, where I finally sat down day after day, while working on the final stages of this project, and received the unstinted support and help from the Chief Librarian Dr. Maujamdar and his able officers, Shafali, Rajiv and others. Many thanks to all of them.

12. Ever since I embarked on the present journey in 1993, Shri Shivshankar Menon has been a great motivator and source of help in every way, as Joint Secretary (North), as High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, and later as High Commissioner in Islamabad and as Foreign Secretary. His help and guidance saw me through many difficult phases. I owe a debt of gratitude to him.

13. I have given a rather lengthy, introduction to this multi-volume-book. A narrative of this nature needed a second opinion, and reading through. Many friends were kind enough to offer their

valuable time to go through it. Though they were reluctant to get their names mentioned, I do wish to thank them by name and therefore I am taking the liberty of mentioning their names; M/S Jagmohan, Satish Chandra, TCA Rangachari, and M.L. Chhibber. They made valuable comments. My sincere thanks to all of them. I also owe thanks to my daughter Puneet and daughter-in-law Kamaljeet for reading though the pages with meticulous care. Finally Miss Priya Rana with her fine pen, tuned the whole introduction and crossed the t's and dotted the i's. Many thanks to her for this painstaking job well done.

14. Dr. TCA Raghvan was a great help in the preparation of these volumes with his advice and guidance. I take this opportunity to extend my grateful thanks to him.

15. Shri Ravi Kumar and his assistant Sameer Mishra slogged a lot to put the material on the computer and see it through the various stages of printing. They worked with me throughout the five years that took this project to complete. Both need a special mention and my sincere thanks to both of them.

16. In reproducing the documents, I have made every effort to adhere to the original text both in terms of the punctuation and the spellings of the names of various persons and places as occurring in the original.

17. As indicated above I received help and sought opinion of many persons in the preparation of this study and in giving the introduction and they have been generous with their help and comments. But finally I must remain fully responsible for the views expressed in giving the introduction or in giving the footnotes to the documents, or for any other deficiency that may be found in these volumes.

Avtar Singh Bhasin

New Delhi,  
September 1, 2012.



## INTRODUCTION

**ON AUGUST 14, 1947** certain areas of India, as recommended by Sir Cyril Redcliff, Chairman of the Boundary Commissions in his three separate reports on the Punjab, Bengal and Sylhet district of Assam (in the northwest and east of India), separated to form the sovereign State of Pakistan. His reports were awards, since there was no agreement among the Congress and the Muslim League nominees on the Commissions. When these reports were discussed, between the representatives of the Congress and the League, led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan respectively on August 16, there were claims and counter claims and none appeared to be satisfied with the Reports. In the absence of any agreement, the meeting authorised Governor General Lord Mountbatten to gazette the reports, as they were, on the next day August 17, 1947. Although the two Dominions had come into existence on the 14th and 15th of August, their boundaries were formally gazetted two days later.

2. There were indeed fundamental differences among the leaders of the League and the Congress, on the basic question, of what should be the future of India on British withdrawal. The Congress stood for united India, while the League demanded a separate homeland for the Muslims. In the absence of any consensus among the stakeholders, the decision to partition India, into two independent and sovereign States, took place by agreement of all the parties. There were differences among the leaders of the Congress Party, on the question of partition, but finally it endorsed the Partition Plan of June 2, 1947. The Congress decision on partition might have been a grudging one, but there

was no going back on it. However, in subscribing to the partition decision, the Congress did not endorse the Muslim League's two-nation concept. In their opinion and belief, India constituted one country and the various communities inhabiting it, were one Indian nation. There were innumerable ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural groups who had over the centuries migrated to India and merged themselves into the larger Indian nation. This concept of India was best captured by the Urdu poet Firaq Gorakhpuri in his memorable couplet:

*Sar zamin-e-Hind per aqwame-e-aalam ke, Firaq  
Kafle aate rahe aur Hindustan banta gaya*

[On the soil of Hindustan, O Firaq  
Caravan from all over the world kept coming,  
and so was India made]

3. The most important aspect of partition was, that despite the fact, that Pakistan was touted to be a safe haven for the Muslims of undivided India, millions of Muslims reposed their faith and confidence in the Indian leaders, who assured them that new India would guarantee them safety of their person and property, besides providing a non-discriminatory treatment, chose to stay on in their homes and hearths, where they had lived for generations. It is another story that many of them, who in their first flush of enthusiasm for the Muslim homeland, chose to migrate to Pakistan, soon found the political climate and the reception they got in the new country, too hot for their comfort. It did not take them too long to realise that the new homeland was a mirage. They looked for the next opportunity to return to the homes where their forefathers had lived for centuries. The Government of India's offer to restore the property

and the jobs to the returnee migrants was a God sent opportunity, which many clutched at with both hands. Over a lakh of them found their way back to their original homes, and were not disappointed. They were cheered by the fact, the Indian leaders while conceding, albeit reluctantly to the Muslim League's two-nation concept, continued to swear by the idea of an India of one people, whether they were Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, or followers of any other religious persuasion.

4. On the other hand, it is the unfortunate legacy of the partition, that the non-Muslims, except for a miniscule minority, who were unable to leave their homes for whatever reason, showed lack of faith in the new state of Pakistan and fled their homes as penniless refugees to seek safety in India. The manner, in which Pakistan treated and continues to treat its minorities, religious, ethnic or linguistic, after its formation, vindicated their decision. Pakistan did not even spare the Muslim minorities, like the *Shias* and *Ahmadyias*, the latter minority has been thrown out of the Muslim fold, being declared non-Muslim.

5. Carrying the promise of non-discriminatory treatment forward, on January 26, 1950, India declared itself a republic and adopted a forward looking secular constitution, allowing for no distinction or discrimination between its people on any basis whatsoever, whether religious, linguistic or based on caste or creed. Pakistan, true to the declared position of its founders, went on to hold on to the idea of Muslims being a separate nation, and adopted a new constitution that confirmed it as a theocratic state -- the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The constitution, granted the Muslims a superior position, to the exclusion of all other minorities, who were

debarred from certain positions in the country and left to feel as second-class citizens. This fundamental difference in approach to the question of nation and nation-state, has influenced the relations between the two countries ever since. The bloodshed, that preceded and followed the emergence of the two states, further complicated the matters and embittered the relations between them, in the post-1947 period.

6. The emergence of Pakistan as a separate entity was a unique occurrence in the history. Empires rose and fell; dynasties appeared and disappeared in the quick sands of history, kings, rajas and maharajas made their appearance only to fade away, but the people continued to live where they always lived, transferring their allegiance to their new rulers without ever thinking of migration. Partition was a unique phenomenon. It not only split a country, its people, its landmass and bounty into two but also the linkages built over the centuries vanished overnight. Millions were killed and millions became refugees, losing all that they and their ancestors had created over the centuries. Roads and railroads were cut, rivers and streams were divided; assets and liabilities were apportioned; civil and defence services and their guns and pens and pencils were split. A single trading mart, where goods and services moved freely, from one part to the other, suddenly split into two trading zones, with tariff, non-tariff and immigration barriers, erected to stop the free flow of men and materials. Printing presses, typewriters, tables and the chairs were not even spared and divided. It was indeed a great exercise in splitting an ancient civilization, a composite culture, a shared inheritance, all that

constituted a nation and its wealth. History was made to stand on its head!

7. It was with this background that the two new nations embarked on their separate roads to build their future in their own chosen way. India, declared a successor state, wished the new and younger nation God speed on its journey to nationhood. Alas, the ghost of the past did not spare them. The Indian leaders, unhappy at the tragedy that had beset the people, were anxious to forget the past and get along with the task of nation building. Pakistan, groping in the dark and in search for its own identity, was paranoid about its future. The feeling that the Indian leaders had grudgingly agreed to the creation of Pakistan, left the Pakistani leadership with an uneasy feeling. The ghost of the past haunted them. The self-imposed jittery feelings compelled Pakistan to adopt policies that drove the two countries and their people to an adversarial relationship in the years ahead. Instead of complementing each other's economies, the policies they pursued dislocated an established economy, while the divided economies struggled to find their feet.

8. The tragedy was that Pakistan spread over two wings, in the east and west, separated by 1000 miles of Indian territory was an artificial state. It was not only geographically divided, but there was nothing in common among the people of its two wings except their religion. Historically, culturally, ethnically, linguistically, socially and sartorially they were separate people. The distance between the two wings only added to their problems. Ironically, while the majority of its people lived in the eastern wing, the centre of political power found itself in the western wing, with its capital in Karachi.

Later when the capital shifted to Rawalpindi/Islamabad, its people found themselves driven farther apart from the centre of political power. Soon the people in the east found themselves condemned to play an acquiescent role. Their language was denied an honourable place. The founder of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah was the first to administer this blow. He chided the people of the eastern wing for daring to demand an equal status for their language, Bengali with Urdu, which was not even the presumed language of the western region. East Bengal did win the first battle on the language issue, but this was only after Jinnah's death and after paying a heavy price in blood and flesh.

9. A look at the history of Pakistan movement before August 1947 would show that the people who were at its forefront were mainly from the United Provinces, Bihar, Bombay and parts of Bengal. The movement was at its weakest in areas which finally constituted West Pakistan, as the results of the 1946 elections had shown. While Bengal was divided to constitute East Pakistan, none of the other areas, which had a Hindu majority, went to Pakistan. A large body of Muslims from these Hindu-majority areas migrated to Pakistan, carrying its banner and hoping to corner the fruits of the new state. There ensued an unhealthy struggle for power between the migrants, the Mohajirs as they were called and the Punjabis, who formed the largest linguistic group among the people of West Pakistan. It was a bizarre situation, that the majority of the total population of Pakistan, who lived in the East, was marginalised when it came to sharing of political power. As far as the defence forces were concerned, they were historically, the monopoly of the people from the western region. It was a fractious situation internally, which Pakistan found itself in on its birth.

10. Unmindful of the geographical divide and internal contradictions, Pakistan, upon its birth, tried to create multiple artificial entities, in other parts of India by laying claim to areas, which were not contiguous to its eastern or western wings, but hundreds of miles away from its shores such as Junagadh and Hyderabad, on the platform of Islam, *the raison d'être* for its own creation. It was also on the basis of Islam, that Pakistan justified its claim to and its invasion of Kashmir. Its failure to grab any of these territories, created disillusionment and frustration in its psyche *ab initio* and gave it a reason to nurse grievances against India.

## II

11. Exactly within a month of its birth, on September 14, 1947 Pakistani Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, addressing the Muslim League Council in Lahore, accused India of fomenting riots in the Indian part of the Punjab, that targeted the Muslims, and lamented, that Pakistan was "surrounded on all sides, by forces which are out to destroy" it because "they fear that with the consolidation of Pakistan, their cherished dream to rule all over the sub-continent of India will not be realised". He said, there was "an unholy plan chalked out by the enemies of Pakistan, to sabotage it on its very birth". Strangely enough, this charge came on the very day, Liaquat Ali had met Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in Lahore and after reviewing the riotous situation in both the Punjabs, had agreed to take measures to stem the riots and facilitate the movement of the refugees both ways. Be it, as it may, in making this charge, Liaquat could not have been unaware, that there were bloodier riots on a much wider scale, not only in his part of the Punjab

but also in Sind, the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, which led to the ethnic cleansing of West Pakistan.

12. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was anguished at this unfortunate accusation. In replying to the charge on September 17, he gave vent to his hurt feelings. In his statement, while not denying that the Congress leaders were against the partition and "sought to avert it," he also added that once "partition was decided upon, it has been the constant endeavour of the Government of India to discharge faithfully all their obligations flowing from that decision". However, in good faith, he added that "some of us still hope that, when the present unhappy commotion has ended and amity between the two communities has been restored, the two Dominions may, of the free will of their respective peoples, unite." He was only expressing a pious hope.

13. On September 16, Pakistani Foreign Minister Mohammad Zafrullah Khan threatened to lodge a formal complaint with the United Nations, unless the Government of India took steps "to end the slaughter of Muslims" and went further to threaten, that "if satisfaction is not obtained, the Government of Pakistan may have to resort to direct measures". What those "direct measures" would be, he left unsaid. Two days later, on September 19, Liaquat Ali came to New Delhi, to discuss measures for the restoration of peace in the two dominions. Nehru personally handed over to him an aide memoire. It lamented the terrible happenings on both sides, and recounted the measures the Government of India had taken to handle the situation and various conciliatory statements made by the Indian leaders to control the situation. The aide memoire reminded Pakistan of the inflammatory utterances of its leaders,



which were encouraging their country's pugnacious elements to resort to violence against Hindus and Sikhs. It said: "On the other hand, M. A Jinnah's recent statement confined itself to condemning in strong language the happenings in East Punjab and Delhi and did not even mention what had happened in West Punjab, the Frontier and elsewhere in Pakistan." It described the utterances of Ghazanfar Ali Khan, a minister of the Pakistan Government, as "bellicose and totally irresponsible" and even reminded the Pakistan government of the "war-like threatening" attitude of Zafrullah Khan at the UN. Similarly Pakistani newspapers like the *Dawn* and the *Zimindar* were replete with "the vilest accusations, which have no basis in fact, but also threats of war and of the extermination of the Sikhs". Nehru sent a copy of this aide memoire to the British Prime Minister Clement Attlee. In the meantime, Nehru discovered that Liaquat Ali had sent some messages on his own to the British Prime Minister, which contained, to Nehru's anguish, "one-sided and exaggerated accounts of what has happened (on the Indian side) with which we cannot agree". Liaquat had also suggested that Attlee convene a Conference of the representatives of the Commonwealth Dominions, to consider measures to control the situation on the subcontinent and appoint a commission to investigate the riots. These suggestions were unacceptable to Jawaharlal Nehru. To Nehru's chagrin, Liaquat Ali Khan dismissed the aide memoire, as he said, it was "replete with utterly unfounded allegations and insinuations".

14. On October 7, 1947 in a broadcast from Radio Pakistan, Liaquat again harped on the "enemies of Pakistan" *raga*, and accused them of "black hatred" of Pakistan and of creating "a host of problems, each of them of gigantic proportions" for Pakistan.

Nehru was disillusioned. It was a no-win situation, and the two prime ministers in their correspondence traded charges and counter-charges against each other. Pakistan's attitude continued to be hostile and paranoid. On December 30, 1947 Liaquat Ali Khan in a personal letter to Nehru, formally charged India in words that were ominous. After a long litany of complaints, he charged India for not accepting the partition scheme and said:

"her leader paid lip service to it merely in order to get the British troops out of the country; that India is out to destroy the State of Pakistan, which her leaders persistently continue to regard as part of India itself; and that the systemic sabotage against the implementation of Partition, the stoppage of such essential requirements as coal and rail transport, the deliberate withholding of Pakistan's share of funds and arms and equipment, the wholesale massacre of Muslim population, are all designed towards one aim, the destruction of Pakistan."

The charge sheet went on to accuse India of "the forcible occupation of Junagadh, Manavadar, and other States of Kathiawar, which had acceded to Pakistan, as well as the fraudulent procurement of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir State are acts of hostility against Pakistan, whose destruction is India's immediate objective".

15. The position taken by Jinnah was diametrically opposed to what Liaquat had taken in his utterances. Jinnah had perhaps been stung by the accusations made by India in its aide memoire of September 19 that he had been guilty of taking a one-sided position on the communal disturbances in accusing India. He confessed or at least pretended to confess his ignorance of what was actually happening in Pakistan to the minorities, even though he admitted

that he had heard about them. Towards the end of October, he came to Lahore and made a tour of the city to see the situation first hand. In his Radio broadcast from Lahore, on October 30, 1947, he said: "I was deeply grieved to realise that unfortunately, there was a great deal of truth in what had been told to me." Feeling anguished at the truth he had now discovered, he said: "I am speaking to you under deep distress and with a heavy heart." Here was the truth coming out from the founder of Pakistan about the fate of the minorities in Pakistan. Jinnah's broadcast gave lie to Liaquat's paranoia of Pakistan being surrounded by enemies and its independence being under threat. Jinnah, on the contrary sounded more confident. In the same broadcast he said: "We have, undoubtedly achieved Pakistan and that too without bloody war and practically peacefully by moral and intellectual force and with the power of the pen which is no less mighty than the sword and so our righteous cause has triumphed....Pakistan is now a *fait accompli* and it can never be undone....The division of India is now finally and irrevocably effected..." Jinnah's claim of achievement of Pakistan "without bloody war and practically peacefully by moral and intellectual force" looks hollow, against the millions killed and millions uprooted, which stands recorded, photographed and filmed for posterity in the contemporary archives.

16. Nehru suspected the British civil servants led by the West Punjab Governor Sir Frances Mudie, with his unsavoury past, who were bent upon muddying the waters and frustrating the attempts at restoring peace and trust between the two Dominions. He appealed to Mountbatten for help. Nehru's exasperation reached its limits, when a few day later, on January 4, 1948, Liaquat Ali

Khan addressed a press conference in Karachi and repeated the same charges of destruction of Pakistan and adduced the same reasons verbatim, which he had articulated during the last few months against India.

17. The Pakistani media, led by the national daily *the Dawn*, too stoked the fires of hatred. On the Indian side, while the national media showed enough restraint, the vernacular press, uprooted from Lahore, now based in Jullundur, (East Punjab), was in competition with the Pakistani press and did not falter in this slanderous match. The question of prevention of hostile propaganda against each other had been a major subject of discussion between the two countries from the very beginning. The Pakistani media adopted slanderous and pugnacious expressions even for the Indian heads of government/ state. During the course of more than six decades of their existence, innumerable communications have been exchanged between the two countries at all levels, unfortunately without any success. This is, despite the fact, both the Tashkent and Simla Agreements pledged to end it. For each argument, there was a counter argument; for each charge, a counter charge or justification, even if it had to be invented. Most obscure vernacular newspapers in India were found to invent justification for malicious accusations carried by mainstream media in Pakistan. Apart from official correspondence, there had been meetings of the media organisations of the two countries pledging to put an end to this irritant. They issued joint

statements, signed agreements, and expressed pious hopes, which remained wishful only.

### III

18. From the beginning, there was a clash between Pakistan's 'exclusive nationhood and India's 'comprehensive' one—between Pakistan's two nation theory and India's well established secular principles. This conflict could only have been resolved by Pakistan's willingness to accept peaceful co-existence, to which Pakistan showed little inclination. As pointed out above, while India accepted Pakistan on the principle of the two-nation theory, it refused to accept this as an underpinning for a forward looking polity of the sovereign state. Pakistan faced a dilemma. If Pakistan too, had accepted secularism as its manifesto for its post-partition state, the rationale for the creation of Pakistan would have been knocked out altogether. Pakistan was formed through the interplay of historical forces set in motion by the Ramsay MacDonald Communal Award of 1929, and the Lahore Resolution of March 1940. The rest is history, as they say.

19. The rationale for Pakistan's demand was founded on the need for a homeland for Muslims, who feared domination of the Hindu majority in a democratic set-up. Democracies run on majorities and minorities tend to harbour the holy fear of majority domination. Since Pakistan was supposedly created as a safe haven for the Muslims of the subcontinent, it was compelled to adopt Islam as the creed to justify its very existence. Pakistan never felt the need to dilute this underlying need for separateness, which justified its creation. Besides, there was no domestic pressure justifying any deviation or dilution of the established order. In the eastern sector

of the country, there was a large Hindu minority, which lived under constant fear of discrimination, but could not muster enough courage and strength to ask for the dilution of the State's ideology, the locus of which was in the western part of the country. It was happy to make peace with the state, as long as they could find a *modus vivendi* to survive as peaceful citizens, even if this meant relegated to second class status. They sought some security in their numbers. In West Pakistan, non-Muslim minorities were so minuscule, that they never dared to even ask for any recognition or concession to make their lives a little easier in that theocratic state. With the ethnic cleansing taking place in West Pakistan at the time of partition, it practically became politically, religiously and socially a homogenous Muslim unit.

20. The ideological differences, imbalance in size and resources, the trust deficit and the events that took place on both sides of the divide, immediately following the partition, created a sense of insecurity amongst the Pakistani leadership. It gave Pakistan the motivation to undermine India and denigrate its values. Pakistan's negativity towards India went beyond the issues of Junagadh, Hyderabad or Kashmir. The mindset and the psyche of its leadership prevented Pakistan from appreciating the ideological moorings that motivated India to adopt ideals of a secular, democratic and liberal society and polity.

21. Pakistan's unsuccessful attempt to grab Kashmir, first by brow beating the Kashmir administration and then withholding the essential supplies like food grains etc., to choke it economically. When these tactics failed, by armed infiltration and finally by the introduction of its regular troops. All this drove Pakistan to adopt

policies, which sought to create a distance between the peoples, who for generations had lived in peaceful coexistence cheek-by-jowl. This was diametrically opposed to India's determination to steer clear of the past and pursue a positive policy towards Pakistan. For India, the separation was like a family dividing its assets by agreement of its members and living peacefully thereafter. For Pakistan, separation was like a permanent break up of the family, nursing grievances, sulking and harbouring adversarial feelings.

#### IV

22. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's post-colonial dream was to build a comity of newly independent Asian nations, which should be the locus of a new international order. Even before independence, the Indian leaders of the national movement had spoken of the Asian destiny. The Asian Relations Conference, held in New Delhi in March 1947, was perhaps the first concrete step in that direction. After independence, Nehru was keen to take the concept of Asian unity a step further. The visit of the Burmese Prime Minister in December 1947, gave him the first opportunity, and he seized it, to give practical shape to his thinking. On December 4, 1947, in his speech to the Constituent Assembly, which at that time also doubled up as the Indian legislative assembly, he said: "India is interested in Asian countries even more than the rest of the world." In his talks with the Burmese Prime Minister, he found that Burma was interested "as many of us have been, in closer association, not only between Burma and India, but between various countries of Asia also." He described this synergy in the views of the two countries, as a "new spirit of Asia, which wants

Asian countries to draw closer together in their own defence and to promote world peace." The active help extended by India to the Indonesian independence struggle to throw the shackles of Dutch colonialism, was an example of Asian unity in action.

23. On the Pakistan front, however, things did not develop in a manner that would promote the concept of Asian unity, or even amity, between the two neighbours. India's pleas to Pakistan to "prevent Pakistan government personnel, military and civil, participating in or assisting in the invasion of the Jammu and Kashmir State" having failed, India on January 1, 1948 asked the United Nations to stop the invasion of Kashmir "by persons coming from or through Pakistan". Despite this unfortunate development and imbued with a sense of Asian unity, Nehru could not leave out Pakistan from this ambit. Speaking at the Indian Council of World Affairs in New Delhi on March 22, 1949 he articulated Indian policy towards Pakistan in the context of Asia and said:

"In regard to Pakistan, the position has been very peculiar one owing to the way Pakistan was formed and India was divided. And there have been not only all the upsets that you all know, but something much deeper, and that is, a complete emotional upset of all the people in India and Pakistan because of this. It is a very difficult thing to deal with, a psychological thing, which cannot be dealt with superficially. A year and a half or more has passed and there is no doubt at all that our relations have improved and are improving. There is no doubt at all in my mind that it is inevitable for India and Pakistan to have close relations - very close relations - sometime or other in future. I cannot state when this will take



place, but situated as we are, with all our past, we cannot really be just indifferent neighbours. We can be either rather hostile to each other or very friendly, whatever period of hostility may intervene in between, because our interests are so closely interlinked."

24. Nehru sounded an optimistic note for the future of India - Pakistan relations, in his policy guidelines to the External Affairs Ministry in his minute of June 15, 1949. He said it was not necessary for India to be aggressive, "but to be absolutely firm and not go out of its way to appease Pakistan. The whole of Pakistan policy, as that of the Muslim League that preceded it, is based on threats and bullying". However he added: "sometime or other, the relations of India and Pakistan will have to be adjusted properly. That time has not yet come. We should not do anything to obstruct such a settlement when the time comes for it." As the history of the last six decades would show, that time has eluded India. If anything, the situation has worsened.

25. The animosity, that had contaminated Pakistani thinking towards India, reflected itself in many ways. In the constitution that India adopted on January 26, 1950, the concept of India was explained as "India, that is Bharat, shall be a Union of States". Except for this reference to Bharat, India is referred to as "India" in the entire constitution. Taking a cue from this definition, *the Dawn* editorially commented and said that the constitution by a "jugglery" of words was meant to exploit the old name, India, which belongs "as much to the people of Pakistan as to the people of Bharat". It decided to end, what it chose to call the "misnomer" henceforth and said: "From today the words 'India' and 'Indian' will, therefore,

be replaced with the words 'Bharat' and 'Bharati' in all our columns....We shall call that country henceforth by its proper, and not improper, name." "India" therefore became an "improper" nomenclature for the Indian republic for *the Dawn*. This mindset characterised Pakistani thinking and actions.

## V

26. Unlike India, who championed the cause of Asian unity, Pakistan developed Islamic fangs, to blunt the Hindu challenge. Its ideology of pan-Islamism had its roots in the Lahore Resolution of 1940, which was predicated on the ideological basis, that the Muslims were a separate nation who needed a separate homeland. Its leaning towards Islamic countries in West Asia and South-east Asia and other Islamic countries flowed from its theocratic character. It promoted Islamic ideology and as stated above, declared itself the Islamic Republic of Pakistan with Islam as its religion. Pakistan's constitution enjoined it "to endeavour to preserve and strengthen the fraternal relations among the Muslim countries based on Islamic unity." It was no wonder, that its foreign policy, in keeping with the trends in its constitution, and in general, reflected Islamic ideology. Its relations with other Muslim countries received special emphasis. It adopted Islam as a doctrine, a directive principle of state policy, that the bonds of unity among the Muslim countries should be preserved and strengthened. Even before declaring itself the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, as early as February 1949, Pakistan organised the first World Muslim Conference in Karachi. In November of the same year, an International Economic Conference of Muslim States was organised with the aim of fostering economic relations among the Muslim countries. It was not surprising, that

the entire non-Western membership of the MEDO, comprised the Muslim countries.

27. The formation of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) provided Pakistan with an international platform to carry on its anti-Indian agenda, and win the sympathies of the Muslim world in its dealings with India. Economically these actions helped Pakistan, as it became a major beneficiary of the largesse of the oil-rich countries of West Asia. For Pakistan, the Muslim world constituted a basic power group, competing on an equal footing, with the non-Muslim constellation of nations. It also saw a major role for itself, as a central figure and as a strong link between eastern and western parts of the Muslim world, coordinating their political and economic activities. In a sense, Pakistan regarded Pan-Islamism as an extension of Pakistan's ideology at the international level.

## VI

28. Since Pakistan had been constantly articulating, that India was not reconciled to the creation of Pakistan and would undo the partition, and also that Kashmir had become a flash point, in the relations between the two countries, Nehru sought to assure Pakistan that India meant no harm to Pakistan. To foster this confidence, he suggested that the two countries enter into a solemn 'No War Declaration' that both countries would renounce war as an instrument for resolving their bilateral differences or disputes and suggested a simple formulation for acceptance. But Pakistan would have nothing to do with it. It insisted, that unless India agreed in advance to refer to third party arbitration, any point of difference that may arise in the settlement of any of the disputes, between the two countries, it could not accept the Indian proposal. It insisted on

applying the arbitration principle to all the disputes, as it saw existing between the two countries at that time, recounting in the list -- Jammu and Kashmir, Junagadh, Canal Waters, Evacuee Property, and assets of Pakistan which Pakistan perceived were withheld by India. India felt that Jammu & Kashmir was before the UN. Junagadh had already joined India and the issue could not be reopened. Other issues like Canal Waters, or Evacuee Property were technical issues by their nature and needed to be first studied by experts before the modality for their resolution was agreed upon. The Prime Minister insisted that such administrative matters could not come within the purview of the 'No War Declaration'. His idea was that the 'declaration' had become necessary to reduce the tension between the two countries and once that objective was achieved through the medium of 'No War Declaration,' the "ways and means of settling outstanding disputes" could be discussed between the two countries on the merits of each issue. India had particular reservations in referring the Kashmir question to arbitration. It was felt that unlike canal waters, or other issues, the Kashmir issue involved the question of sovereignty and questions of sovereignty over a territory could not, in principle, be put to arbitration. In fact, Nehru was convinced that since the issue had been referred to the UN Security Council, it was now a matter of a couple of months before the issue of Kashmir would be resolved. A meeting was held between Lord Mountbatten, Nehru and Liaquat on January 11, 1948 to discuss the question of the release of Rs. 55 crores, as Pakistan's share of the sterling balances, which India had so far not released, because it felt that its release would be seen "as financing Pakistan's attack on Kashmir". Nehru told the

meeting, and Liaquat had agreed, that since, 'Pakistan's expenditure required about 5 crores a month', the ten crores already released, should 'tie Pakistan over for at least two month, by which time, he sincerely hoped, that the balance of the Rs. 55 crores could be paid, since he felt certain that Kashmir question would have been resolved by then'.

29. The two governments exchanged several notes and memoranda on the 'No War Declaration' proposal. There was a lengthy but futile correspondence between Nehru and Liaquat Ali and after the latter's death, between Nehru and successive Pakistani prime ministers for several years before the idea got abandoned. In the '80s it was revived in its new *avatar*. Pakistan had proposed a non-aggression pact, and New Delhi countered it with a treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation. But somehow it never materialised, and the idea got abandoned altogether.

30. Interestingly, General Ayub Khan who proposed a common or joint defence policy, between the two countries, after he took over the reins of the government in Pakistan in 1958, had also made a similar proposal in 1952 (he was then C-in-C of the Pakistan Army) to Indian High Commissioner Mohan Sinha Mehta. Nehru had rightly felt that joint defence presupposed a common foreign policy. Since Pakistan's foreign policy, at that stage was vague, some time flirting with the UK or the US and at other times, threatening to go along with the Soviet Union, any joint defence with Pakistan was not possible or even desirable. Besides, as long as the Kashmir dispute was not settled, Nehru felt, there could hardly be effective talks about common defence policy.

## VII

31. The minorities question dominated the relations from the very beginning. The issue was more or less settled in the western region, by the wholesale migration of Hindus and Sikhs from West Pakistan. But it presented an acute problem in East Pakistan where no such migration took place in one go on partition. The migration from East Pakistan took place in waves, over a period of time, because of the sense of insecurity created among the minority Hindu community by the discriminatory policies of the East Pakistan Government. The failure of the local administration even at the senior level, to provide protection to the community, when faced with the high handed treatment from the field administration, added to their feelings of despondency, and forced them to seek refuge across the border in India. In his letter of March 6, 1948 Nehru drew Liaquat's attention to the plight of the Hindus in East Pakistan who "are being squeezed out". He said that the fact that "a million of them have gradually migrated to West Bengal during the past few months is evidence of the fear and apprehension that surround them".

32. The first concerted effort to protect the minorities in each Dominion, was made in the Inter Dominion Conference held in Calcutta on April 15 - 18, 1948. While holding each dominion responsible for protection of its minorities, the conference assured them "equal rights, opportunities, privileges and obligations" without any discrimination. Minorities boards, both at the provincial and district levels, were formed to protect their interests. The most important provision was, that "any government servant proved to have been guilty either of dereliction of duty in protecting the lives

and properties of the members of the minority community or of directly or indirectly ill-treating members of the minority community or showing prejudice against minority community in the discharge of his duties, shall receive exemplary and deterrent punishment". Had these and other provisions of the Inter Dominion Conference been honestly implemented, there would have been no minority problem hereafter. But that was not to be. Within a few months, the situation deteriorated to such an extent, that the Indian Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Patel, in his speech on November 4, was constrained to say that "lakhs of men are coming from East Bengal to West Bengal" and asked what India should do about this situation? He warned Pakistan to either solve the problem "amicably", but "if you are determined to turn out the Hindus, you must be prepared to part with sufficient land to enable us to settle them. We cannot take things lying down." Echoing Patel, the Premier of West Bengal Dr. B. C. Roy in his telegram of November 12, 1948 to Prime Minister Nehru, while advocating strong action against Pakistan reminded him of his apprehensions, articulated some time ago, that "Hindus will not stay in East Bengal, as the general mass of Muslims do not want them, and so create situations inducing Hindus to leave". He also advocated that Pakistan surrender territory to accommodate the people thrown out of East Bengal. Nehru, however, in his reply of November 23 advocated "long distance dispassionate view and not be pushed about by Pakistan's misbehaviour". However, he told Dr. Roy that any claim to territory from Pakistan was "completely unreal". Sardar Patel was not deterred. In his speech at the All India Congress Committee session in Jaipur on December 17, 1948, Patel once again warned Pakistan to either "create conditions for the peaceful stay of these

persons in their own homes" or provide "additional space for their settlements". But he tempered his statement, this time, somewhat by saying that his suggestion for additional space was offered "as one of the methods (for) solution at this difficult problem by mutual discussion and agreement" and it was "not intended as a challenge or as an imposition by force", since he had "no aggressive intentions against Pakistan".

33. Interestingly, about a year or so later, the President of India Dr. Rajendra Prasad sent a note dated March 18, 1950 to Prime Minister Nehru titled: "A Suggestion for Securing the Life and Honour of Minorities in India and Pakistan" and which more or less advocated the same solutions of territory, but by agreement. In proposing this solution, he rationalised his thesis in the broader context of the rehabilitation problem of refugees which the two countries had to tackle. He said that while at the time of partition, almost an equal number of people had migrated from both the sides, there was "a difference" in the character of the two. He said: "Whereas we had to deal with a population which was well-to-do, had a great deal of land of good quality with irrigation facilities and possessed a large quantity of houses and other property, all of which it had to leave behind; Pakistan had to deal with a comparatively less well-to-do population which had much less property to leave behind." He concluded that Pakistan had "practically no problems of rehabilitation and settlement to tackle" since the Hindus and Sikhs had left behind sufficiently large properties, whereas India had to spend "70 crores or more on relief (alone) and have not been able to rehabilitate vast numbers of our immigrants..." But the real problem in his opinion was the continuous exodus, particularly from East Pakistan. In this case



too, he said, that the Hindus who were migrating "are better off than the Muslims who are likely to migrate from our side". He advocated that India and Pakistan should enter into an agreement on the question of migration, and gave various alternatives to handle this problem on a reciprocal basis. To enforce such an agreement, he advocated "sanctions" by agreement against the defaulting country. He said:

"One sanction by agreement may be that in case of any considerable exodus, it should be open to India or Pakistan as the case may be, to occupy part of the territory of the other which may be demarcated beforehand in proportion to the migrating population without exposing itself to the charge of aggression. Such territory will be restored if the migrating population can be induced to return and gets back its previous property and positions intact."

Of course, nothing came out of this note, with the prime minister apparently ignoring it. It did, however, indicate the enormity of the problem that agitated the minds of the Indian leaders at the highest level.

34. That apart, the situation in East Pakistan, instead of improving only worsened. Another Inter Dominion Conference, in December 1948, at New Delhi, did not throw up new ideas, and ended only reiterating the earlier decisions of the April Conference. There was no lack of sincere hope, but the reality on the ground was rather depressing. Nehru on June 5, 1949 was constrained to write to Premier Roy (Chief Minister of West Bengal) that "there is little doubt that the East Bengal Government and officials have no intention of settling down in friendship with West Bengal or with

the minorities in their own province". The East Pakistan Government on the other hand, did not subscribe to the views of the Government of India. In a press note of December 25, 1949, it deplored the tendency on the part of the Indian leaders, "to revive the exploded myth of persecution and exodus of the Hindu minority in East Bengal", which was part of the anti-Pakistan propaganda. The charges and counter-charges on this account were so severe and created such an explosive situation that for a time there was even talk of war in certain circles on this issue. Minorities were leaving East Pakistan in hordes. Nehru engaged his Pakistani counterpart in a series of telegrams, in the hope of persuading Pakistan, to take remedial measures that would stem the tide of migration. The unending chain of telegrams exchanged between the two prime ministers underlined the emergent situation that had developed. They were exchanging more than one telegram daily at their personal level. The contents of the exchanges on this question, bore the hallmark of similar correspondence on any other issue --acrimony and hostility. They exchanged allegations and counter-allegation on the treatment of minorities in the two Bengals, and each accused the administration of the other province for being a mute spectator to the misfortunes of the minority community on the other side.

35. On March 10, 1950, after four-day stay in Calcutta, and meeting a cross- section of the population and studying the situation first-hand, Prime Minister Nehru wrote to Liaquat Ali Khan on his assessment of the situation. In a candid note, he told him that "it is not much good from any long-term point of view for us to go on accusing each other, or other people" because the "burden of

grappling with this difficult problem, which grows more difficult and complicated, is upon us. The consequences of not solving it are terrible to contemplate for both our countries." He told him frankly that the Hindus in East Bengal strongly felt "that they have no part or lot in Pakistan, no self-respect or security".

36. On March 26, 1950 Liaquat Ali Khan returned the compliments. After his "extensive tour" of East Pakistan, he informed Nehru that the troubles in the east were a direct outcome of the attack on Muslims in West Bengal. He was convinced that otherwise, the minority community was appreciative of the efforts of the authorities in East Pakistan, for providing them with safety and controlling any ugly situation from going out of control. He blamed the Indian media and some leaders, whom he described as "urging India to invade Pakistan and that they were being told by friends and relations across the border, that in the circumstances, for Hindus to stay in Pakistan would be to commit suicide."

37. After an extensive exchange of charges and counter-charge, they called a truce, and the Nehru - Liaquat Pact on minorities was arrived at in April 1950. This cooled tempers somewhat, but only temporarily, since troubles continued to erupt periodically and waves of Hindu migrants poured into India until East Pakistan gave way to the new state of Bangladesh.

## VIII

38. This was the unfortunate beginning that the two newly independent nations found themselves in, wittingly or unwittingly. Their foundations were insalubrious and too weak for a vigorous superstructure of relations to be built upon them. Trust was the

biggest casualty, and continued to cause innumerable problems in their relations. Pakistan's ambition to strengthen its muscles on the borrowed support of the West, entering into military and defence alliances, acquiring arms disproportionate to its needs, ostensibly against communism, but actually to browbeat India into submission on outstanding differences, particularly Kashmir, consumed Pakistan for most of its existence. Excessive militarisation only strengthened the military establishment at the cost of its democratic institutions. Excessive spending on armed forces took away scarce resources from development and Pakistan remained an agrarian and feudal society with little industrialisation. It prevented the emergence of a middle class, the backbone of a democratic polity. Once the military had tasted blood, it could not resist the temptation to usurp power periodically and keep the war machine well-oiled at the cost of economic development.

39. In pursuing a stand-alone and independent foreign policy, in its formative years, India had to suffer the hostility of the West, principally the United States. The USA had replaced the weakened United Kingdom as the leader of the so-called free world. It counted on the strategically located Pakistan, on the periphery of the two most important Communist countries, China and the Soviet Union, to provide it the much-needed bases in this part of the world for surveillance. The West found Pakistan more than willing to play out the role determined by them in return for their support on Kashmir against India.

40. It may be recalled, that India's complaint of Pakistani aggression against the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, was made to the UN Security Council on January 1, 1948 and the

debate that took place on it soon after, left New Delhi with a bitter taste. It soon found out, how faulty its decision had been to knock on the doors of the UN Security Council. Much to its chagrin, New Delhi found that the UN itself was a victim of Cold War politics of the permanent members of the UN Security Council. Nehru, in his letter of February 20, 1948 was candid about it to High Commissioner in London, Krishna Menon, with whom he was in constant touch on many issues. He said: "We have had a rather bitter experience (of UN debate). Almost every ambassador here has been assuring us of his government's understanding and sympathy for our position on Kashmir, and yet his government goes against us in the Security Council."

41. The United States, from the very beginning, in order to lend support to Pakistan, had tried pressure tactics but had been rebuffed; though it upset the Prime Minister somewhat. In a letter to Ambassador Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit in Washington (also his sister) on June 8, 1949, Nehru told her of the obnoxious manner in which the US State Department had behaved with B. R Sen, India's Permanent Representative to the UN, when he had called on the State Department, to discuss the UN Commission's proposals. Recounting, he said:

"This sort of things (treatment meted out to Sen) which does not make us feel very friendly towards the US, I am afraid, I cannot get over the feeling that the US diplomacy is immature or it is too sure of its physical might to care for the niceties of diplomatic behaviour. They have had a very bad set-back in China and they have not succeeded in many other places. And yet they have not wholly learnt

their lesson. We rely upon them inevitably for many things and we want to be friends with them. But there are some things we just cannot swallow."

42. India was indeed concerned by the moves of the West and Pakistan, but remained determined and unmindful. In February 1950, Henderson, the US Ambassador in New Delhi delivered a message from the US Secretary of State Dean Acheson to Nehru, which the latter described as "extraordinary" and "an attempt to bring pressure to bear on the Government of India, by means of threats of dire consequences". But Nehru refused to be browbeaten. He told the Ambassador that the "present Government of India, consisted of men, who have been trained during the struggle against the British, to refuse to submit to coercion in any shape or form". Faced with this stern response, the Ambassador beat a hasty retreat and apologetically explained that "the phrasing of Mr. Acheson's message was unfortunate and was, possibly, due to the influence of persons in the State Department, who deal with more procedural matters than with policy matters".

43. Ambassador Mrs. Pandit in one of her letters to the Secretary General of the Ministry of External Affairs G.S. Bajpai, had reported on her conversation with the State Department when she was warned of "America being tough on Kashmir issue". Nehru in his letter to her on June 25 reacted sharply and said: "Their toughness can only take us away from any possible settlement." He warned that "the UK and the US attitude have encouraged all the bellicose tendencies in Pakistan, and for the first time I feel that there is a real danger of a big-scale conflict between India and Pakistan". Nehru regarded Kashmir as the basic question of India's entire policy. He cautioned:

"If Pakistan's communal approach and policy prevails in Kashmir, it would not only be a tragedy for Kashmir, but it would upset the whole scheme of things in India, and of course, in Pakistan. We would enter a phase of trying to exterminate each other. These are terrible thoughts which come to me and I find the USA and the UK people skating on this very thin ice over Deep Ocean and accusing us of intransigence."

44. Pakistan's bellicosity and pressure from the West compelled Nehru to adopt a stern attitude on Kashmir. He articulated the same to High Commissioner Krishna Menon, in his letter of July 22, 1951. He conveyed his determination to go ahead with the elections in Kashmir for a constituent assembly; not to remove troops from Pakistan's border till "we are satisfied that there is no further danger of attack or invasion; *and while India was not going to attack Pakistan, an attack by Pakistan anywhere along the border including Kashmir will inevitably result in all-out war*" between India and Pakistan. He told Menon that "these facts must be fully understood". He told him that there was a lack of "adequate realisation" in the UK or the USA and "perhaps they still imagine that by some kind of pressure tactics they can force us to give in". He accused Prime Minister Attlee, of having a "closed mind" on Kashmir, despite "good intentions" about India. Nehru directed Menon that "Kashmir is a question on which we will not give in, whatever the consequences" and "this should be made perfectly clear to everybody". In his public speeches too, he left no one in any doubt about India's determination that if it was attacked by Pakistan anywhere including Kashmir, it would be an all out war.

45. Pakistani leadership had succeeded in getting India partitioned, by playing second fiddle to the British and by being obdurate and mulish with the Congress leaders. It was now obviously convinced that the same tactics would work once again. It was not surprising, that Pakistan found it worth its while to seek American and British help by obliging them on their concerns, and was ready to walk an extra mile into the Western camp. Around the same time, information began filtering through, that the United States had been talking about strengthening Pakistan army and setting up bases in Pakistan "90 minutes flying time from major Soviet industrial centres". India was indeed concerned at this serious development. Prime Minister Nehru in a letter dated November 11, 1953 to U Nu of Burma conveyed his concerns, both on account of the US trying to strengthen Pakistan's defence militarily and bringing the Cold War to the doorsteps of this region as well as the decision of the Pakistan constituent assembly to adopt a theocratic constitution, naming Pakistan as the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan" with its laws conforming to the tenets of *Sharia*.

## IX

46. The Pakistan - US decision on arms aid and the US bases in Pakistan was a turning point in Nehru's thinking. It influenced his entire attitude towards Pakistan dramatically. Kashmir, which remained a major issue between the two countries, did not and could not remain unaffected. A concerned Prime Minister warned Pakistan of the consequences of the dangerous pursuit of its new policy. In a personal letter dated December 9, 1953 to Pakistani Prime Minister Mohammad Ali, Nehru spoke directly and candidly



to leave his counterpart in no doubt whatsoever, of the consequences of Pakistan's policy of military alliance with the West. Nehru wrote:

"Whatever the motives may be, the mere fact that large scale rearmament and military expansion takes place in Pakistan, must necessarily have repercussions in India. The whole psychological atmosphere between the two countries will change for the worse and every question that is pending between us will be affected by it....Inevitably, it will affect the major questions that we are considering and more especially, the Kashmir issue.....The whole issue will change its face completely if heavy and rapid militarization of Pakistan itself is to take place."

47. The cautionary letter from Nehru to Mohammad Ali was as a result of the conflicting signals from Karachi and Washington. Mohammad Ali had on December 1, 1953 in a radio broadcast denied any such development. Pakistan Governor General Ghulam Mohammad earlier on November 19 too had denied this and had instead accused India of blaming Pakistan without verifying facts. Nehru had put greater faith in the signals emanating from Washington than Pakistani protestation to the contrary, and he was right.

48. This was precisely the time when Nehru, at the insistence of Mohammad Ali had agreed to hold talks between the specially appointed committees of senior officials of India and Pakistan, to work out the modalities of holding a plebiscite in Kashmir. These talks took place in New Delhi between December 21 and 29, 1953, within a few days of the Prime Minister's warning. At the very start

of the discussions on December 21, M. J. Desai, the leader of the Indian Committee and the Commonwealth Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, made Pakistan fully aware that the shadow of Pakistan's contemplated military alliance with the United States was likely to vitiate their discussions and decisions. He told the Pakistani Committee:

"the official committees would have to take into consideration that the context of events under which previous discussions were held had undergone certain changes (and) referred in this connection to the correspondence between the two prime ministers on certain basic issues, as for example, the appointment of the Plebiscite Administrator and the negotiations between the Governments of Pakistan and the USA regarding military pact."

49. At the end of the talks on December 29, 1953 when discussing the summary of the discussions with the Pakistani committee, M. J. Desai went into the background of the Indian position and repeated the Indian point of view on the provisional nature of the negotiations, especially in view of Pakistan's proposed negotiations, on a military alliance with the United States. He insisted that their "functions were advisory" and "discussions provisional", and stressed that the discussions and decisions had become doubly "provisional" in view of the changes "in the context of events as a result of the US - Pakistan military aid negotiations".

50. India had found it necessary to warn Pakistan, about the dangers inherent in Pakistan's move on its military pact, so as not to give Pakistan an excuse later, that they had not been warned, or that they were not aware of the Indian sensitivities on this issue. The week-long talks achieved little.

51. It did not take long thereafter for Pakistan's lie to be exposed. On February 24, 1954 President Eisenhower, in a personal letter to Nehru, informed him of the US decision to extend military aid to Pakistan and assured him that this aid was not intended against India and should it be "misused and directed against another in aggression" the United States would take "appropriate action" to "thwart such aggression". He, even went on to offer similar aid to India, if it so wished. Nehru replied to Eisenhower on February 28 in a very brief letter, which was nothing more than an acknowledgement of his communication. He reminded President Eisenhower of India's policy in this regard and left it at that. On March 4, 1954, he reacted to it in a lengthy statement in Parliament. He spoke of the consequences of this military aid to Pakistan on India, and specifically on the issues between India and Pakistan. In his anxiety to bring home to the US President the gravity of his action on the subcontinent, he said it had created "a grave situation for us in India and for Asia" and added to the already existing "tensions". Nehru was blunt in saying that "it (US move on military aid to Pakistan) makes it much more difficult to solve the problems, which have confronted India and Pakistan" and likened it to a form of "intervention" with "much more far reaching results than previous forms of interventions". Prime Minister Nehru was quite concerned at the gloating of the Pakistan Prime Minister that with "the receipt of military aid, a momentous step forward has been taken towards the strengthening of the Muslim World," and that "this military aid will help to solve the Kashmir problem"! It was becoming evident to New Delhi, that unless it took pre-emptive steps towards solving the Kashmir issue, in its own way, Pakistan intended to solve it militarily, which India at that stage in its development, could ill

afford, especially when Pakistan was embarking on militarization and entering into defence alliances.

52. As a first step, India declared that the United States was no longer neutral between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir issue, and that therefore the Americans posted as UN Observers in Kashmir were suspect and neither an American nor a representative of any of the big powers would be acceptable to New Delhi as a plebiscite administrator. On August 23, 1954, in a letter to Pakistani Prime Minister Mohammad Ali, Nehru said that while he did not wish to challenge his right to receive American military aid, he would venture

"to point out the consequences of that step on certain important questions which concern us. You refer to the threat to your security. It is not clear to me from what source that threat comes, or how your security is endangered. If you think that (the) threat comes from India, I think you are completely mistaken because that is not only opposed to our policy but, in the circumstances of today, outside the range of possibilities. But, whether it is possible or not, if that aid is in relation to India, then naturally it affects us and we are concerned. If this bears direct relation to (the) Kashmir issue, then the whole context of that question changes, and we have to consider it afresh from a new point of view."

53. On July 9, 1955 Home Minister Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, on a visit to Srinagar, at a press conference, ruled out the possibility of holding a plebiscite in Kashmir, because, as he said, "circumstances had changed and the time factor was the most

important" one. It was for the first time, that a senior cabinet minister, who was virtually number two in the political hierarchy in India at that time, had made such a significant statement and that too in Srinagar. He said that "all that was left now was to allow the people living in Pakistan held territory of the State to make their choice and express their own views and opportunity for which, perhaps has never been given to them".

54. Pakistan, taken by surprise, was stunned. Reacting sharply to the Home Minister's statement, it said on July 11, 1955: "if this statement is true, it (was) tantamount to a repudiation of international commitment made by India regarding a plebiscite in Kashmir." On July 14, the Pakistani High Commissioner in New Delhi, delivered to Prime Minister Nehru, a message from his prime minister, drawing attention to Pant's statement and accusing India of reneging on its commitment. Nehru, replying on July 21, told Mohammad Ali, that Pant's statement did not involve any repudiation of any of international commitments given on behalf of India. Explaining the Home Minister's statement, he said, that Pant only said that "those assurances or commitments could not be given effect to because of the attitude of the Pakistani government during these past years". Nehru reminded him of the talks between them held in May in New Delhi when he personally had told the Pakistani Prime Minister and his Home Minister Iskander Mirza of his constitutional compulsion as enjoined in Article 253 of the Constitution of India. He also reminded him, of his warning of the changing scenario, in view of widespread talks in the media of the imminence of Pakistan entering into a military alliance with the United States.

55. India had, in the last couple of years, been warning Pakistan of the atmospheric changes taking place, in view of Pakistan's apathetic attitude. Even at the Secretary-level talks in December 1953, as pointed out above, the Indian side threw several hints at the Pakistan delegation in no uncertain terms. On February 27, 1955, in a letter to Mohammad Ali, Nehru had written that Pakistan's insistence on plebiscite was fraught with dangers, since this would lead to more trouble and would "have its reaction in India as well as in Pakistan". Giving clear indication of what was bothering him, if the plebiscite was held, Nehru said; "Instead, therefore, of the settlement and friendly relations that we so ardently desire, both our countries and our people will be in a much worse position. Apart from conflict, there might be large scale migration and the like, the spreading of poison in both countries." The same line of thought was articulated earlier by Nehru with the Pakistani Prime Minister and his Interior Minister at the May 1955 talks on Kashmir in New Delhi.

56. On March 29 1956, Prime Minister Nehru once again articulated his Kashmir policy in the Lok Sabha. He spoke of the changed circumstances, besides Pakistan's failure to withdraw its armed personnel from Kashmir as mandated in the Security Council Resolutions, constitutional obligations, and Pakistan's membership of the military alliances, as reasons for India's inability to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir. This created a political storm in Pakistan, both in the press and political circles of that country. Interior Minister Iskander Mirza said on April 1, 1956 that "come what may, we are determined to find a solution to the Kashmir problem based on justice", and Mohammad Ali described it as a

setback to the prospects of the improved relations, he was hoping for. Despite Pakistan's strong reaction, Prime Minister Nehru felt happy that his statement had put an end to the confusion in relation to Kashmir.

57. On July 5, 1956, Nehru met Pakistani Prime Minister Mohammad Ali in London, on the sidelines of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. They, among other subjects, discussed Kashmir. Nehru described Mohammad Ali's "approach as intriguing". Ali had blamed India for Pakistan's military alliances and alignment with the West, to which India had taken exception. Mohammad Ali said, since India had failed to resolve the issues between them, to Pakistan's satisfaction, he had to enter into military alliance. This thesis too was quoted by Foreign Minister Malik Feroz Khan Noon, once again when the Soviet Ambassador in Pakistan met him in November. The Soviet Ambassador in New Delhi, reporting to Nehru on the meeting of his colleague in Karachi with Noon told the Indian Prime Minister that Noon had offered to walk out of the Baghdad Pact, "provided the Soviet Union gave assurances to support Pakistan in the United Nations on the Kashmir issue and further assurances to give military aid to Pakistan if attacked by India".

58. The Soviet Union had initially taken an ambivalent position on Kashmir, hoping that this state might not like to join either India or Pakistan, which would leave some scope for the Soviet Union in this strategic area, closer to its border. But Western support to Kashmir, coupled with Pakistani membership of the Western alliance and bases at its soil, changed the complexion of the problem for Moscow. The Soviet Union now preferred to commit

itself in favour of Kashmir's accession to India. Pakistan's stance, as articulated by Noon to the Soviet Ambassador did not carry much conviction in Moscow. Pakistan's membership of the Baghdad Pact, establishment of military bases in Pakistan territory directed at the Soviet Union, and the U2 incident confirmed to Moscow that Pakistan for the time being had been lost to it. Moscow's position on the Pakhtoon issue in favour of Afghanistan could not have endeared the Soviets to Pakistan either.

59. The U2 affair gave a big jolt to the people of Pakistan and their government, who realised that the American alliance, had suddenly and unwittingly, exposed them to retaliatory Soviet rockets, and that in the power struggle between the two titans, Pakistan was nothing more than a mere pawn. There was a sudden and greater appreciation for India's policy of non-alignment, which kept it out of the line of fire of the big powers, and at the same time brought considerable economic and political benefits in its wake.

60. In September 1960, Prime Minister Nehru visited Pakistan to sign the Indus Water Treaty. Gen. Ayub Khan, who in 1958, had in a military coup, assumed the role of the head of the State and the Government, as expected, did not fail to bring up the Kashmir issue in his talks with Nehru. On September 21, Ayub Khan told his interlocutor that there was a need to solve the Indo - Pakistan problems particularly Kashmir, and said in a matter of fact manner, that if it was not resolved between them, "it might become much more difficult or even impossible later on". He conceded that in the past, Pakistan was not justified, particularly in laying claim to Junagadh or Hyderabad, since "it was clear that these places could only go to India. They were surrounded by Indian territories, and



they could not separate themselves from it. These questions should have been settled easily without the necessity even of India taking action as in the case of Hyderabad".

61. Nehru felt that "the President was treating the case of Kashmir on a separate basis and was indicating that Pakistan was justified in regard to her claim on Kashmir, though the President did not say so actually". Ayub Khan agreed with Nehru that presently there were relaxed relations between the two countries, but the same could not be said about the future. Nehru, however, was not convinced. He cautioned Ayub Khan that any change in the *status quo* would not only "have an upsetting effect in Kashmir itself, but also in India. We had a large population of Muslims in India and on the whole they had been integrated. But any wrong step taken by us would affect them injuriously and prevent further integration". Nehru also referred to the constitutional provisions which made it more difficult to change the present status. After pointing out numerous other changes and developments in Kashmir and its relations with India, Nehru told Ayub Khan that "it seems to me that the only practical and feasible course was to allow the matters to rest where they were, more or less, and to accept the position as it was". Persisting in his argument, Ayub Khan said that "the present position was a result of military conflict and an *ad hoc* ceasefire line which had no real justification as a frontier. As such, it could hardly be accepted, and it was there only because armies stood on either side." Answering his point, the Prime Minister said "*adjustment could be made to conform to geographic or like features, provided the basic position was accepted. Any other course was not practicable or feasible now and would lead to trouble and difficulty.*" When Ayub asked Nehru to give "*full thought to*

*this question and find a way out", Nehru closed the argument, saying that he had been "considering this matter for the past dozen years and (he) would continue to give thought to it. But (he) could see no way out other than the one (he) had suggested". When Nehru asked him if he had any specific solution in mind, Ayub suggested none, and said he only wanted Nehru to give thought to it (Emphasis added).*

62. After the 1962 India - China conflict, there were several rounds of discussions, between the two neighbours once again to find an amicable solution, but proved abortive as there was no meeting ground on the basic issue. Pakistan insisted that there was no other solution except a plebiscite, and India was equally emphatic that this route was no more available, due to the changed circumstances, and other implications. At the High Commissioner to Pakistan G. Parthasarathi's suggestion, it was decided to explore the alternative of a political settlement. In discussing the political alternative too, Pakistan initially insisted on making plebiscite a pre-condition, but finally agreed to drop it. India insisted that the political solution too had to be "practical, realistic and final". *India insisted that any political solution involving territorial adjustment had to be on a "rational basis taking into account geographic, administrative, and other considerations and involving the least disturbance to the life and welfare of the people". Pakistan, on the other hand, suggested that the territorial division should take "into account the composition of the population, control of rivers and requirement of defence". (emphasis added)*

63. Indicating the extent of territorial adjustment, India was prepared to concede certain areas west of the Valley and north of the Valley,

in favour of Pakistan. After pretending that this was a 'shock' to Pakistan, leader of the Pakistani delegation, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto indicated that, according to their criteria, only a little more than the Kathua district on the Punjab border, in the extreme south of Kashmir, could be given to India, Pakistan being entitled to the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir, right up to Ladakh in the north-east and including the Valley, as well as the southern areas, including Jammu, Udhampur, Akhnur, Riasi, etc. After a couple of rounds, it was clear to India, that there was no meeting ground between the positions of the two countries, but was still keen to let the talks continue as long as Pakistan was prepared to talk. New Delhi wanted that if the breakdown in talks were to come, it should be from Pakistan's side. The talks therefore went on to the next round.

64. After the third round of talks, on March 3, 1963 Bhutto, who by now had taken over as the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, addressing a press conference, and once again harped on the plebiscite and Pakistan's determination to secure for the people of Jammu and Kashmir the right of self-determination. On May 16, 1963 the talks finally ended without any results. Prime Minister Nehru made a statement in Parliament on May 7, to this effect and regretted that "our differences with Pakistan will remain". Assuring Pakistan of India's friendly intentions towards Pakistan, he once again repeated his offer of 'No War Declaration' made several times in the past. Allaying Pakistan's apprehensions about India's defence potential being built up then, Nehru sought to convince Pakistan that it was "for the effective resistance against the Chinese aggression" of which Pakistan was well aware of, though it minimised the threat and put the blame for India's problem with China at New Delhi's doorsteps.

65. Bhutto refused to be convinced by Indian assurances, and said in a statement on May 9, 1963 that it only confirmed Pakistan's "genuine apprehensions that there has been no real desire on the part of India to reach an honourable settlement with us on Kashmir". Bhutto firmly rejected any proposal involving the partition of Kashmir, and said: "I would like to state categorically and without equivocation that we have been firmly opposed to any such idea." He reiterated Pakistan's willingness "to examine any proposal or solution of the Kashmir problem, in accordance with the internationally accepted principle of self-determination". He accused India of denying this to the people of Jammu and Kashmir, "under one pretext or another". Though the Kashmir talks had not yielded much, Pakistan drew satisfaction from the fact that India, which had earlier declared Kashmir as a settled matter and an integral part of India, at last had come out to talk about its future and to that extent, it was an advance over the previous position.

### X

66. Two parallel subterranean developments were taking place almost simultaneously, which changed the course of South Asian politics. The initial bonhomie in India-China relations had already come under severe strain on the border question from about the mid-fifties and had gradually come on the surface, to the shock of the Indian public, which had thrived on *Hindi - Chinni Bhai Bhai* slogans, for better part of the 50s. It was this development that Pakistan sought to gain from. About the same time, the two great communist allies, the Soviet Union and China, were struggling with their relationship. Of the two communist powers, China was more important to Pakistan *visa-a-vis* its utility in relation to India,

particularly on the Kashmir question. As far as the Soviet Union was concerned, it had already over-committed itself on Kashmir and was a lost case. But an opening was now available to China, and Pakistan sought to seize it.

67. During the hey-days of the India - China détente, China had endorsed the Indian position on Kashmir that the state had acceded to India. Then there was a subtle and nuanced change in the Chinese position, that this was now a question to be settled between India and Pakistan, albeit peacefully. In 1962 China's attitude openly underwent a significant change. When India reminded China that as early as March 1956, the Chinese Premier, in his talks with the Indian Ambassador R. K. Nehru, had accepted the Indian position on Kashmir, and hence there was no common border between China and Pakistan, Peking repudiated this Indian assertion and said that its acceptance had not been "without any reservations".

68. The failure of the Kashmir talks was also a turning point in Pakistan's foreign policy. Pakistan, which had over-sold itself to the West in an alliance against communism, started drifting away from the West, in its efforts to woo China. Offers of military aid to India by the West in the wake of Chinese aggression disillusioned Bhutto with respect to the West. He lamented the West's augmentation of India's military strength in a "formidable manner", leaving Pakistan 'weaker'. Not placing enough trust in the assurances of the West, that their arms would not be used by India against Pakistan, he insisted on the need to maintain a military balance within the sub-continent and on the need to "correspondingly augment Pakistan's military strength". In his

speech to the National Assembly on July 26, 1963, he highlighted the customary charges of Indian "arrogance and aggressiveness", and repeated that the new dangers facing Pakistan required reappraisal of its foreign policy, and that it was for the West to ensure that the past relationship was not damaged. The High Commissioner G. Parthasarathi informed New Delhi on July 23, 1963 that the American Ambassador in Islamabad had confirmed to him, that Pakistan wanted a "restoration of the military balance between India and Pakistan, as it stood last October/November" (1962). Foreign Secretary, M. J. Desai on July 24, 1963 confirmed to the High Commissioner, the "understanding reached between the Pakistanis and the Chinese about joint aggressive pressure on India".

69. In this fast changing scenario, Pakistan moved quickly. On March 3, 1963, it signed with China a boundary agreement, ceding large chunks of occupied Kashmir to that country, unmindful of Indian sensitivities. China, in order to refurbish Pakistan's image, sought to project New Delhi as the new ally of the West, by accepting their military aid. On March 31, 1963, Chou En-lai said: "the situation has changed; is now characterised by the fact that non-aligned India has become an aligned country, best appreciated by the United States in South Asia, while Pakistan, which was an ally, is regarded by the United States as a more or less nonaligned country"; that the US "will use Pakistan to check India". On July 16, 1963, High Commissioner G. Parthasarathi reported to New Delhi that his sources had informed him that Sino-Pakistani relations were "much deeper" and were likely to develop further. According to his sources, the Chinese had "assured Pakistan of

all possible help against India" including military. The High Commissioner, however, had some reservations on Pakistan having already received military aid from China.

70. Pakistan continued to maintain that India had provoked the Sino - Indian conflict, which was, otherwise, nothing more than a limited border clash. President Ayub Khan, on November 5, 1962, with his military sense and keeping the weather in mind, was convinced that it was intended to be only a limited conflict. Drawing on his own experience, he feared, that the large quantities of military hardware being rushed by the US and the UK and others, would have the effect of enlarging the conflict between India and China, besides adding to the "already existing" concerns of the Pakistani people and government, that "these weapons may well be used against them (Pakistani people) in the absence of an overall settlement with India". Though Pakistan had earlier entered into talks with India on Kashmir, under pressure from the West, it remained convinced that not much could be expected from India on this issue.

71. On July 17, 1963, Pakistan Foreign Minister Bhutto told the National Assembly that India was aware of the limited nature of its conflict with China, which was "brought upon by India's own impetuosity". He said it was a pretext to garner military help, not "so much against communist China, but against the country which it has declared to be her enemy No. 1." Warning India, he said:

*"God forbids, if there was to be a clash, if India in her frustration turned her guns against Pakistan, the international situation is such today that Pakistan would not be alone in that conflict. That conflict does not involve Pakistan alone. An attack from*

*India on Pakistan is no longer confined to the security and territorial integrity of Pakistan. An attack by India on Pakistan involves the territorial integrity and security of the largest state in Asia and therefore, this new element and this new factor brought in the situation is a very important element and a very important factor." (Emphasis added)*

72. Interestingly, there was no such statement emerging from the Chinese leadership in clear cut terms declaring its support to Pakistan in so many words. It appeared, that Bhutto had seized upon the statement of Chinese Vice Premier Chen Yi, made at the United Arab Republic National Day reception at Peking that the Indian Air Force holding joint manoeuvres with the US Air Force and the Royal Air Force was a *"grave step taken by the Indian government in closer collusion with imperialistic powers and (was) a deliberate attempt to create tension anew on the Sino - Indian border." He described it as a threat not only against China, "but also a threat to India's other neighbours and particularly Pakistan".* (Emphasis added)

73. Bhutto continued with his tirade, blaming India for the Sino - Indian conflict. He repeated this to the British Foreign Secretary on October 16, 1963 in London. He said 'the Chinese attack had been provoked by Indians who had not made any provision with the Chinese for the *status quo* on the border pending an agreement and had thus helped to create their own problem'. He maintained his thesis that India was using China's hostility as a ploy to augment its defence capability. Since Pakistan itself had no intention, of keeping to the terms of its alliance with the West, that their arms would not be used against India, it too was not sanguine about the



American assurances that US arms assistance would not be used against Pakistan. He therefore, insisted on the need to maintain a military balance on the sub-continent, adding that "it would be necessary also to correspondingly augment Pakistan's military strength..." Emphasising the customary charges of Indian arrogance and aggressiveness, in a July 1963 speech in the Pakistani National Assembly, Bhutto repeated that the new dangers facing Pakistan required a reappraisal of its foreign policy, and that it was for the West to ensure that the past relationship was not broken.

74. Pakistan's view, that India had provoked the clash with the Chinese to get arms from the West, was fortified by Chinese Premier Chou En-lai, in his interview with the Associated Press of Pakistan on March 31, 1963. Chou En-lai had said that "India wants to get arms from the United States to satisfy its expansionist ambitions", but he maintained that India was being "more isolated" in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

75. In August 1965 Radio Peking endorsed the Pakistani position on infiltrators in Kashmir. It described Kashmir as the "Indian occupied sector of Kashmir", the infiltrator as "freedom fighters", and accused India of "crush(ing) down the people there". On September 4, 1965, the Chinese Vice Premier Chen Yi, told a press conference in Karachi, that "China completely sympathises with and supports the Kashmir's people's just struggle to resist India's tyrannical rule". Supporting Pakistan's action in Kashmir, he said "China firmly holds that the Kashmir question should be settled according to the pledges made by India and Pakistan to the Kashmiri people and in accordance with the aspirations of the

Kashmiri people". The Indian offensive on Lahore was described by the Chinese Government as an "openly launched massive armed attack on Pakistan", which was "a still more serious act of aggression".

76. The Sino - Soviet conflict, impacted South Asian politics in its own way. The Chinese challenge to the Soviet leadership was not merely ideological but a politico-military one, considering that the two had a long common border and China had laid claim to a substantial chunk of Soviet territory. After China, the Soviet Union, which in the fifties had unequivocally endorsed the Indian position on Kashmir, was seen to be meandering towards Pakistan. As pointed out above, the West's offer of military assistance to India had disillusioned Pakistan. The Soviets were keenly watching Pakistan's frustration with the West. The American Senate too, had drastically slashed military allocation proposed by President Eisenhower for Pakistan. Moscow's ambivalence towards Kashmir, even if it was subtle, was intriguing to New Delhi, and it could see enough straws in the wind, that convinced New Delhi that Moscow could not be taken for granted. The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) mandated an improvement in relations with the Baghdad Pact countries, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. In 1961, the Soviet Union had offered Pakistan its first chunk of economic aid, \$30 million for mineral and oil exploration. Also in the same year, Z.A. Bhutto, the then Minister of Trade had visited Moscow to improve avenues of better trade between the two countries. In the aftermath of the Cuban Missile crisis, resulting in the détente in East - West relations and bereft of the sheen that Pakistan's membership of the CENTO had, Moscow could look to a more relaxed relationship with Pakistan.

## XI

77. With the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru in May 1964, Lal Bahadur Shastri took over the reins of the Government of India. For the first time since independence, a separate Foreign Minister, Swaran Singh, was appointed to look after the External Affairs Ministry, which, since independence was the domain of the Prime Minister himself.

78. The Kutch conflict in February - March 1965 offered Pakistan and the Western powers some solace. Both the US and the UK seized the opportunity to actively involve themselves in the dispute to convey to Pakistan their usefulness to it. They interceded with New Delhi to agree to arbitration on the Kutch dispute, which Pakistan was quite happy to accept. Pakistan did not lose much time, to draw its own conclusion from the Kutch outcome. It may have been Pakistan's calculation, that if it were to force a similar conflict in Kashmir, either way it could stand to gain. If the conflict were settled in its favour, so much the better, otherwise, there was bound to be Western intervention of some sort, and if like the Kutch, India was pressurized to accept arbitration in Kashmir in some form, or some UN intervention, the dormant issue would get a fresh lease of life. It would be a win win situation for Islamabad either way.

79. New Delhi appeared a little disappointed with Moscow, for it felt that the Soviet support was lukewarm on the Kutch issue. While the Chinese Government, in a statement issued through Hsinhua, the Chinese news agency on May 4, 1965, blamed India for provoking armed conflict in the Rann of Kutch "in an attempt to forcibly occupy the disputed territory by armed attack", the Tass

statement of May 8, was a trite affair which hoped that the "differences between India and Pakistan will be settled by them by way of talks, with consideration for the interests of both the countries". While the negotiations for the modalities for a settlement of Kutch were still underway with the intervention of the US and the UK, a worried Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri decided to travel to Moscow, to see if the Soviets were willing for a more active intervention and support, before he accepted the West sponsored arbitration route to solve the Kutch issue. He met General Secretary Brezhnev on May 14, 1965 and his disappointment was palpable and reflected in what Shastri told Brezhnev:

"May I say, Mr. Brezhnev that India and the Indian people have great faith in the Soviet Union. They have appreciated greatly Soviet Union's attitude on Kashmir. Their expectation is that in the matter of recent Pakistan aggression Soviet Union will lend its support to India. In fact my visit here has been interpreted by the Indian people, at this difficult juncture, I shall get the Soviet Union's moral support and it will help in changing the present climate which prevails in regard to this aggression by Pakistan. If there is no such indication, I might say that it would cause me and the people of my country much disappointment...I do not mean to suggest that Soviet Union should not advise us for a peaceful settlement, but if there is no indication in regard to Pakistan's attitude it would in a sense weaken our policy of non-alignment. Those who are aligned will have the facility to commit aggression. It should not mean that those who uphold non-alignment should not express their views somewhat frankly."

**Brezhnev replied:**

"Mr. Shastri, I request you to understand that the matter is not of strong words, but of dedication to policy. Each word of

yours has a weight to it and force and strength behind it. It is very important that we do not spoil this policy by loud polemics - this policy of peace and peaceful coexistence....In your statement I felt a hint that at some stages, Soviet Union has not rendered sufficient help. With this I cannot agree. In the Sino - Indian conflict we took a correct stand. It contributed to the fact that this conflict did not develop. The Chinese leaders consider our statements to have been wrong and still blame us. On the Kashmir question, we took a clear stand. We never changed it taking into consideration that whole complex.

"When Ayub was here, he interpreted this in his own way. I personally told him how much we valued India and her policy of non-alignment...I gave him a sharp rebuttal to his remarks against India and this conflict...

"We understand that you expect more firm support from us. But we assure you that would inflame the whole world. Mr. Kaul (Ambassador) told me in a reception that we could make (changes) here or there. We shall consider this."

80. The next day, on May 15, Shastri sat down with Premier Kosygin to discuss the draft of the joint communiqué, to be issued at the end of his visit to Moscow. He pointed out to Kosygin the lack of reference "to the aggression by Pakistan" and added that while he understood Soviet difficulty, "it would have given us greater strength in meeting the situation as it has arisen on our borders". Kosygin in trying to reassure the nervous Prime Minister said:

"I can tell the Prime Minister once again about Pakistan. When we had talks with Ayub Khan, we told him in no uncertain terms, that all conflicts whichever arise on India - Pakistan border, he will not meet understanding from us. He said there would not be any such conflict and he added, he understood our position. We are of the opinion that any

reference in the communiqué to border conflict will not solve anything, but may complicate the situation, and both sides may have to seek allies in the West. We feel it is better to avoid this. There is no question of mentioning anything in black and white."

81. Prime Minister Shastri was apparently not too happy with the response he got in Moscow. But he was worried about the Soviets' changing stance on Kashmir! Here too, he betrayed his nervousness in his talks with Kosygin and said that while India would make every effort to avoid violent conflict, one could not be too sure of Pakistan's attitude "if they will adopt peaceful policy not only in Kutch - Sind border but elsewhere". Accusing Pakistan of "nibbling" at Indian territory Shastri added:

"They (Pakistan) think unless Kashmir is given to them, they will continue to fight in this manner. We have very clear and categorical views on Kashmir. We have declared it from the very beginning as part and parcel of India and we cannot part with it. I am glad Soviet Union's position on Kashmir is the same as it was before. We are thankful for the attitude adopted by the Soviet Union so far. ...But if Pakistan persists in creating trouble, because it (Kashmir) is not handed to them, I can imagine the difficulties in putting things in black and white in the joint communiqué, but I have an impression during the talks I had with you and Mr. Brezhnev that you very well understand our position and as you said your sympathies are with India and will remain with India".

Shastri felt assured that at least on Kashmir, he had tied down the Soviets to their old position of support for India's stand on the issue.

82. This had become necessary, as pointed out above, of late New Delhi had perceived some shift in Soviet attitude towards Pakistan, and therefore Kashmir. Foreign Secretary C. S. Jha in his letter of March 4, 1965 to Ambassador T.N. Kaul in Moscow expressed his surprise and concern at this shift, which he said was "noticed at the Security Council meeting last year (1964) on the Kashmir question". He sounded somewhat worried that "it is possible that even though their basic stand on Kashmir should remain unaltered, the USSR might not give us the same support on procedural aspects as before". The Foreign Secretary recalled the stand taken by all the members of the Security Council, including the Soviet Union that "India and Pakistan should, in direct negotiations and without third-party intervention, try to reach a peaceful and honourable settlement". While Jha stressed the need for India to come to some settlement with Pakistan, he conceded that Pakistan's hardened position left little chance for "a favourable climate for negotiations to develop" to produce a settlement acceptable to both. The Foreign Secretary counted two prepositions which had been offered to Pakistan for settlement: one, a ceasefire line with some modifications and two, "the idea of a confederation". Ambassador Kaul, however insisted that Soviet Union would not "go back on our legal title to the whole State", while supporting a "realistic political settlement of the Kashmir problem more or less on the basis of the ceasefire line with minor adjustments." He felt assured that Moscow would support "our claim to the valley both for strategic reasons as well as on the grounds of our secularism". Ambassador Kaul however, was not certain how the Chinese factor would work. The Soviet Union believed that "China will not embark on a military adventure against India in the present circumstances,

but she may keep on giving us pin-pricks here and there" which Kaul felt India should be able to manage.

83. It did not take long for Kashmir to arrive at the scene, and again to India's chagrin Moscow was seen initially standing at some distance. But it scrambled soon and made it known that it was determined not to let the West run away with the advantage of its diplomacy. While the US and the UK through the good offices of the UN Secretary General ensured that the war did not get prolonged beyond a point, it was the Soviet Union's deft handling that, for once the Americans found themselves edged out of the arena. The result was that both India and Pakistan agreed to meet at Tashkent under the Soviet auspices to settle their differences. In agreeing to Tashkent, after initial hesitation, Pakistan hoped, that Moscow in its anxiety to mediate in Kashmir, would take a more realistic and balanced position on Kashmir in future to prove its credentials as an honest broker. And that was enough of a gain to start with.

84. In the wake of Pakistani infiltration in Kashmir in August 1965, the Chinese wished to underline their utility to Pakistan once again. China described the infiltrators in Kashmir, as part of a movement by Kashmiri people, to shake off Indian army rule. Chen Yi, at a press conference on September 4, 1965 in Karachi, pledged "China's complete sympathies" to Pakistan and extended support to "the Kashmiri people's just struggle to resist India's tyrannical rule", and condemned India, "for its provocative acts of violating the ceasefire line and kindling and aggravating the conflict". He extended China's firm "support to Pakistan's just action in hitting back at India's armed provocations".



85. Pakistan's role in promoting Sino - American *détente*, strengthened Pakistan's credentials both with Peking and Washington. Playing the China card, Pakistan found it advantageous to scare New Delhi. Under the circumstances, China emerged Pakistan's most reliable option. It found it worthwhile to flaunt this relationship to browbeat India. As late as January 1982, in a speech delivered at the Federal Council, Pakistan's so-called parliament, Foreign Minister Agha Shahi described China, as a "reliable friend and partner" with a "shared commitment to principles and a continuing convergence of interests" and a country which "has proven its strength and durability". Praising China, he said: "It has stood by Pakistan as a dependable and generous friend." Giving an examples of China's generosity, Agha Shahi recounted China's help in establishing in Pakistan "the Heavy Mechanical Complex, the Heavy Forge and Foundry, the Tank and Aircraft Rebuild Factories, and last but not the least, the great Karakoram Highway which links the two countries in everlasting friendship". What Agha Shahi did not mention was more important, the nuclear and missile technology that China gave to Pakistan.

## XII

86. Reverting to India - Pakistan bilateral issues, there were many issues, that needed sorting out as a result of the partition. In the East Pakistan, the essential issues related to the treatment of minorities, border question, and sharing of Ganga waters. In the West, there were far too many issues besides Kashmir, which needed attention. Some of the major issues were Junagadh, the canal water/ Indus Waters, borders, Kutch, evacuee property,

financial settlement including the division of sterling balances of the undivided India, trade, transport and many more. While trade and transport may be common to both wings, other issues were purely relevant to West Pakistan.

87. The Canal Waters question confronted the two countries immediately on partition. During the colonial period, the British had constructed a network of canals, after the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, to irrigate the wastelands belonging to the Crown. Since most of the crown lands lay in that part of the Punjab, which went to Pakistan, it also enjoyed the advantage of the irrigation system in a disproportion manner. In the scheme of the partition, the headworks of the waters feeding these canals fell in the Indian Punjab. As per the arrangement worked out jointly by the Chief Engineers of Indian and Pakistani Punjabs, and approved by the Punjab Partition Committee, the supply of water was continued to the Punjab (P), on the basis of existing usages as on the date of partition, for the period up to March 31, 1948, to be replaced by a fresh agreement to be negotiated, before the expiry of the Stand Still Agreement. Since Pakistan did not care to ensure, that there was another agreement in place before the expiry of the arrangement made on partition, the supplies got disrupted. Pakistan made loud noises. The Pakistan Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan complained to Nehru. Following the latter's intervention, a high-powered team was invited to visit India to negotiate a fresh agreement. The Pakistani team headed, by Finance Minister Ghulam Mohammad, visited New Delhi and a new agreement was signed on May 4, 1948. On the Indian side, it was signed among others by Prime Minister Nehru himself for India and on the

Pakistan's side by Ghulam Mohammad and others. Under this agreement, while supplies were assured to Pakistan Punjab, the Government of Pakistan recognised India's anxiety, to develop fresh areas on the Indian side, where water was scarce. The two governments agreed to approach the problem in a practical spirit, on the basis of India progressively diminishing supplies to Pakistan canals, in the hope that Pakistan will take the necessary steps to make alternative arrangements. After initial working of this agreement, Pakistan wanted to renege from it, on the pretext that it was signed by Pakistan under duress, which hurt Nehru to no end, since had personally negotiated and signed the agreement to ensure full justice to Pakistan.

88. The Indus system of rivers comprises six rivers - the Indus, the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej. The Indus and the Jhelum between them carry two-thirds and together with the Chenab about four-fifths of the waters of the entire system. The culturable area commanded by the Indus system is roughly 26 million acres in India and 39 million acres in Pakistan i. e. in the ratio of 40:60. About 18 percent of the area on the Indian side was irrigated at the time of partition; the area falling in Pakistan was about 51 percent. India used only 5 percent of the total inflow in the rivers against 39 percent by Pakistan.

89. Acute food shortages in post-partition India, underlined the need for increasing the irrigated area and build a new network of canals and water conservation and storage projects. India felt there was enough water in the Indus system for the reasonable requirements of both the countries. Out of the annual flow of 168 million acre-feet, 120 million acre-feet could be developed for

irrigation, whereas at the time of partition only 72 million acre-feet were being used—8 million by India and 64 by Pakistan. There was thus an unutilised flow of 48 million acre-feet which flowed straight into the sea. India's efforts to involve Pakistan, in a joint technical study of the problem, did not bear any fruits since Pakistan insisted on referring the problem of sharing the waters to the International Court of Justice (ICJ). Pakistan would also not agree to an *ad hoc* tribunal of the judges of both the countries looking into the problem. Meanwhile in 1951, Mr. Lilienthal, former Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA in the USA), after a visit to India and Pakistan, concluded that the canal water problem between the two countries was a feasible engineering problem to be settled by engineers with the help of the World Bank. His idea appealed to the World Bank and its President Eugene Black showed interest in the scheme. He set up a working party of three engineers, one each from India, Pakistan and the World Bank, but his efforts too did not succeed in finding an acceptable solution. Finally, the World Bank came out with its own broad solution that the entire flow of Western rivers, Indus, Chenab and Jhelum be earmarked for Pakistan and the Eastern Rivers, Sutlej, Beas and Ravi for India. The scheme envisaged that Pakistan would undertake, with international financial help, alternative works to divert its present uses from the eastern rivers to the western rivers, for which there would be an interim period and finally the eastern rivers being exclusively reserved for India's use. India was allowed certain non-consumptive uses of the western rivers. After eight years of negotiations, through the good offices of the World Bank, the Indus Water Treaty was signed in Karachi on September 19, 1960 by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and President Ayub Khan. The

Treaty laid down the rights and obligations of both sides in relation to the use of waters of the Indus system of rivers. It also laid down a framework for the resolution, in a cooperative spirit, of the questions, the differences or the disputes that might arise in implementation of the Treaty, either bilaterally or through neutral international arbitrators. India agreed to pay Pakistan 62, 060, 000 Pound Sterling to build replacement links from the existing Eastern to the Western rivers. The most important feature of the Treaty was that, it could not be abrogated or terminated by either side unless it was replaced by "another duly ratified treaty concluded for that purpose between the two Governments". As long as there is life on this planet, the rivers have to flow carrying the life-giving water for both the countries, who have to share it. Hence the permanent nature of the Treaty.

90. The limited use of water from the western rivers by India was subject to the certain limitations laid down in the Treaty, and India has scrupulously honoured those limitations. Against its entitlement of a storage capacity of 3.6 million acre-feet of water, India has yet to build any storage capacity. As against the irrigation permitted for 1.34 million acres, India has created an irrigation capacity for 0.792 million acres. Similarly out of the total potential of 18, 653 MW of hydro-power which India could generate, only 2,324 MW have been commissioned with another 659MW-capacity projects are under construction.

91. The Treaty is the most comprehensive document to be negotiated between the two countries. It deals with the entire river system of the Indus including its tributaries, sub-tributaries and even streams, in an all inclusive manner. It is a tribute to those who

negotiated it. In its existence of more than half a century, only once an issue had to be referred to the neutral international experts. All the other issues that arose between the two sides were settled by the Permanent Indus Commission composed of Indian and Pakistani experts.

92. The Indus Water question though a highly technical issue, had its political ramifications too. It involved the construction of Mangla Dam by Pakistan in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir. India apprehended that if its construction was linked to the Indus water question, as part of the replacement works, it might *ipso facto* mean recognition of Pakistan's juridical claim to the area of Kashmir under its occupation. This issue was resolved, when it was agreed that neither the replacement and development works to be constructed by Pakistan - which would include Mangla - nor the Indus Basin Development Fund, which would finance the replacement works under the Indus Treaty, would be part of the Indus Water Treaty. It was clearly understood that the financing of the Mangla project works would be the subject matter of a separate agreement between Pakistan and the funding agencies or countries. The fact, that works, which were built by Pakistan in its occupied territory of Kashmir, did not figure in the Treaty, but India's uses of waters of the Western Rivers in Jammu and Kashmir State are specifically laid down under Article III (2) of the Treaty. India's contribution was paid to the credit of the World Bank, since India was not a member of the Indus Basin Development Fund. Similarly there were other clauses in the agreement which safeguarded India's political interest in Kashmir, by the allocation of Western Rivers to Pakistan and their development.

93. The resolution of the Indus water question left India and Pakistan with a similar problem in the eastern region, the sharing of the Ganga Waters. Historically the Bhagirathi carried the main channel of the Ganga and therefore bulk of her water, which kept the Calcutta port flushed and going for centuries. In the last couple of hundred years, there was a shift in the flow of the Ganga, the Bhagirathi - Hoogly losing its status as the main channel, with the bulk of the water turning southeast towards the Padma. This caused siltation in the Bhagirathi channel, which in turn led to increase in the intensity and frequency of tidal bores in the Hoogly thereby impeding navigation. Various studies conducted in this regard before and after the partition, suggested the need for a barrage on the Ganga to augment the supplies in the Hoogly, to save the port of Calcutta. The Radcliffe Boundary Commission, dividing the province of Bengal, taking note of the problem of the Calcutta port, had awarded the Muslim majority district of Murshidabad, where the barrage was to be located to India and compensated Pakistan with the Hindu majority district of Khulna.

94. After the partition, India seriously started looking into the possibility of the barrage at Farakka, since the problem of Calcutta port had become acute. For instance in 1938, ships of a draught of 26 ft could use the port for nearly 300 days in a year. In 1961 it could not be opened to such vessels for even a single day. In 1974-75 the port handled traffic of 7.5 million tons against the 11 million tons in 1964-65. Besides, siltation of the river and consequent increase in the salinity adversely affected the health, sanitation and industrial life of the entire area, historically dependent on the river.

95. Notwithstanding the preponderance of the Indian claim on the Ganga waters, India had not been unmindful of the needs of East Pakistan, a co-riparian and as such was prepared to accommodate its reasonable needs of water and entered into negotiations with Pakistan. Unfortunately, this benign attitude of India, was to prove quite costly. It is ironic that Pakistan, which in 1968 claimed almost the entire flow of the Ganga, was not even aware initially of the quantity of water, needed for East Pakistan. It may be instructive to recall the course of the negotiations with Pakistan before the emergence of Bangladesh on the scene. At the first June - July 1960, official level discussions, Pakistan pegged the needs of East Pakistan at only 3,500 cusecs in April, the lean period, a negligible quantity, (considering the minimum flow of 55, 000 cusecs even during the lean period). During the subsequent meetings, Pakistan's demand continued to swell as the Ganga swells during the monsoons. At the second meeting (October 1960), it demanded 18,090 cusecs, in April 1961, 29,352, in December 1961-January 1962, 32,010 cusecs and finally at the fifth meeting, in May 1968 it demanded 49, 000 cusecs (all quantities being for the month of April). The last indicated quantity was almost the whole of the flow in the lean period of April. Since the supporting evidence was too flimsy, to give satisfaction to New Delhi, India was not quite convinced that Pakistan's stand was in keeping with its avowed policy of discovering a problem where none existed. It was clear to the Government of India that Pakistan wished to create conditions, like the ones on the Indus and get the issue of Ganga waters internationalised. It intended to stall, in the meantime, the construction of the Farakka Barrage, which the Government of India was determined to prevent at all costs. In all



the negotiations with Pakistan on the Ganga waters, India made sure that the discussion remained at the technical level only.

96. Knowing the Pakistani intentions, India ignored Pakistan's objections, and went ahead with the Farakka project. When Bangladesh came into existence, at the end of 1971, the Barrage was complete at a cost of Rs. 1560 crores (15, 600 millions) and the construction of the feeder canals was in progress. The question therefore was how best India could help the new country by sharing the available flows? This question has since been settled by mutual negotiations and each one showing the understanding for the needs of the other.

### XIII

97. Another problem, which bothered India, was the question of the evacuee properties, left behind by the Hindu and Sikh refugees in West Pakistan, at the time of partition. Since the migration from East Pakistan to India, immediately on partition was on much smaller scale and there was no ethnic cleansing, as it happened in the West, East Pakistan did not present with a problem of evacuee properties. However, as pointed out above, in the next couple of years, as the treatment of minorities in the East Pakistan worsened, leading to an exodus. The Nehru - Liaquat Pact of April 1950, stemmed the tide for the time being. It not only stopped the migration but those who had already migrated, were able to return and claim the complete ownership rights of their properties in either country. They could sell, or exchange such properties and could even recover the rent of immoveable properties. Since the Hindus in East Pakistan were in a large number, even though a substantial minority, their number gave them some security, a problem of the

scale and kind as in West Pakistan, did not exist in the east. This problem was, however acute in the western region, where the migration had started. even before the formal inauguration of Pakistan. The partition was accompanied by a virtual pogrom in which hundreds of thousands were killed. It created such a fear among the non-Muslims that they would not dare to look at their properties back home. There were killings on the Indian side too, but their number was much smaller because the Indian leaders, like Mahatma Gandhi, Prime Minister Nehru, Maulana Azad etc., launched a peace offensive to prevent people leaving India. As the peace returned, even those who had left were invited to come back with the assurance of the return of their properties, jobs and security. About a lakh of Muslims did return home to claim their properties and jobs. But there was no such move on the part of Pakistani leaders to assure the non-Muslims not to migrate or to offer them an olive branch after they had left.

98. With millions finding their way into India, in search for a safe haven, the Government of India, took upon itself the task of providing them succour and rehabilitation. In so far as the properties left behind by the displaced persons in West Pakistan were concerned, negotiations started with Pakistan immediately on partition. The problem was discussed at a number of Indo - Pak conferences. While some agreement was reached, relating to the moveable properties and their claims in respect of court deposits, contractors' claims, bank accounts, and fixed deposits, pay, pension and provident funds of serving and retired government and local bodies' employees; no agreement could be found for the immovable property. The Government of Pakistan adopted a cussed attitude towards the plight of the displaced persons.

Pakistan's refusal to come to some agreement on the question of immovable properties was inhibited by the awareness by Karachi, that the properties left behind in Pakistan by the non-Muslims were far in excess in value in comparison to the value of the properties left behind by the Muslim migrants from India to West Pakistan. This aspect was also stressed by President Rajendra Prasad in his note mentioned above. It was estimated that the approximate value of the properties left behind by Hindu and Sikh displaced persons was Rs. 500 crores (Rs. 5000 million), against 100 crores (Rs. 1000 million) left behind by the Muslims. Besides, the agricultural land left behind by displaced persons in West Pakistan was about 90 lakh acres, a considerable portion of which was canal irrigated, whereas the Muslim evacuees left about 60 lakh acres of comparatively of much inferior quality. Pakistan insisted that the displaced persons could visit their properties, sell them, exchange them, or rent them as they liked. Pakistan knew it was an unworkable preposition, yet insisted on it to avoid payment of the difference. Pakistan refused to concede that given the security situation, which in the first instance drove them out of their homes and hearths, would prevent the displaced persons to undertake the hazardous visits. Besides, such sales/exchanges were not easy to negotiate and would lead to cartelisation of buyers and lead to distress sales if at all it were possible.

99. In July 1950, Liaquat Ali Khan was visiting New Delhi for talks with Nehru. Gopaldaswamy Ayyangar, Transport Minister, who was also looking after most of the issues arising out of the partition, had got made an estimate of Rs. 300 crores as the paying capacity of Pakistan on this count. He suggested to Nehru who was to hold talks with Liaquat:

"The figure of 300 crores as representing Pakistan's capacity to pay was estimated by Deshmukh at my request, but it will be too much to expect that we could, for squaring the amount relating to evacuee property, ask Pakistan to shoulder the whole of this amount as a debt, she would owe to India on account of evacuee property alone. We should be prepared, if there is going to be an *ad hoc* arrangement to accept much less. I think it will be worthwhile to do so in order to end all the trouble we are going through in this connection. I would personally be content with Pakistan accepting a liability for a hundred crores, but this is a matter for bargaining. If you propose to have a talk with Liaquat Ali Khan on this question, I would suggest your discussing with him the main principles of the scheme without committing yourself to any definite figures. If they are prepared to discuss figures also, we can give some vague indications of the figures that we have in mind."

100. However, during the visit of Liaquat Ali Khan, this issue was not discussed. Nothing much came out of the discussions at various other levels either. The Government of India was getting desperate at the failure of a settlement on the question of immovable property since the displaced persons were living in make shift quarters and in distressed conditions needing permanent rehabilitation rather desperately. On October 13, 1952, the Government of India informed the Government of Pakistan that the policy of sale or exchange of property, by the owners in each other country has not worked even after five years. The owners of the properties, had neither received any rent nor were they in a position to visit their properties to sell or exchange for obvious reasons. It also said that in the meantime, all the evacuee properties had been occupied by the refugees on temporary basis and the Custodians who were in-charge of the properties, were not in a position to look after them.

Similarly, the refugees who were in temporary occupation, had their own problem to look after them, and as such the properties were deteriorating for lack of repairs. It was suggested to Pakistan since direct negotiations had failed, the Government of India would be agreeable to refer the method of evaluation of these properties to an arbitration or an impartial tribunal agreed upon between the two governments. To obtain Pakistan's consent to some arrangement on this vexatious question, New Delhi went on to suggest, that, if Pakistan desired, the matter could be referred to the International Court of Justice or an *ad hoc* court consisting of the nominees of the two governments. This suggestion of international arbitration was made, since it was clear to the Government of India that Pakistan put greater faith in the international arbitration than Indian and Pakistani judges sitting as arbitrators.

101. There was, however, no response from the Government of Pakistan, to any of the suggestions. In order to resolve the issue, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru himself wrote on January 13, 1953 to Pakistan Prime Minister Khwaja Nazimuddin, commending the October 13, 1952 proposal of government to government exchange of properties. He insisted that there was no chance of any of the displaced persons going back to their homes to look after their properties or sell them, and also because the properties were fast deteriorating, it was an ideal solution. In a lengthy reply dated March 5, 1953, the Pakistan Government went into the entire history of the evacuee property issue, blamed the Government of India for failure to come to an acceptable arrangement. He concluded that the Government of India's decision to assume the properties of the Muslim migrants and compensate the Indian refugees amounted

to expropriation of the Muslim properties, which would only create fresh difficulties and problems, for which the responsibility would be that of the Government of India. The Government of India, unmindful of the Pakistani objections, went ahead and settled the problem of immovable properties as it proposed. This greatly facilitated the permanent rehabilitation of the refugees and gave them some stability in their lives to move on.

102. On the question of moveable properties, the situation was slightly better, in that some agreements were reached but implementation remained tardy, the level of satisfaction obtained remained low. An agreement on moveable properties was first reached in June 1950 and further decisions were reached in subsequent years in 1953 and 1955. The agreement covered all items of moveable properties, such as personal and house-hold effects, trade goods, merchandise, seized property including fire-arms, buried treasures, lockers, and safe-deposits, gold loan accounts, joint stock companies, court deposits, shares and securities etc. A high powered Implementation Committee was set up to ensure speedy implementation of decisions arrived at between the two governments. Since the decisions were never backed by quick implementation, it only increased the level of frustration of the displaced persons. The Implementation Committee's meetings ceased after 1963. The deterioration in the political climate, between the two countries, in the meantime had hit a nadir, followed by Kutch and 1965 Kashmir conflicts. Thereafter, there was stalemate and the matter went into limbo with most of the decisions remaining unimplemented. These claims involved several crores of rupees, which were huge amounts in those days.

**XIV**

103. After the Kashmir conflict of 1965, followed by the Tashkent Declaration, the relations between India and Pakistan limped back. Tashkent, however did not offer Pakistan a solution of the Kashmir issue. The level of dissatisfaction and therefore frustration with India continued in Islamabad. Pakistan, however had come to realise that an armed conflict was no longer an option either. Be it, as it may, India soon found that Pakistan's fervour for Kashmir had diminished a little. At the first ministerial meeting with Pakistan held in March 1966, India found to its regret, that Pakistan's post - 1965 priorities were to refurbish its depleted arsenals, building up tensions and hatred against India, draw up pictures of Indian tyranny in Kashmir to convey that India was faced with an acute political, social and security crisis in Kashmir.

104. By the middle of 1967, some progress towards normalisation had been achieved, namely in respect of withdrawal of forces to the pre-1965 positions, exchange of prisoners of war, restoration of full diplomatic relations, resumption of over-flights, restricted visa facilities etc. However the uncomfortable feelings in the relations refused to go away. Seized properties, as provided for in the Tashkent Declaration, had not been exchanged, trade remained at a standstill, despite India's unilateral decision to remove all trade embargos, and to return all seized properties. Travel between the two countries remained restricted, and communications were not fully restored. On the Kashmir issue India had been more than willing to talk but within certain parameters *i.e.* within the oft-repeated, very precise basic position of India that the State of Jammu and

Kashmir having finally and irrevocably acceded to India, was an integral part of the Indian Union. Therefore, any talks on the Kashmir question would have to be within this basic framework and keeping in view the ground realities. India made it known that the plebiscite was out of question and that the principle of self-determination had no relevance to integral parts of sovereign States.

105. While both India and Pakistan had learnt to live with this stalemate, trouble was brewing for Pakistan on the domestic front and India was sucked into it. In the post-Tashkent period Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's successful campaign against Ayub Khan, particularly on Kashmir, had made him make way for another General, this time Yahya Khan. As pointed out above, the fractional politics of the country worked in favour of the western wing, at the cost of the more populated East Pakistan. For too long had the people in the East looked meekly and submissively as the West rode rough shod over it. The iniquitous arrangement had generated dissatisfaction among the populace, which enabled the East Pakistan based Awami League to unite the province politically under the leadership of Sheikh Mujeebur Rahman, to challenge the West Pakistan domination and its monopoly of power at the centre, since the creation of Pakistan in 1947. It is true, there had been prime ministers from the eastern wing too, but they depended for their political support on the western elite. Besides, since 1958 the Punjabi-Pathan army, under the leadership of General Ayub Khan and now Yahya Khan and their coterie of army officers, had monopolised the political power. All this favoured the western elite class and the East was left to look for political crumbs thrown by



the West. Now, prudently, the East consolidated itself under one political party and one leader to challenge the domination of the West.

106. This consolidation of political forces in East Pakistan demonstrated the magic of electoral majority for once. General Yahya Khan had promised to hold elections, based on adult franchise, for the first time in Pakistan's history. The people waited for this opportunity with bated breath. In November, a few weeks before the elections (scheduled for December 1970), East Pakistan suffered a terrible cyclone, in which between 150, 000 to 200, 000 people were killed and another 1.5 to 2 million were rendered homeless. The tardy manner and slow speed of the relief operations, convinced the people here once again, that in their plight they were alone. The ensuing elections were seen as an opportunity to take revenge. In the election results, the worst fears of the army and of the Western political elite came true. The Awami League won 160 of the 162 seats it contested and along with 7 of the indirectly elected seats reserved for women, it made a total of 167 out of the total strength of the National Assembly of 313, and therefore the right to form its government at the centre. In the East Pakistan Assembly, it won 288 elected and 10 indirectly elected women's seats, making a total of 298 out of the total strength of 310, a clean sweep. The Pakistan People's Party led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto could only win 81 seats in the National Assembly. Its victories were mainly in the Punjab (62) and Sind (18). It won just one seat in North Western Frontier Province and nothing in Baluchistan.

107. In the entire life of Pakistan, the leaders of the western wing had not faced such a situation. They found the political power slipping out of their hands. The red herring was the election manifesto of the Awami League, that, were the party to come to power, it would draft a new constitution providing for decentralisation of power and autonomy for the constituent units, based on the six-point programme. In a rear guard action, Bhutto leading the charge against the East, declared on December 20, 1970 that neither a new constitution, nor any government at the centre could be formed, without the cooperation of his party, which had emerged the largest in the West. Bhutto's assertion was based on the spurious thesis that the real power of the central government was derived from the Punjab and Sind, the two provinces where his party had also won in the provincial elections, and therefore the party winning solely in the East could not be trusted with the complete authority of the central government. Gen. Yahya Khan's vacillation and Bhutto's mulishness prevented even the process of convening the National Assembly being put into motion. The historic opportunity for the emergence of a democratic set up, after Pakistan's first ever general elections, based on adult franchise, was allowed to slip. The arrest of Mujib, East Pakistan's declaration of independence, Genral Yahya Khan's response with Martial Law, the army repression that was let loose in the East, the genocide, the stream of refugees pouring into India and India's response, international neglect, Pakistan attack on Indian cities in the Punjab provoking India into war, now all part of history, formalised the geographic split of Pakistan into a political reality. Henceforth two wings of one country became two independent and sovereign states, equal members of the comity of nations.

**XV**

108. The developments leading to the emergence of Bangladesh had put Indian diplomacy to a severe test, which it faced successfully. It met the twin dangers from Pakistan and China. We have already discussed above the emergence of Pakistan - China axis against India. India was not unaware that China too had its soft belly in its conflict with the Soviet Union both ideological and political. Chinese claim to large chunks of Soviet territory, had made the armies of the two countries face each other, eyeball-to-eyeball.

109. The tragedy played within East Pakistan before the emergence of Bangladesh, did not spare India. The Pakistan army's crackdown in East Pakistan, indulging in rape, pillage and genocide, made almost ten million people seek refuge in India. The World community, to India's chagrin, remained indifferent to India's efforts to draw its attention to this horrendous development at its doorstep, and the burden that the ten million refugees cast on its socio-economic health. New Delhi was distressed. Pakistan's frustration on its failure to repress the people of East Bengal and control their aroused emotions was palpable. The people of East Bengal, who by nature are a peaceful people, given to life of art and literature, dance, drama and song were facing the bayonets of the army from West Pakistan, an experience they had not known before but now faced with a do or die spirit. They had organised themselves into a voluntary force called the Mukti Bahini. Mujibur Rahman's arrest and detention in West Pakistan for treason had added fuel to the burning fire. Pakistan was getting desperate by the day and had moved several divisions of its army from West Pakistan to East Bengal. In its effort to cut off Indian support to the

Mukti Bahini, Pakistan army mounted air attacks on Indian cities across the border in the Punjab.

110. India had seen all this coming for quite some time. It was New Delhi's assessment, that the situation in East Pakistan was getting out of Pakistan's control and in order to divert attention from developments in the East, it might mount an attack in the West. Naturally, New Delhi was prepared for the worst. To shore up its armed strength, to meet the duel challenge from Pakistan and China, efforts were made to procure some essential military supplies and equipment from the Soviet Union. India was too well aware that the Soviet Union had also evinced a good deal of interest in the Pakistan developments and was concerned about them. According to Pakistan Ambassador in Moscow, Jamsheed Marker, in his book *Quiet Diplomacy*, the Soviets had indeed been in touch with all the stakeholders in Pakistan including Mujib and had conveyed their concern at the developing scenario, which to them was quite disquieting, at the highest level in Pakistan. A note handed over to President Yahya Khan personally by the Soviet Ambassador in Pakistan at the beginning of March 1971, sought to convey Soviet's explicit interest. The note said that in Moscow, friendly attention was being given to the situation developing in Pakistan, and though the deteriorating situation was mainly the matter of internal concern, 'the tension of the situation in friendly Pakistan, which is a neighbour of the Soviet Union, cannot but arouse the concern of the Soviet people, as in situations of this kind, problems of internal character are often inseparable from matters of the outside political situation'. The Soviet Foreign Office even briefed Pakistani Ambassador Jamsheed Marker in Moscow, of their *demarche* in Islamabad and their deep concern about

political developments in Pakistan. The Soviets were in touch with Mujibur Rahman also and had even passed on his messages to the Pakistan authorities. As the talks between Yahya Khan and Mujib failed and broke off, the Soviet Consul General in Karachi, according to the account of Ambassador Marker, met Yahya Khan in Karachi, when he returned from Dacca on March 28 and conveyed to him the oral message from Kosygin, containing Moscow's concern at the possible use of army. The message *inter alia* said:

"But to be quite frank we would like to express our opinion that fratricidal conflict in East Pakistan will inevitably give rise to the sense of deep anxiety and negative reaction in the Soviet Union and as we are sure, amongst all friends of Pakistan".

Moscow advised immediate resumption of negotiations and measures 'for the cessation of bloodshed in East Pakistan'. Pakistan did reply to Soviet *demarches*' assuring them that all efforts were being made to address the situation, it, nevertheless, left Pakistan worried at the overt and excessive interest shown by Moscow and its repeated interventions, and *demarches*.

111. It may be recalled, that in January 1971 there was a hijacking of the Indian Airlines Srinagar - Jammu flight to Lahore where it was allowed to be blown up by the hijackers. New Delhi was so incensed at the callous attitude of the Pakistan Government, who made no effort to save the aircraft, that on February 4, 1971 it suspended all over-flights over its territory by Pakistan military or civil aircraft.

112. On March 14, the Indian Deputy High Commissioner from Dacca reported that Pakistan was moving two and a half Divisions of its army under Lt. Gen. Mitha Khan from Quetta to East Pakistan, a move with ominous forebodings. Mujib, through his emissary, had also conveyed to the Deputy High Commissioner that he had reached the stage of no return, since Pakistan had decided on use of army to crush the civil population after the failure of talks. Gen. Yahya Khan, in a broadcast from Islamabad on March 26, dubbed Mujib's decision to launch a civil disobedience movement, treason. In a desperate move to stem the developing unrest, which was nothing short of a civil rebellion, Pakistan banned all political parties and political activity of all types.

113. On March 23, 1971, the Indian Ambassador in Moscow Durga Prasad Dhar, made a farewell call on the Soviet Premier Kosygin, though he was to leave for India after a few weeks. He took this opportunity to inform him that after the recent general elections in India, the Prime Minister was now more self-confident and prepared to take new initiatives in foreign and domestic policies. He also discussed with him the latest developments in relation to Pakistan and China. He particularly mentioned Chinese intransigence in responding to Indian efforts for better relations. Ambassador Dhar also thanked him for the supplies of military hardware which New Delhi had requested, but conveyed some disappointment, at the lack of progress on the Indian request for bomber aircraft, which had become critical in view of the developing situation in the subcontinent and the well equipped Pakistan Air Force.

114. On June 5, 1971, Ambassador Dhar made his farewell call on the Soviet Defence Minister Marshal Grechko. The Marshal, was aware of the fast deteriorating politico-military situation on the sub-continent. He was too well aware of the fact, that New Delhi had failed to make any headway in its relations with China, and had become vulnerable in the present scenario. He took the opportunity to revive the old Soviet proposal for a friendship treaty, made a couple of years ago to Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi, who then did not bite. Marshal Grechko now smelt the opportunity and revived the proposal with Ambassador Dhar. In the Ambassador's assessment, the Soviets were somewhat convinced that the events on the subcontinent were inching towards an armed conflict between India and Pakistan, with the Chinese watching on the sidelines, and this was the opportune moment to sell the treaty to India. The Soviet interest in the treaty with India was tied to their own deteriorating relations with China. Moscow's move for an Indo-Soviet Treaty was a strategic one, to encircle China, as later developments were to prove. Ambassador Dhar in reporting his meeting with Marshal Grechko to Foreign Secretary T. N. Kaul, on the same day (June 5) emphasising the all pervasive Soviet interest in the treaty said that:

"the mention of this document in various forms from Pegov to Grechko, from our Central Committee contact to a junior dignitary as Labochev in Foreign Office makes it clear that in spite of the developing crisis in our relations with Pakistan, with the Chinese intervention as a distinct possibility, *the Soviets would be prepared to accept the responsibilities and obligations which would devolve on them as a result of such a commitment*".(emphasis added)

115. The Soviet initiative and interest in the treaty, contrary to the popular perception in India, particularly at the time when the treaty was signed, that this document was the product of Indian initiative, was a little known fact. Indeed New Delhi was perceived to feel jittery at the developing crisis in relations with Pakistan with distinct possibility of the Chinese intervention. It was considered to be an insurance document that New Delhi had negotiated. The fact was that it was a document, which Moscow was pushing at New Delhi for quite some time. It found the present situation, an opportune moment, since India appeared vulnerable and pushed it through. The Ambassador was more than convinced that it was the document of the hour and India should not refuse it, though he was little reluctant to stick out his neck at the fag end of his tenure. Making a forceful plea for the treaty he told the Foreign Secretary in his letter of June 5, 1972:

"Zaheedi's shame-faced threat to us that Iran would come to the assistance of Pakistan, the activities of the so-called consortium of some Islamic countries, the continuing threats from China, all put together make me wonder whether we are being wise in reacting in a lukewarm manner to the Soviet offer of unequivocal help to us. The pros and cons of this proposal and its present and ultimate utility can best be judged in New Delhi in consultation with the Foreign Minister and other concerned authorities. It is, however, important that we do have some sort of an understanding of what we expect the Soviet Union to do for us in the event of our country being involved in a conflict with Pakistan singly or along with her allies. I am not taking merely in terms of the political requirements of the situation as it will develop as a consequence of a conflict of this type. I am more interested in the military aspects of the aid and assistance which we will need and which we are bound to seek."



Ambassador Dhar felt if there were any reservations in having an open treaty with Moscow, the option of a secret document was also available.

116. In trying to sell the treaty to India, Marshal Grechko went to great lengths. What Dhar was seeking was supply of certain weapon systems, but Marshal sang a different tune altogether. He told Dhar not to worry about Pakistan, but "take into account the unpredictable enemy from the North". He spoke of the tense situation that had developed on the eastern borders of the USSR, where China had laid claim to 1.5 million kilometres of Soviet territory, embracing a population of 8 million. The Marshal gave a detailed account of the Soviet army, air and naval deployment, which had made the Chinese "aware of the superiority of the Soviet forces on the Eastern border and this had 'disowned their tail'". He said the Chinese knew of the Soviet mood and would not dare to play any prank with them. The Marshall added for good measure: 'the Chinese were aware that India was relatively militarily weak. They could, therefore, afford to be aggressive, even insolent and arrogant towards India. They had to be watched and India had to be careful'. After a long sermon on the Soviet strength, he said it would be of vital importance 'if our friendship was "fixed" in a treaty of mutual help of the kind recently concluded by the USSR with the United Arab Republic'. He went to the extent of telling the Ambassador, that the draft of the treaty had already been worked out and it had been shown to Swaran Singh, when he had earlier visited Moscow as Defence Minister. Reminding the Ambassador of the deployment of massive Soviet armed strength on the Soviet - Chinese border,

he delivered his final punch line, and said: "*Do you think, that the massing of our troops in the Western and North-western borders of China does not help India directly in her defence against China? If the Chinese had not to contend against our forces, they would release their hordes for use against you (India). We have to understand these problems in the military sense-in the operational sense*". (emphasis added)

117. The political situation in New Delhi had undergone a substantial change from the days when the treaty was first proposed by Moscow around 1969. Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi was internally fighting a political battle of her own and did not find it prudent to give any ammunition to her political rivals, by joining in an open alliance with the Soviet Union. She, therefore, avoided committing herself to any such proposition. Beside, New Delhi then faced no military-related challenge. The political scene in India now presented a different picture with the success of Congress Party in the general elections held in March 1971. Mrs. Gandhi had emerged politically stronger. New Delhi could also foresee a conflict with Pakistan as a distinct possibility. It had become necessary to strengthen the armed forces to face the emerging challenge in East Pakistan. New Delhi was conscious of the Chinese hostility and feared a Sino - Pakistan collusion. Grechko had cleverly played on this combined fear to scare New Delhi. The convergence of Indian and Soviet interests, brought the two together and resulted in the Indo - Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, which was signed in October 1971.

118. The war against Pakistan was fought and won. Pakistan had been weakened both politically and militarily. China, apart

from making some incendiary noises, stood aside and was exposed. The challenge posed by the United States, which had despatched a warship in the Bay of Bengal, to overawe India at the height of the operations, was met. India won back the respect denied in 1962. New Delhi could heave a sigh of relief and bask in the glory of restored national dignity.

119. Soviet intentions for signing the Treaty of Peace unravelled themselves after Bangladesh war, though it was clear to New Delhi even then, that Moscow was obsessed with Peking. The Chief of Army Staff, General Manekshaw along with D. P. Dhar, (now Chairman of the Policy Planning Committee in the Ministry of External Affairs) visited Moscow in February 1972, with a shopping list, intended to replenish the losses of the war and to further strengthen India's defence potential. On February 25, 1972, they, together had a meeting with the Soviet General Staff, led by Defence Minister Marshall Grechko. The COAS, talked of his apprehensions of a renewed round of conflict with Pakistan in the near future. Marshal Grechko felt that India was "overstating the Pakistan threat" but "missed the ominous source from where the real threat to India emanates namely China". Strategist as he was, Marshal Grechko speaking in military terms, told both the Army Chief and DP Dhar that "China was the real danger and India would be well advised to constantly remind herself of this fact. She could ignore this only at her own peril". Mincing no words, he delivered his lines, as in a dramatic performance. He said: "history has cast the role (of) allies (on us) against this menace". Both must get to "defend them together against this menace and it would be wise for both the countries to coordinate their strategies and plans

and harmonize their defence organisations for meeting such an eventuality".

120. Without making any bones, he specifically suggested a "military alliance" between the two. Addressing directly Gen. Manekshaw, he said, "India would need the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union would need India and her support to deal with the designs of China". He advised that, it was important, therefore, to talk in terms of realities of the situation rather than "little phantoms like Pakistan". Answering the Chief's request for military hardware to strengthen the Indian defence potential, the Marshal put it straight and bluntly:

*"If we have an alliance, I shall earmark 50 IBMs for your defence against China. I shall not locate them on your soil but on my own so that you do not run any risk."* (Emphasis added)

121. The Chief, sidetracking the alliance question, returned to the question of defence equipment. Marshal Grechko too avoided a straight answer and said: "The question of equipment was not of very importance". He believed that the time had come when India and the Soviet Union must enter into a detailed understanding of how and in what manner they should meet the Chinese threat, whenever it materialised. Concluding he asked D. P. Dhar to "convey his warmest and deepest regards to Prime Minister (Mrs. Gandhi) and an assurance on behalf of the Soviet Union armed forces that they would always be at her disposal".

122. Mr. Dhar, matching wits for wits with the Marshal, told him that relations with China had indeed not registered any

improvement. India took into account "the possible malevolence of Chinese intentions". Answering the Marshall's suggestion for a new treaty, Dhar said that there already existed a treaty between the two countries for "mutual consultations and coordination of our strategy and tactics, in terms of Article IX of the Indo - Soviet Treaty" and therefore a fresh document now appeared redundant. The Marshall was indeed disappointed. Dhar saved India from being tied to the apron strings of Moscow and become part of the cold war politics. Ever since independence, it has been the principal objective of the Indian foreign policy, to avoid becoming entangled in the cold war politics of the super powers and play a second fiddle to any one country. To avoid such an eventuality, India had taken the initiative to launch the non-aligned movement, with the other stalwarts of the time like Nassar, Tito, Nkruma, Kaunda, and Bandaranaike. India could not undo what it had created and nurtured for many years.

## XVI

123. The emergence of East Pakistan, as a sovereign state, was the accomplishment of the historical process, set in motion by the Lahore Resolution of 1940, which had promised the people of the East an "autonomous and sovereign" state along with the people of the West. But the narrow platform of Islam on which the demand for Pakistan was articulated upon and having surrendered the leadership to a shrewd and clever politician Jinnah, the leadership of East Pakistan drifted to the solution of a single nation, single state and found itself in the company of the people, with whom it had nothing in common except the religion. As late as 1946, at the Muslim League Convention held in New Delhi, where the newly elected

party legislators gathered, Abdul Hasham, a member of the Bengal Muslim Provincial League delegation, strongly opposed the draft resolution, which called for an independent and sovereign state of Pakistan composed of the eastern and the north-western zones, on the ground that it was contrary to the letter and spirit of the 1940 Lahore resolution. He insisted on the formation of a separate State in the east, since a composite state, with two wings, separated by a hostile country, would neither be economically viable nor militarily defensible nor culturally homogenous. He was overruled. On April 9, 1946, the Muslim League finally and unanimously passed a single state resolution, which became the basis for the Mountbatten Plan of June 2, 1947. In a last ditch effort and waging a lone battle, Abul Hasham, once again, opposed the formation of a united Pakistan. At the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League, which met in New Delhi's Imperial Hotel, on June 9, 1947 to endorse the Mountbatten Plan for the partition of India, he called it a betrayal of the Lahore Resolution. The liberation of East Pakistan and the declaration of Bangladesh in 1971 was, therefore, the culmination of the historic process, set in motion at the Lahore session of the Muslim League in March 1940 - a goal they were cheated of, while moving toward the final destination.

124. The war had ended with about 90,000 Pakistani prisoners of war in India, who had surrendered to the Joint Command of Indian and Bangladeshi forces. In West Pakistan, the Pakistani authorities rounded up the people from East Bengal living in the western wing, as civil servants, professionals or businessmen, in concentration camps as hostages. The diplomatic relations between India and Pakistan had been snapped in the wake of the war. Over flights had been suspended even before the war, in the

wake of the hijacking incident. Rail and road traffic had come to a standstill. Trade, which in any case was negligible, too came to a total halt. There was the question of the recognition of Bangladesh by the international community and its admission to the United Nations, to give the new state a legal status, as a member of the comity of nations. Above all, there was the question of the recognition by, what was left of Pakistan, of the reality of the situation emerging from the struggle of the people of the East Bengal for an independent sovereign state.

125. There was hectic activity at several levels internationally, to enable India and Pakistan to resolve their differences. Pakistan had carried out intense lobbying internationally, to build pressure on India for the release of the POWs. India was caught in an unusual situation. The POWs had surrendered to the Joint Command of the Indian and Bangladesh forces and hence the latter, which by now was an independent sovereign nation, had to be taken on board, in deciding the POWs issue. Unless Pakistan accepted the reality of the ground situation and extended the recognition to the new nation, as an independent sovereign state, Bangladesh would not talk to Pakistan. India could not unilaterally take a decision on the fate of the POWs. Pakistan's refusal to accept the reality of Bangladesh, by extending it formal diplomatic recognition, or to submit some of the POWs to justice for war crimes, and insistence on treating the Bengalees stranded in West Pakistan as hostages, were impediments to an amicable and early resolution of the problems emerging from the war.

126. The negotiations on all these issues between India and Pakistan took place during 1972 and 1973 over several

conferences. Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi represented India and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto represented Pakistan at the most important of these conferences, which was held at Simla in July 1972. (Bhutto had taken over the administration of Pakistan from Yahya Khan, who resigned, after Pakistan's defeat.) This conference also set the agenda for the subsequent conferences. The Simla Conference represented the desire of the leaders of the two countries to find a bilateral and peaceful approach to India - Pakistan problems and a way to social and economic progress of their peoples. It resulted in an in-principle agreement on several issues, like the vacation of occupied territories in the Western sector, as also the exchange of POWs taken in that sector, the restoration of air, surface and commercial links, bilateral trade, cultural exchanges, etc. But it failed to solve the question of POWs taken in the Eastern sector, numbering more than 90,000, because Pakistan was not yet ready to extend recognition to Bangladesh. It is noteworthy that by the time the Simla Conference was held, Bangladesh had been recognised by 75 countries; and admitted to the WHO and UNCTAD. Bangladesh too had accepted the Geneva Conventions and yet Pakistan dragged its feet on the recognition question. Dhaka had made a public announcement that until Pakistan had recognised the ground reality by extending the new state the recognition as an independent and sovereign country, it would not enter into any discussions/negotiations with Islamabad on any issue. Since the POWs could only be released with the consent and approval of Bangladesh, this issue got stuck and the POWs languished in camps. India was under pressure from various friendly countries on the issue of release of POWs on humanitarian grounds. Anticipating adverse Pakistani propaganda



on this account, External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh took the precaution of informing those friendly countries, well before the Summit, of the hurdles in this regard. Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi herself, on June 12, 1972, in a personal letter to the French President Georges Pompidou, apprised him of these facts, since he had expressed his personal concern on the POWs issues.

## XVII

127. Soon after Bhutto took over the administration in Islamabad, he started working towards a post-war settlement with India. He toured a number of Muslim countries and finally he went to Moscow to garner support of the Soviet leaders. He calculated that given the close Soviet - Indian relations, Moscow was in the know of New Delhi's mind better than any other country. Moscow could be expected to exercise some of its moderating influence in New Delhi too. He wanted to use this route to channel some of his preliminary probes of New Delhi's mind and also for sending signals to New Delhi, on the type of settlement that would be acceptable to Islamabad. His visit to Moscow in March of 1972 indeed paved the way to Simla. In his meeting with Brezhnev on March 17, 1972, as recorded by Pakistani Ambassador Marker in his above referred book, Bhutto opened up his mind and told his interlocutor that he expected him to intercede with Mrs. Gandhi for a honourable settlement. He, of course, told Brezhnev that he had 'given a pledge to the Indian Prime Minister for a 'turning over of a new leaf' which he was repeating now' to him. Having said that, he stuck to the old Pakistani position of the need for mechanism to settle bilateral disputes. When Brezhnev asked him if he would agree to an understanding, renouncing the use of force, Bhutto's answer was

oft repeated Pakistani stand that 'in order for it to be effective, it should contain some mechanism for a peaceful settlement of disputes'. Obviously Kashmir was uppermost in his mind, as Marker went on to add that he (Bhutto) told Brezhnev that 'relations with India and the Kashmir question, in particular, were not susceptible to a 'declaration in a vacuum'. Marker wrote, 'as an advance over the existing position' Bhutto suggested that he was prepared to change the name of the 'Ceasefire line' to 'Line of Control'. Marker described this suggestion as a 'landmark in the regional geopolitical developments that ensued'. In any case, Bhutto expected the Soviet leaders to help pull his chestnut out of the fire and ensure that any settlement between Islamabad and New Delhi did not look like one between a victor and a vanquished.

128. Bhutto was quite happy with his Moscow visit. He was confident that the Soviet role would be helpful to Pakistan for the settlement of the post-war issues. A few days before the Summit in Simla, Bhutto sent Aziz Ahmad, his Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs to Moscow as his Special Representative. If his own visit was to discuss the issues in a general way and set the broad parameters of the peace process, Aziz Ahmad's brief was about specifics, since Bhutto had by now crystallised his ideas on the future relationship with India and the new nation of Bangladesh. Aziz Ahmad also carried a message from Bhutto for Mrs. Gandhi, which he wanted the Soviets to pass on to New Delhi. The broad line of his message was that he would settle for nothing less than an honourable peace.

129. In order to keep New Delhi updated with the developments in the wake of Aziz Ahmad's visit, the Soviet Union despatched a

memorandum to New Delhi, which summarised the discussions with Aziz Ahmad. The Memorandum contained their perception of Pakistan's position on Kashmir particularly and the message, which Bhutto had desired to pass on to New Delhi to facilitate the talks and decisions. The Memorandum, a Top Secret document, was delivered to the Ministry of External Affairs in New Delhi on June 27 by the Soviet Ambassador. It was meant for the Prime Minister, who had by that time left for Simla. The memorandum was received by External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh. It contained the resume of the discussions in Moscow between the Soviet leadership and Bhutto's Special Representative Aziz Ahmad. It contained the following message from Bhutto for Mrs. Gandhi:

"We want to live in peace with India. We wish also the restoration of peace and normal conditions in Bangladesh. This is the paramount goal. The President is ready to discuss with Mrs. Indira Gandhi any problem, which she would like to touch at the forthcoming meeting, including the question of a peaceful settlement. We think it will be unrealistic to consider that all the problems, including Kashmir which could not be settled for 25 years, can be solved during one 5-day meeting. If all the issues are not settled at one meeting, the leaders of our countries could meet once again.

"Finally, the Prime Minister of India may count on President Bhutto's readiness to go as far as possible in the joint search for a peaceful solution. But he had no right to agree to such a settlement which would be dictated by India or would be connected with the renunciation by the President of main principles of basic national interests. The settlement should

be an honourable, honest and just one for the both parties. Otherwise, there will be no settlement and that would have disastrous effects."

130. The Memorandum contained Soviet observations on the talks with Aziz Ahmad. It said inter alia that Ahmad "produced an impression that Bhutto is ready to achieve ultimately in principle an agreement on this matter already in Simla on the condition that such agreement would remain strictly secret for some time, until the President paves the way in Pakistan for making this agreement public".

The Soviet leaders, being aware of the importance of Kashmir in any settlement, tried to probe Aziz Ahmad on Pakistan's thinking on this issue specifically. They too wished to exercise their influence "in favour of making Bhutto to adopt a more realistic position on this most important issue". The Memorandum added:

'that initially Aziz Ahmad was only talking in terms of both the countries withdrawing from the ceasefire line in Kashmir to the positions, held by them before the armed conflict in 1971. Also Ahmad was "insisting on observance of the UNO Resolutions on the Question of the ceasefire line, it seems to us that the Pakistani side had a reserve position on the problem of Kashmir". The Message continued "when A. Ahmad realised that the Soviet side completely supported the Indian point of view on the necessity of a final settlement of the Kashmir question on the mutually acceptable basis, he was quoted as having said, *that President Bhutto was "not against discussing this question in Simla"*. *The Soviets giving their assessment of the final position of Pakistan on Kashmir*

*said: "Without giving up the condition on the withdrawal of troops in Kashmir, that Bhutto is ready, in principle to consider the possibility of converting the ceasefire line into the permanent international frontier." (emphasis added)*

131. The Soviets asked Aziz Ahmad to convey to President Bhutto the following message: which, the Memorandum said was known to Prime Minister (Mrs. Gandhi):

*"We drew the attention of the Pakistani side to the fact that it was highly important for the success of the forthcoming talks at Simla to come forward with a peace programme which would create a basis for a settlement of all the particular disputes between Pakistan and India. We stated, in particular, that we expected Bhutto to fulfil his promise, given in Moscow to take constructive steps towards concluding a political treaty or an agreement with India, towards settlement of a realistic basis of the Kashmir and other outstanding questions through bilateral negotiations." (emphasis added)*

132. The Soviet leaders also conveyed to New Delhi, the gist of the talks Pakistan had with China, in preparation for Simla. The message said that, according to Aziz Ahmad "he (Bhutto) had given to Chou En-lai the information on Pakistan's position similar to that which he was conveying to us (Soviets). The Chinese side claimed to have said that it was striving for the establishment of peace in the subcontinent and standing for the existence of a strong and independent Pakistan".

133. That morning (27th June), the Soviet Ambassador in New Delhi met External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh, to discuss

the memorandum, he had delivered earlier. Swaran Singh told the Ambassador that "if the Soviet assessment turns out correct about Bhutto's readiness to work towards a final settlement on Jammu and Kashmir in the form of conversion of the ceasefire line into a permanent boundary, then the Summit will succeed in creating an atmosphere of peace and in reversing the military confrontation between Pakistan and India". On Kashmir External Affairs Minister further added:

"Our position should be made clear. This is in regard to conversion of the ceasefire line into an international boundary. If settlement is in sight, we will propose this. If settlement is not in sight, our traditional position will remain viz., that Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and is entirely ours by legal accession.

"But in the interest of a lasting peace, we are willing to recognise the line of actual control, with minor modifications, as the international boundary. This will be the final position and will not be at the beginning of the process. It cannot be the starting point on which Pakistan can again raise objections."

### XVIII

134. But the message Bhutto gave to the people of Pakistan, on the eve of his departure for Simla, in his broadcast did not bear out the Soviet assessment that Pakistan was ready to accept the ceasefire line as international border. His speech delivered on June 27 still harped on "the right of self-determination" to the people of Jammu and Kashmir, which he described as being "enshrined in numerous Resolutions of the UN and acknowledged by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru". At Simla, in the meeting on July 1,

when the two delegations were led by their respective heads of government, President Bhutto did not go beyond saying "*in the foreseeable future an agreement will emerge. It will evolve into a settlement. Let there be a line of peace, let people come and go. Let us not fight over it.*" (emphasis added) Mrs. Gandhi was not satisfied with this position and told Bhutto: "Our Prime Minister Shastri paid with his life over the Tashkent Agreement. He would have had a very difficult time if he had come back." Endorsing Mrs. Gandhi's observation, Swaran Singh added: "Shastriji received a great set back when he talked to his family after signing the Tashkent Agreement. There was a great deal of suspicion in both our countries".

135. As far as Kashmir question was concerned, Bhutto succeeded in carrying the day at Simla. The Agreement did no more than call for "respecting" the line of control, emerging from the ceasefire of December 17, 1971 "without prejudice to the recognised position of either side". Obviously, the Soviet assessment of Aziz Ahmad was misplaced, or in presenting the Pakistani view point to Moscow, Aziz Ahmad exceeded his brief in allowing that impression to go around with Moscow.

136. The only advance with regard to the Kashmir issue was that the ceasefire line was renamed the "Line of Control". But, as pointed out above, according to Pakistan Ambassador Marker, Bhutto had himself suggested this in March to Brezhnev.

137. India, though, not fully satisfied with the outcome at Simla, was nevertheless happy that some agreement had been reached and the first step towards normalisation of relations had been taken. It was also Mrs. Gandhi's assessment, that while President Bhutto

was more helpful, the officials accompanying him were not, and that Bhutto was aware of this. She conveyed her feelings on this account, in a letter to Sirima Bandaranaike, the Sri Lankan Prime Minister on August 7, 1972. She said: "So far as we are concerned, it (the agreement) is not wholly satisfactory and many matters remain to be settled. But it is the beginning. Much depends on President Bhutto's attitude and the direction he gives to his people."

138. Whether or not there was some unwritten understanding on the Kashmir question, as is generally believed in India, that in due course, the Line of Control would be accepted by Pakistan as the international border, has remained conjectural. The Principal Secretary to Prime Minister P. N. Haksar, who was the chief negotiator from the Indian side, had in a newspaper article later claimed it to be a verbal understanding. He argued that Bhutto at that stage did not feel confident of his ability to sell it to his people, if it was reduced to writing. Islamabad has since challenged India on several occasions that since their search in Pakistani archives had failed to produce any such evidence, let New Delhi produce it, one way or the other.

## XIX

139. The Simla agreement left out the question of the 90,000 POWs, who had surrendered in the eastern theatre, because Pakistan was unwillingness to recognise Bangladesh at Simla. Mrs. Gandhi had insisted that "POWs surrendered to the Joint Command. We are bound by this. I told Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in Dacca that the repatriation of POWs would be with his concurrence". Since Bhutto had then said: "I intend taking up this matter in August", this issue was held over for another day. In the



next few months, the two countries strived to break this logjam. In his letter of August 22, 1972 Bhutto regretted that Bangladesh was using the POWs question "to extract recognition from Pakistan" which he said had led to the hardening of the public opinion in Pakistan.

140. India and Pakistan had their next round of talks in New Delhi on August 25 - 29, 1972 to work out the implementation of the Simla Agreement. This meeting resulted in the agreement, to delineate the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir, along the entire length on the map. On the question of POWs, again there was not much progress, since New Delhi continued to maintain that Bangladesh was a "necessary party" and that the "recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan would facilitate further progress in this regard". After several rounds of discussions at the level of the army commanders of the two countries, the line of control was formally delineated on December 11, 1972. On December 20, 1972, the Chiefs of Army Staff of India and Pakistan reported to their respective governments that "their forces have been withdrawn to their sides of the international border in conformity with the Simla Agreement".

141. Pakistan took the first step towards easing the situation on the repatriation question when it announced on November 26, 1972 the decision to repatriate, as a first step, 10,000 Bengali women and children held up in Pakistan. In a reciprocal gesture, the Governments of India and Bangladesh too announced on November 30 their decision to "repatriate to Pakistan, families (women and children) of Pakistani civilian internees, who sought protection with the Joint Command of the India - Bangladesh forces

and families of prisoners of war who had surrendered to the Joint Command".

142. As time dragged on, India came under lot of international pressure on the question of the release of the POWs on humanitarian considerations. Pakistan launched a sort of worldwide propaganda campaign to malign India on this issue. The reports of the International Committee of the Red Cross, (ICRC) on the visits to camps were misused to highlight their alleged ill treatment. Numerous inspired articles were written in the international newspapers and the advertisement space was bought in the important international dailies to highlight the plight of the POWs and their families. Pakistani ministers and other important persons went round the world maligning India. A delegation of the wives of the POWs was also sent around to the western capitals to make emotional appeals and accuse India of allegedly treating them inhumanly. It was also realised in New Delhi, that the delay in their release, besides eroding the international goodwill, was also impacting their value as the bargaining chip, in negotiations with Pakistan. It, also involved heavy expenditure on their maintenance, which was exclusively borne by India, besides the security problem it created in the camps.

143. On April 17, 1973, India and Bangladesh made a Joint Declaration laying stress on the need to restore "friendly, harmonious and good neighbourly relations between India, Bangladesh and Pakistan on the basis of sovereign equality". It blamed Pakistan's failure "to recognise the realities in the sub-continent" for the delay in normalisation process. The statement unilaterally announced that India and Bangladesh had decided

"to seek a solution to all humanitarian problems through the simultaneous repatriation of Pakistani prisoners of war and civilian internees, except those required by the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for trial on criminal charges, the repatriation of Bengalees forcibly detained in Pakistan and the repatriation of Pakistanis in Bangladesh *i.e.* all non-Bengalees, who owned allegiance to Pakistan and have opted for repatriation to Pakistan". It called upon Pakistan to respond to the "constructive initiative taken by the two governments to solve the humanitarian problems". It was designed to be a step forward, but introduced a new element of criminal trials of some of the prisoners, for violations of human rights and war crimes.

144. The Pakistan Government in a statement of April 20, 1973 said that the normalisation process had been "obstructed by India continuing to hold in illegal captivity over 90, 000 Pakistani prisoners". It described the April 16 Joint Statement as a challenge to Pakistan's sovereignty. Pakistan insisted, since the alleged war crimes were committed on Pakistan territory by the Pakistan nationals, it was the responsibility of the Government of Pakistan, to bring them to justice, and showed its readiness to "constitute a judicial tribunal of such character and composition, as will inspire international confidence, to try the charged persons of alleged offences". Pakistan described as "extraordinary" the offer of Bangladesh to send back Pakistani nationals in Bangladesh. It accused the Bangladesh government of expelling an "ethnic, linguistic and political minority" thereby creating an obligation on Pakistan to receive them. In a parallel move, the Pakistani Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs Aziz Ahmed in a conciliatory letter of April 23 to External Affairs Minister Swaran

Singh described the April 16 Joint Statement as opening the door for a dialogue between India and Pakistan and offered to receive an Indian delegations to discuss this matter further.

145. Taking note of Pakistan's statement of April 20, Bangladesh issued a statement on May 3, asserting that, there were 250,000 non-Bengalees Pakistan nationals who had opted to return to Pakistan, and as such Pakistan was under obligation to take them back to that country. It repeated that of the Pakistani POWs, there were 195 who had committed grave war crimes against humanity and must face trial in Bangladesh. Meanwhile External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh replying to Aziz Ahmed on May 8, reminded him that Bangladesh was a necessary party to discuss the repatriation of Pakistani POWs and civil internees, and it was only after the recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan that any meaningful discussions could take place. The External Affairs Minister also conveyed to Aziz Ahmad, his unhappiness on Islamabad questioning the competence of Bangladesh, to put on trial, some of the POWs for war crimes. In an Aide Memoire of May 11, Pakistan once again insisted, that it was for India to discharge its obligations under the Geneva Conventions, by simply releasing the POWs since these cannot be subject to extraneous considerations. Describing the 'Joint Command of India and Bangladesh' a "myth", it said, Pakistan never recognised Bangladesh as a detaining power. Similarly the Bangladesh proposal to repatriate non-Bengalee Pakistani nationals in that country to Pakistan was described as an "attempt to blackmail Pakistan". On May 12, the Pakistan Government in a statement described the "use of prisoners of war as a lever of pressure for extracting concessions", as violating "the humanitarian principles of the Geneva Conventions".

Simultaneously, the Pakistan Government moved the International Court of Justice on POWs question claiming, that under the Convention on the "Prevention and Punishment of the crime of genocide," Pakistan had exclusive jurisdiction over the 195 POWs, who were sought to be put on trial by Bangladesh for genocide. India however, questioned the jurisdiction of the ICJ to entertain Pakistan's complaint, since India maintained, that it had ratified the Convention with "reservation" and as such ICJ had no jurisdiction to hear the Pakistan's case. While the ICJ was considering the question of jurisdiction, the negotiations between the two countries went ahead. Once an agreement on the repatriation of Pakistani POWs and other internees in India, Bengalees in Pakistan and Pakistanis in Bangladesh had been reached in August 1973, Pakistan felt that the relief it sought from the ICJ had been effectively obtained. The case was, therefore, withdrawn from the ICJ by agreement between both India and Pakistan in December 1973.

146. After prolonged exchange of communications, it was decided to discuss the "problems and modalities relating to the repatriation of the three categories of individuals, indicated in the Joint Declaration of April 17, 1973", i.e. the Pakistani POWs and internees in India, the Bengalees in Pakistan and non-Bengalee Pakistanis in Bangladesh.

147. On July 9, before the proposed discussions were held, Pakistan National Assembly adopted a resolution, accepting in principle the recognition of Bangladesh, leaving the timing of actual recognition to the "judgement of the Government" (of Pakistan). The resolution, however, strongly opposed the trials either of POWs or of civilian internees by Bangladesh.

148. Talks between the Indian and Pakistani representatives were held in Rawalpindi between July 24 and 31, 1973. At these discussions, Pakistan took the firm position, that on no account would it accept trial of any POW or any civilian internee. To do so would be to reach a point of no return. To the proposal that while releasing all the POWs and holding back 195 of them against whom there were charges of serious war crimes, Pakistan insisted that in that case it would also hold back 203 Bengalees in Pakistan against whom there were also serious charges of treason and sabotage against Pakistan for 'counter trials'. Pakistan also showed willingness to accept the repatriation of a specified number of non-Bengalee Pakistanis in Bangladesh (49,000 straight away and another 20,000 later), even if there were 2,60,000 of them who had opted for Pakistan. On the recognition of Bangladesh, Pakistan's stand was inelastic, in that the National Assembly Resolution prevented it until all the POWs had been repatriated and also war trials were dropped against all including the 195. Since there was no final agreement at Rawalpindi talks, another round of discussions was scheduled later.

149. On August 15, 1973 the Special Envoy of Prime Minister P. N. Haksar visited Dhaka and briefed the Bangladesh leaders of the Rawalpindi talks and also finalised the strategy for the second round of discussions with Pakistan. The discussions were positive in that Bangladesh was willing to soften its stand on the trial issue and was also solicitous of India's concern that delay in the release of the POWs was a source of international embarrassment for New Delhi, apart from other complications.

150. The second round of discussions with Pakistan was from August 18 to 28, 1973 in New Delhi. Though formally the discussions were bilateral, for all practical purposes, these were trilateral, in the sense that India made sure that all discussions were relayed to Dhaka on daily basis by telegram and the latter's point of view was fully reflected in subsequent discussions with Pakistan the following day. Similarly, all decisions were made only with the prior concurrence of Bangladesh. The final agreement, which was signed by the Special Representatives of the Heads of Government of the two countries, specifically recorded in the last paragraph that "Bangladesh also conveyed the concurrence of the Bangladesh Government in the agreement". It provided for the repatriation of Pakistani POWs except 195 (who would remain in India pending final decision about them at a tripartite meeting of all the three parties sitting together) and civilian internees in India, the Bengalees in Pakistan to Bangladesh and a specified number of Pakistanis in Bangladesh to Pakistan. It was understood in parenthesis that the 195 Pakistani prisoners, detained in India, would not be put on trial, while the repatriation process was on. It was also understood by Pakistan, that participation of Bangladesh in the tripartite discussions would be on the basis of sovereign equality, meaning after Pakistan had accorded diplomatic recognition to Dhaka.

151. Once the repatriation process started in September of 1973, there was an easing of tension in the sub-continent. Pakistan, however, continued to drag its feet on the question of full normalisation of relations, which included restoration of all types of communications, travel, trade, etc. On February 22, 1974 Pakistan formally recognised Bangladesh. By March 1974, a

substantial number of POWs (30,000) had been repatriated, as acknowledged by Bhutto himself in his letter to Mrs. Gandhi. Bhutto, however, made an accelerated normalisation with India subject to the final release of the 195 POWs held in India, and whom Bangladesh wanted to try for human rights violations.

152. The recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan eased the atmosphere substantially. It was now agreed that a Tripartite Conference of the three countries would be held in April, to achieve the complete normalisation of relations among them. The Conference, which was held in New Delhi, and attended by the foreign ministers of the three countries, from April 5 to 9, 1974, expressed satisfaction at the progress achieved in the three-way repatriation as agreed in the August 1973 Agreement. It also decided to accelerate the process of repatriation to bring it to successful completion. The sticking question of 195 Pakistani prisoners, who had been guilty of committing crimes against humanity, as also the question of bringing them to justice, was finally resolved. Pakistan's Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs Aziz Ahmed accepted that "his government condemned and deeply regretted any crimes that may have been committed". It was further noted, that the Pakistani Prime Minister had made a public declaration, that he would visit Dhaka and appeal to the people of Bangladesh to forgive and forget the mistakes of the past, in order to promote reconciliation. In finally resolving this ticklish question, the Joint Declaration issued at the end of the Tripartite Conference inter alia said:

"In the light of the foregoing and , in particular, having regard to the appeal of the Prime Minister of Pakistan to the people



of Bangladesh to forgive and forget the mistakes of the past, the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh stated that the Government of Bangladesh had decided not to proceed with the trials as an act of clemency. It was agreed that the 195 prisoners of war may be repatriated to Pakistan along with the other prisoners of war in the process of repatriation under the Delhi Agreement."

153. Thus ended the story of Pakistan's split and emergence of Bangladesh as an independent sovereign state. The normalisation process between India and Pakistan, moving at the snail's pace earlier, picked up. Simultaneous with the signing of the Tripartite Agreement, the Foreign Ministers of India and Pakistan signed another agreement, for the release and repatriation of all nationals of either country, irrespective of the charges on which they were detained, prior to the conflict of 1971, "with the maximum despatch but in no case later than 14th August 1974." The India - Pakistan Joint Communiqué issued separately, on the same day said that "discussions would commence shortly for working out fresh agreements, where necessary, for the resumption of postal and telecommunication links, restoration of travel facilities, particularly for pilgrims on a priority basis". It was further agreed that the defence personnel of the two countries, reported missing in the conflict of 1971, would be located and facilities would be afforded to the Tracing Agencies of the International Committee of the Red Cross for this purpose. On April 15, 1974, External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh met the US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in New York. Talking to him of the progress in achieving normalisation of relations on the subcontinent, he told him: "84, 000 prisoners of war have gone back. Almost all Bengalis in Pakistan, who wanted

to go to Bangladesh, numbering about 124 000 have gone to Bangladesh. There may be about 2000 or 3000 left, but the Pakistanis in Bangladesh are still there in large numbers".

## XX

154. In May 1974, India conducted a peaceful nuclear explosion, which was misunderstood in Pakistan. Mrs. Gandhi, however, in a personal letter to Pakistan Prime Minister Bhutto, on May 22, assured him that India remained "fully committed to (its) traditional policy of developing nuclear energy resources entirely for peaceful purposes" and the recent explosion in "no way alters this policy". But Pakistan harbouring some misgivings postponed the scheduled talks on normalisation of relations "until such time as the atmosphere (was) more favourable for a constructive outcome". Later Pakistan offered to resume the talks for normalisation, but wanted to be "publicly assured that India still stands committed to those provisions of the Simla Agreement that forbids the use of force or threat of force-including use or threat of nuclear weapons". Meanwhile there were exchange of charges and counter charges of hostile propaganda between the two countries, which spoiled the climate of constructive talks. In the midst of such exchanges, the Foreign Secretaries of India and Pakistan met in Islamabad on September 12-14, 1974. They concluded agreements on exchange of letter post, and Postal parcels, resumption of telecommunication services, and Visa and Travel between the two countries. Understanding was also reached regarding the cessation of hostile propaganda, while talks were to be held on air-links and over- flights as well.

155. In the meantime, Pakistan had been canvassing with the United States for a resumed supply of defence equipment, since the 1971 war had depleted its military strength. Early in 1975, the United States lifted its embargo on supply of defence stores to Pakistan. This decision naturally had an adverse reception in India. On February 25, 1975, Pakistan Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in a letter to Mrs. Gandhi, described the Indian reaction as unfortunate. He said that "if one of the countries in South Asia feels that it is militarily incapable of ensuring the protection of its independence and territorial integrity" then such "disparity would continue inevitably to impart a basic fragility to any structure of peace". Mrs. Gandhi replying on March 20 reminded Bhutto that Indian reaction was in the background of the "conflicts on the sub-continent and the history of the use of American weapons against India". She observed that India regretted this decision "because it threatens once again to increase tension in our region". Rejecting Bhutto's theory of need for parity in defence capability between India and Pakistan, Mrs. Gandhi argued that the stability of peace in the region could not be based on parity of arms, "without considering a country's size, its land frontier and coastline and diverse problems". Mere arms parity would turn into an arms race on the sub-continent, which would not be conducive to peace and progress, she argued. Bhutto, however, in his letter of April 25 insisted that "given its preponderant military strength, India had no reason to expect threat from Pakistan". Despite this difference of opinion and perception between the two countries on arms question, the normalisation process, halted in the wake of Indian nuclear explosion, was resumed. Foreign Secretaries met on May 15 - 20, 1975 in New Delhi. Pakistan agreed to have another look

at its objections to the design of the Salal Hydro-electric Project in Kashmir within a specified time frame. (Finally in April 1978 Pakistan and India signed the agreement, with Pakistan concurring in the design of the Project) However discussions on the air-links and over-flights remained inconclusive.

156. This bonhomie did not last too long. Indo - Pak relations since 1947 had been prone to periodic accidents and there were too many of them. In 1975, there was the Court judgement annulling the election of Mrs. Indira Gandhi to the Lok Sabha. Soon thereafter emergency was proclaimed. The political situation within the country gave some cause for concern. Asserting Pakistan's resolve to "remain more vigilant in order to defend the nation's independence and territorial integrity," Bhutto stressed the need for Pakistan to be watchful "lest Mrs. Indira Gandhi bedevilled and bewildered by the present crisis seeks to extricate herself from this mess by embarking upon an adventurist course against Pakistan". In March of 1976, Pakistan accused India for the slow process of normalisation of bilateral relations as required under the Simla Agreement. On March 27, Bhutto in a letter to Mrs. Gandhi, again harped on the slow progress towards normalisation, which, he said, had practically come to a standstill. To carry conviction with New Delhi, he offered to normalise trade relations and also offered to withdraw Pakistan's case from the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO), on over-flights. It would be recalled that New Delhi had suspended the over-flight rights of Pakistan aircraft in 1970 following the hijacking of an Indian Airlines Fokker Friendship flight between Srinagar and Jammu in January of that year. The exchange of correspondence between the two prime ministers, led to the meeting between the foreign secretaries of

India and Pakistan in May 1976, and the decision to withdraw the case and resume air-links and over-flights between the two countries, establish diplomatic relations, resume rail traffic, and relaxation in the visa regime. To carry the process a step further, on June 16, 1976, Foreign Secretary J.S. Mehta issued instructions to Heads of Indian Mission abroad, asking them to resume social and diplomatic contacts with their counterparts in the Pakistan diplomatic missions.

## XXI

157. In March 1977 there was a change in the government in New Delhi. Morarji Desai took over as Prime Minister and Atal Bihari Vajpayee as Foreign Minister. Pakistan had floated the idea of a summit of non-developed countries in order "to organise a common approach" to the problems of the third-world countries and "to establish a new and just international economic order". Bhutto deputed a Special Envoy to New Delhi to canvass Indian support. The Special Envoy, after several meetings with the Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and Foreign Secretary, drew little support for the summit idea. India feared that the Pakistani idea could derail the existing mechanism -the NAM or the G-77. Morarji Desai, in replying to Bhutto's letter of April 3, which expressed his desire of "durable peace" said that instead he stood for "permanent peace". On June 6, the Pakistani Ambassador in New Delhi met Morarji again on the Summit question. Morarji spelt out in some detail India's reservations. He was of the opinion that "such a gathering would become a Third Bloc, which would not be in the interest of the developing countries". The Summit proposal died a natural death, since in the meantime, its author was overthrown in a military coup in July 1977.

158. New Delhi took a cautious approach to the military takeover and described it "an internal affair of Pakistan". This indeed was a matter of great satisfaction to the new rulers in Islamabad, who, in turn, at the highest level, pledged to "abide by the terms and conditions of the Simla Agreement". Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, the new Chief Martial Law Administrator, at his meeting with Ambassador K.S. Bajpai on July 9 said, that he was not a "war monger" and that the "Generals are always the last people to want war". He assured Ambassador Bajpai that Pakistan "will act as best as possible in the spirit of the Simla Agreement". It was a mark of the new bonhomie that Pakistan's Secretary General Agha Shahi held a dinner in honour of Foreign Minister Vajpayee while both were in New York, in connection with the UN General Assembly session.

159. The visit of External Affairs Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee to Pakistan, in February 1978, was a landmark occasion. It afforded an opportunity to the two sides to discuss various issues of bilateral interest at the highest level of Pakistan's ruling establishment. General Zia conveyed his appreciation for the Indian attitude to developments in Pakistan, as otherwise, he said, "India could make things very difficult for us." He told Vajpayee that "three things" were necessary "in order to put our relations on firm and friendly footing"-- "trust", "understanding" and "no mutual fear". The last element, he insisted, as a bigger country it was incumbent on India to "take the initiative to eliminate fear from its smaller neighbours". When the External Affairs Minister met Agha Shahi, Advisor on Foreign Affairs, the latter assured his guest, that Pakistan regarded the Simla Agreement as "the basic instrument governing the relations between our two countries". Vajpayee, on his part

assured, his host of India's desire "to go ahead with the process of normalisation under the Simla Agreement". In order to accelerate this process, the External Affairs Minister suggested strengthening of cultural and people-to-people contacts. Agha Shahi, finding an opportune moment during the course of the talks, threw bait in order to bring in the Kashmir issue. Knowing India's anxiety on Salal Hydel Project in Kashmir (referred to above), he offered to resume the suspended talks to come to an amicable solution and then suggested talks on the Kashmir issue to complete the process initiated at Simla. Vajpayee, of course welcomed the resumption of Salal talks, but told Agha Shahi in no uncertain terms, that he would not like to raise false hopes on Kashmir. He told him that after going through the record of the Simla talks he had found that "there was some informal understanding". After much discussion, whether the ceasefire line should be referred to as the "Ceasefire Line" or the "Line of Actual Control", it was officially referred to as the "Line of Control". He emphasised that the words chosen then had their own importance. Advising him not to allow the Kashmir issue to become a "political plaything" in Pakistan, Vajpayee advised Shahi to guide the Pakistani public opinion to the "path of reason and understanding", and "at some time the people will have to be told on either side that the issue has to be solved on the basis of realities".

160. On September 1, 1978, General Zia had a very cordial meeting with Morarji Desai, in Nairobi where both had gone to attend the funeral of Kenyan leader, Jomo Kenyatta. Zia described his talks as a "beginning of the dialogue" process, and therefore "exploratory" in nature.

161. Before the year ended, there was a storm in the proverbial tea cup on the Kashmir question. Pakistan's repeated reference to Kashmir and self determination, caused a great deal of irritation in Indian media. The External Affairs Minister in his statement in Parliament on December 6, spoke in sharp words, warning Pakistan that repeatedly raking up the issue of Kashmir and the self determination, could have disastrous results for the relations between the two countries. It created a storm in the Pakistani media as well as in the political circles in Islamabad. Ambassador K.S. Bajpai was summoned to the Foreign Office to convey Pakistan's reaction and unhappiness. Later on December 30 the Pakistani Ambassador in New Delhi, Abdul Sattar himself sought an interview with External Affairs Minister Vajpayee to convey Pakistan's disappointment with the Indian reaction. Vajpayee in a forthright manner drew his attention to the repeated statements from Pakistan's side on Kashmir, without even making any reference to the Simla context, which caused certain misgivings in the public mind. The Government, therefore felt compelled to reassure the public, that it was seized of the matter and was not ignoring it. Vajpayee told Sattar, that Pakistan might feel that its statements were routine or innocuous, but in India this is a "delicate matter". When the Pakistan Ambassador assured the External Affairs Minister that Pakistan was committed to the Simla Agreement, Vajpayee advised him, that it was important to work in that spirit too. He also drew the Ambassador's attention, to certain other irritations, coming from Pakistan, like communalising the recent cricket matches between India and Pakistan, which had been played after a long gap to create goodwill.



162. The main feature of relations in the post-1976 period (after the May 1976 agreement on normalisation of relations) had been for President Zia-ul-Haq to keep India believing in his good intentions, since he was himself going through his own stabilisation process, after the over throw of the elected government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Zia, a military man himself, realised that India had emerged stronger, since the Bangladesh war and in the meantime had had a nuclear explosion even if it was a peaceful one; Sikkim had been integrated and India enjoyed internal political stability as well. But whereas India was interested in more trade, increased cultural and people-to-people contacts, Pakistan did everything to limit both trade and contacts.

163. Cultural and academic relations provided one example of the difference in approach. Nothing frightened Pakistan more than the thought of the Pakistani mind being exposed to Indian culture and democratic values. The Pakistani establishment, ever since the birth of Pakistan had tried to orient its moorings towards the West Asian identity from the South Asian (Hindu) identity. As pointed out at the very beginning, Pakistan built on the two-nation theory, did not root for secular ethos, always wanting to look different from India, justifying the *raison d'etre* for its existence. It was the homeland for the Muslims, with no honourable place for others. It is interesting that more Pakistani scholars, singers, artists, musicians and politicians visited India than the Indians could possibly go to the other side. There was, in fact, resentment against the Government of India., from the Indian artist community for allowing too many Pakistanis to visit this country, when they were denied the reciprocal opportunities by the Pakistan Government.

Another big reason for Pakistan to sensitise its people from India was to keep them ignorant about the progress and development India had made in science and technology, industrial and scientific and various other fields, thereby preventing an unflattering comparison. The Pakistani ruling class, which for most part of its existence, was drawn from the feudal/military class, abhorred the Indian democratic institutions, had a vested interest in keeping the mass of their people ignorant about India's democratic traditions and values.

## XXII

164. The developments in Afghanistan about this time became the focus of international attention. The disturbed conditions created a refugee problem for Pakistan. Pakistan closed its border with Afghanistan. This adversely affected Indian trade with Afghanistan, which necessarily had to transit through Pakistan. As time went by and the situation in Kabul did not stabilize, Pakistan feared Afghanistan might at some stage invoke the Afghan - Soviet Treaty of Peace and Friendship and invite direct Soviet intervention in that country. Nevertheless India assured Pakistan that Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan were in no way linked to Pakistan's relations with India. India would endeavour not to contribute to Pakistan's internal or external difficulties or see them exacerbated. Pakistan particularly noted with appreciation that India-Afghan joint communiqué, issued at the end of External Affairs Minister's visit to Kabul in May 1978, did not include any adverse reference to Pakistan. India, too took the correct position on the Durand Line, forming border between Pakistan and Afghanistan. India allayed Pakistan's apprehension by not moving extra troops on its border

with Pakistan. But, to Pakistan's misfortune, the Soviet Union suspected Pakistani interference in Afghanistan, and was greatly concerned about it. The Soviets had already cautioned Pakistan about it. As the year 1979 was ending, Pakistan's fears about Soviet intervention in Afghanistan came true. Its western frontier had become alive and worst, the Soviets had accused Pakistan for the troubles in Afghanistan not only by allowing insurgents to use its territory for anti-Afghan activities, but also of allowing the US and the Chinese aid (weapons) to reach the insurgents.

165. The new developments created an eerie feeling for India too. The Soviet intervention was accompanied, with the announcement of resumption of arms supply to Pakistan. Pakistan sought to assure India, that this was a unilateral decision of the United States, and Islamabad had not been consulted, something which New Delhi found difficult to stomach. When these developments were taking place, India had a new government, following the elections in December 1979. Mrs. Indira Gandhi took over as the new Prime Minister. Her choice for the External Affairs' Ministry was a little known, but an erudite and suave politician from the state of Andhra Pradesh, P. V. Narasimha Rao. The Pakistan Ambassador in New Delhi, Abdul Sattar met the Foreign Secretary on January 7, 1980. He apprised him of his country's assessment of the situation, and the unilateral announcement by the US of the resumption of arms supply. The Foreign Secretary appreciated the information and clarification on this behalf. Sattar pointed out that this development had brought Pakistan into a confrontationist situation, which was none of its making. He felt that both India and Pakistan, could work together, in diffusing the

situation in Afghanistan. India, however felt that the US decision did not augur well for the future of the region. It gave the impression, that Pakistan was being rearmed, to use as a frontline state to meet the Soviet challenge. Ever since independence, it has been New Delhi's endeavour to save this region from the cold war politics and its intrigues. The cold war now appeared to be knocking at the subcontinent's doors. This left India in no happy situation.

166. Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi was deeply concerned about the developments in Afghanistan. On January 15, 1980, in replying to President Zia's felicitation letter on her victory in the elections, she spoke of "far reaching consequences for our two countries" of the recent developments, and underlined the need for "our two governments (to) have a clear understanding of each other's thinking" , since she felt these developments could "irrevocably damage the interests of our region, and indeed of the world as a whole". Post haste Zia welcomed Mrs. Gandhi's suggestion for consultations and also assured her of Pakistan's earnest desire to build friendly relations with India and stay by the Simla Agreement, which, he said, bore her personal stamp.

167. The Indian Foreign Secretary R. D. Sathe visited Islamabad in February 1980 to exchange views on bilateral issues and more importantly on Afghanistan. Recapitulating his discussions with Sathe, President Zia told Mrs. Gandhi in his letter of February 17, that the "military penetration of a country so strategically situated, as Afghanistan, threatens to revive cold war and to subject our region in particular to super power rivalry". But Zia also betrayed his lack of faith in India and sought Prime Minister's assurance about Pakistan's security. He said: "

...I would like to express appreciation for your reaffirmation that in making arrangements for the security of our country, we can proceed on the basis that 'India presented no problem to Pakistan'. The converse is implicit in the facts of the situation. I can assure you in categorical terms that Pakistan has no intention to present a problem to India."

Linking the question of arms aid for Pakistan, with the Afghan developments, he shrewdly made out a case for Pakistan to receive military hardware. He said:

"You, Madam Prime Minister, have said yourself that every country has the right to take necessary measures to ensure its security. Pakistan has not questioned or protested against India's programme of modernisation and up-gradation of its military forces and its commitment to an expenditure of billions of dollars on the purchase of sophisticated weapon- systems from abroad while possessing formidable indigenous capacity of its own for production of arms. We have neither the resources, nor the capacity to engage in an arms race with India. ...We seek an augmentation of our defence capability in accordance with our legitimate security needs. We have neither the desire nor the capacity to acquire and maintain a defence establishment which could in any way be a source of concern to India".

168. He said India's opposition to Pakistan's acquisition of arms, under the circumstances "embitters feelings in Pakistan and raises the questions in regard to India's intentions". On February 27, Ambassador K.S. Bajpai, in his report to New Delhi on his talks in Islamabad, with various senior functionaries of the Pakistan government including Zia, said that Pakistan was anguished with New Delhi on two counts-(i) New Delhi's endorsement of Soviet line that Pakistan was promoting insurgency in Afghanistan and

(ii) improving Pakistan's defence capability was responsible for tension in the region. Though Bajpai disabused Islamabad of any such notions, the trust between the two was the casualty again.

169. In April, 1980 Prime Minister sent Swaran Singh, former Foreign Minister, to Islamabad as her Special Envoy. Assuring Zia of India's goodwill for Pakistan, Swaran Singh told him that he had been asked by Mrs. Gandhi to tell "Your Excellency that the Indian people desire a relationship of stability, peace and cooperation with Pakistan". Zia's complaint to Swaran Singh was on the predictable lines. It was India's opposition to Pakistan's acquisition of arms, which, in his perception, was only insignificant in quantity, compared to what India had acquired, and lack of India's appreciation of Pakistan's security concerns, due to Soviet intervention in Pakistan's neighbourhood. Swaran Singh, on his part, tried to assure President Zia, that there was a national consensus in India about relations with Pakistan. India only wanted stability and good relations with Pakistan and wished to see Pakistan's security strengthened. To this end, India would be "willing to make any contribution necessary to safeguard this". Zia once again, tried to impress upon his interlocutor, that while Pakistan never objected to Indian acquisition of arms like the recent Jaguars' deal or earlier acquisition of Mirages, India should also likewise not misunderstand Pakistan's efforts to acquire arms to face the new security challenge. He insisted Pakistan's acquisition of arms was not against India, but due to the situation developing on its western frontier with Afghanistan. Trying to instil confidence in Zia of India's sincerity towards Pakistani's security, Swaran Singh conveyed to him that India did not agree with the Soviet

Union on Afghanistan. He, too, did his best to assure him of India *bona fide* as far as the security of Pakistan was concerned. Zia did not appear to appreciate India's expression of concern for Pakistan's security. The veteran former foreign minister making another attempt at assuring Zia said:

"If we cannot convince you of our genuineness then there can be no meeting point. Please do believe me that I do not speak out of charity or in moral terms, although I believe in morality. You must believe us. It is sheer self-interest that we need a strong Pakistan. Today, Afghanistan is in difficulty. How can a country like India ever wish to dismember Pakistan?"

170. India had, over the years, repeatedly assured Pakistan of India's commitment to Pakistan's security and stability. If Bangladesh happened, it was Pakistan's own undoing. On the other hand, India had a lot to complain of the pin pricks from Pakistan. One had to look at Pakistan's reaction to Moradabad riots in August 1980, or, persistent references to Kashmir in the Pakistani utterances, at all international gatherings, or at the UN. In the geo-strategic sense, India regarded Pakistan as an integral part of sub-continental security. India, therefore, repeatedly pointed out to Pakistan, that it was committed to respecting its territorial integrity, national unity, political independence and sovereign equality. Pakistan, unfortunately failed to cash on this geo-strategic perceptions of India's policy in the South Asian region. This underlying feature of Indian policy, was valid not only in relation to Pakistan but to all the other countries around it, which though not geographically contiguous among themselves, yet were provided

linkages with each other through India. Pakistan, before Bangladesh, and even after Bangladesh, refused to reconcile itself, to the disparity between the two countries in terms of their resources, size and economic development. Pakistan's rejection of India's offer of 'No War Declaration' in the fifties and similar offer of a treaty of peace and cooperation in the eighties, its offer to discuss the ratio of armed forces to be maintained by the two countries, in keeping with the length of their land and sea frontiers to prevent an arms race, underlined its misplaced sense of self-confidence *visa-a-vis* India. And yet, its lack of faith in itself, created uneasiness in its mind and continued to haunt its leaders, preventing a tension-free relationship to develop between them. Membership of military alliances was pinned by Pakistan on its feelings of insecurity in relation to India, and hence the need to seek allies and arms to strengthen itself on borrowed muscles. This, as Pakistan learnt to its cost, did not bring it the desired sense of security.

171. The problem of security for Pakistan was born, more out of the need to seek parity with India in all respects, since psychologically Pakistan believed that the legacy of the Mughal Empire had fallen on its shoulders. Preceding the British conquest of India in stages, various Muslim dynasties had ruled India for almost seven centuries. Pakistani elite perceived Pakistan as the continuation of the Mughal and Muslim rule in India. The believers of the two- nation theory had a misplaced faith in the superiority of the Muslims *vis-à-vis* the Hindus. Obsessed with history, the Pakistani elite believed, that in any war against India, their victory was assured, as they were the chosen people. Nevertheless, being aware of the size and resources of India, it wanted to make up for



the lack of the same in comparison, by military alliances and military aid that would flow as a consequence of this policy and give it added confidence to look down upon India. As pointed out above, India looked with disdain at such thinking. In the post war scenario, international politics was dominated by the cold war. India believed that the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa, which had suffered the colonial rule for a century or two, must safeguard their newly won independence, by steering clear of the East - West politics and stay together. They should not appear to be partisans in the conflicts of the Big Powers, and avoid military alliances, which sought to bind them to their apron strings. Pakistan chose to walk the road which was anathema to India and was bound to create problems between them and it did. As Nehru had warned, it brought the cold war to the doorsteps of the Sub-continent. To express its displeasure on this development, India informed Pakistan that its action had changed the context of their bilateral relations and future relations between them would be conducted under its shadow.

172. After being member of Western sponsored CENTO for almost two decades, Pakistan decided to quit it, which, for all practical purposes, was extinct. It decided to join the Non-aligned Movement and sought India's support in this endeavour. On March 12, 1979 Pakistan formally withdrew from the CENTO and its participation in the activities of the organisation ceased. It, however, did not give up the US - Pakistan bilateral defence arrangement. It argued that there were other countries in the Non-aligned Movement, who had similar bilateral arrangements, and hence it was not in conflict with the objectives of the NAM. Earlier, India had extended support to Pakistan's participation in the Belgrade

Conference of NAM Foreign Ministers. Pakistan assured India, that unlike in the past, Pakistan was not allowing the US to set up any military bases in Pakistan. The arms that flowed were to strengthen Pakistan's security, to meet the challenge from Afghanistan.

### XXIII

173. In the evolution of India - Pakistan relations, the next important initiative came, once again, from Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi. In January 1982, Agha Shahi, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan was in New Delhi for talks between the foreign secretaries of India and Pakistan. On January 31, Shahi made a courtesy call on Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi. She took him by surprise, suggesting a Joint Commission between the two countries, as an umbrella platform, to discuss all aspects of the relations. Taken by surprise, Agha Shahi gathered his wits, welcomed the suggestion coming from the Prime Minister. Even otherwise, Shahi's visit had resulted in better understanding between the two countries. Responding negatively to the offer of Mrs. Gandhi, he ran the risk of spoiling the atmosphere so created. On February 21, General Zia, in his letter to Mrs. Gandhi, acknowledging the positive trend of the discussions, which Agha Shahi had in New Delhi, said: "The goal towards which these talks are directed is a noble one and could if achieved produce an unprecedented transformation in the quality of our bilateral relations and consequently a profound impact on the entire regional situation." He, particularly, described the proposal for a joint commission a "positive" one.

174. Unfortunately, this happy trend was interrupted, as always, by the insensitive remarks, made by the Pakistan's representative at the UN Human Rights Commission, Agha Hilaly. He raised the

Kashmir question, during the consideration in the Commission, of an item dealing with the application of the right of self-determination, to peoples under colonial and alien domination or foreign occupation. External Affairs Minister Rao reacting in the Parliament on February 25, 1982, described the suggestion of Pakistan as "preposterous" and postponed the scheduled visit of Foreign Secretary to Pakistan. Pakistan, however, justified the action and said, the reiteration of the factual position on Kashmir, did not warrant any Indian reaction. It continued to harp on the point that Pakistan's articulation of its position on Kashmir was as determined under the Simla Agreement. On April 12, the new Foreign Minister of Pakistan Sahabzada Yaqub Khan said, that Pakistan found it difficult to accept the condition that it could not raise the Kashmir issue at any international gathering. Simultaneously, expressing Pakistan's readiness to talk on the non-aggression pact, he added that there "was no hope of any immediate result... as it was an intricate matter and the path led through a craggy and rugged highland since Indo - Pakistan ties had been marked by extreme bitterness in the past."

175. The exchange of felicitation messages between Narasimha Rao and Yaqub Khan on the latter's appointment as Pakistan's Foreign Minister and the reply on May 25 from Mrs. Gandhi to Zia's letter of February, broke the ice. Mrs. Gandhi said in her letter that despite "serious differences in perception," the two countries "should persevere in efforts to restart the process of negotiations". In the same month, May 31, the foreign ministers of India and Pakistan met on the sideline of the NAM foreign ministers' conference in Havana and agreed that the foreign secretaries'

meeting, then scheduled for August would be a "significant" step. The appointment of former Indian Ambassador to Pakistan Natwar Singh, however, as Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, dealing with Pakistan, hastened the process of consultations and the meeting at the secretary level took place in June itself.

176. As part of the normalisation process, Pakistan proposed a treaty of non-aggression. India countered it by a proposal for a treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation, which was positive in its tone and nuance. It may be recalled, and as pointed out above, as early as December 1949, India had proposed to Pakistan a 'No War Declaration' to be signed by the two countries, that come what may, 'they shall settle their differences peacefully and not resort to war'. However, Pakistan's insistence on certain pre-conditions, proved an impediment. The prolonged correspondence, essentially between the two prime ministers, then had proved infructuous, and the proposal got dropped, in course of time. The atmosphere, in the meantime, too had got vitiated by Pakistan's decision to join the western military alliance system. Its revival now in the eighties was a new phenomenon. India had no objection to the proposal, in principle, but was keen that the factors, which vitiated the political climate in the past, must be avoided and the elements, which help create a better understanding, were embedded into the new proposal. India, therefore, countered the Pakistani proposal for a non-aggression pact, which had negative connotations, with its own suggestion for a treaty of peace and friendship. Pakistan's objection to Indian draft treaty was on two counts: (i), India's insistence that Pakistan would not give military bases to foreign powers and (ii), all outstanding issues between the two countries

would be resolved through bilateral negotiations. Zia told Voice of America in an interview, the text of which was carried by *the Dawn* on May 22, 1984, that it "would tantamount to Pakistan demanding that India should not buy anything from the Soviet Union, or that, it should not give any military bases to that country". He said "these pre-conditions were unacceptable as they undermined (Pakistan's) sovereignty as an independent state". He wanted 'Pakistan's commitment to peace and security and improvement of bilateral relations with India', to be accepted on face value and "Delhi should not insist on having a few words written in an agreement". Pakistan's draft of the non-aggression pact was a simple document, long on pious hopes but short on meaningful commitments. These fundamental differences failed to get reconciled and neither of the proposals took off.

177. The bilateral relations did see some movement on other fronts. The Non-aligned Summit in March 1983 brought Zia-ul-Haq to New Delhi. He scrupulously avoided any acrimony in his speech at the Summit and his reference to Kashmir, though in acceptable terms, did invite an official response from New Delhi. As a by-product of the visit, the Agreement on Joint Commission was signed, which Zia, later in his letter of April 14 1983 to Mrs. Gandhi described it "of historic import and far reaching significance". But whatever goodwill was generated soon got dissipated. Pakistan took umbrage to the comments made by Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi and External Affairs Minister Rao on the on-going agitation in Pakistan for the restoration of democracy. Pakistan described them as interference in its internal affairs. India insisted that the remarks "were made in a strictly domestic context of explaining or assessing

events which might have repercussions for us". Pakistan was not convinced and described the Indian explanation "illogical".

178. After a period of deep freeze in relations for the most part of 1983, due to troubles within Pakistan, 1984 saw the resumption of dialogue, with the exchange of visits by the two foreign secretaries. By now, however, a new element of discord crept into bilateral relations, which dominated the India-Pakistan discourse for most part of the following years. In the post-Bangladesh period, Pakistan apparently made a reappraisal of its policy towards India. A weakened Pakistan realised that in any military conflict, it could not have parity with India and hence a military confrontation with New Delhi should be ruled out as an option. But India too had its domestic underbelly, as Pakistan perceived it. India faced problems in Kashmir and the Punjab. If New Delhi could, as Pakistan believed, fish in its troubled waters, Pakistan could exercise that same option with impunity.

179. It all started with the incidents of hijacking of domestic flights of the Indian national carrier, the Indian Airlines, by certain disgruntled elements that saw safe havens in Pakistan. The fact that all hijacking cases from India landed in Pakistan, and the treatment and protection they received in that country, which normally should not have been available to them, under various international civil aviation conventions, created the suspicion, that the hijackers had some prior assurances that they would be in safe hands. Pakistan, however, making virtue of necessity, shed crocodile tears. As early as August 1982, Pakistan had conveyed their apprehensions to New Delhi that these incidents had the potentials for "creating misunderstanding between the two

countries not to mention the losses inflicted on civil aviation in Pakistan." It called upon New Delhi to "take effective measures in order to prevent recurrence of such incidents".

180. Pakistan's malevolence towards India during this period took several forms. The way developments in the Punjab, at the height of insurgency were projected in the Pakistani media, particularly, the official TV, was distorted, mischievous and malicious. President Zia and some of his senior ministers made gratuitous, highly objectionable and provocative statements about developments in India. The unmistakable picture that emerged was of a deliberate attempt to exploit the Punjab situation and inflame the emotions of the Sikh community, with a view to inciting separatism, communal disharmony and disaffection within India. From now on the Punjab situation became a new irritant in the relations between the two countries.

#### XXIV

181. Following the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi in October 1984, and general elections, Rajiv Gandhi had taken over the administration in India. The 1985-89 period when he was in the charge, there was unprecedented diplomatic activity between the two countries. Rajiv Gandhi made concerted efforts to improve the bilateral relations. However, all this was made subject to Pakistan's good conduct *vis-à-vis* the Punjab. Its support to the Punjab extremists was one topic, which remained on top of the agenda of all interactions between the two countries. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had several one-to-one meetings with President Zia-ul-Haq, as well as his Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo, at various venues, wherever they

happened to be together, attending international engagements. They met in Moscow, New York, Muscat, Dhaka, Kathmandu, Stockholm, New Delhi and Islamabad. The foreign ministers and the foreign secretaries too met more frequently during this period than at any other five-year time slot. There were talks at the level of home ministers and home secretaries too. A record number of agreements, three of them—(i) the Prohibition of Attacks against Nuclear Installations and Facilities; (ii) the Avoidance of Double Taxation and (iii) Cultural Cooperation, were signed. There were several meetings of the Joint Commission and sub-commissions, when important decisions were taken on various aspects of the bilateral relations. Prime Minister Gandhi visited Islamabad twice, once to attend the SAARC Summit in December 1988 and the other time, in July 1989 for a bilateral visit. This bilateral visit of an Indian prime minister to Pakistan took place almost after thirty years, if one were to discount the visits of Rajiv Gandhi to Pakistan for the funeral of Badshah Khan in January 1988 and for the SAARC Summit in December of the same year. The visit of Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri to Pakistan in October 1964, was essentially a stop-over visit, when he made a halt of a few hours in Karachi. Before that, a regular bilateral visit was by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in September 1960, for the signing of the Indus Water Treaty. In that background the present bilateral visit had a great significance in itself.

182. In his meeting with Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, Rajiv Gandhi bluntly told her that there were three areas of major concern -- (i) Pakistan's weapons-oriented nuclear policy, (ii) terrorism and (iii) Siachen. They noted their differences of approach



to nuclear weapons. India believed that the nuclear disarmament was a global process, which could not be dealt with at a regional level, while Pakistan wanted to resolve it, at a bilateral or regional basis. On terrorism, Ms. Bhutto stated that it was a global concern and not just the concern of any individual country. While appreciating Indian concerns on this account, she maintained, that the interests of the two countries could be best served by strictly adhering to the principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs and assured Prime Minister Gandhi, that it was her hope, that there would be no cause for any concern in future. Rajiv Gandhi however, remained sceptical. On Siachen it was agreed, that the talks between the two Defence Secretaries would resolve the issue.

183. Terrorism continued to be a source of friction between the two countries, vitiating their bilateral relations. The discussions and assurances at various levels of the Pakistani leaders, failed to assuage the Indian concerns. India found no let up in the terrorist activities either from across the border or with the help and assistance from the same source. New Delhi was exasperated while Islamabad, to New Delhi's chagrin, continued to pooh-pooh the Indian concerns. An added source of worry was the activities of the Sikhs settled abroad and holding foreign passports visiting Pakistan and carrying on their anti-Indian activities with the connivance of Pakistan. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had personally drawn the attention of President Zia to such activities at their meeting in New Delhi, on 17 December, 1985 and the latter had assured Pakistan's full cooperation, in the efforts to counter the illegal activities of these persons. This matter was also discussed between the Foreign Secretaries, several times during their meetings. India had handed over to Pakistan lists of certain

extremists including those based abroad but operating from Pakistan, along with impeccable evidence of their nefarious activities. India demanded curbs on them and their return to India to be brought to justice for heinous crimes. New Delhi made sure, that the Pakistan Ambassador was kept in the loop.

184. Unfortunately, Pakistan remained in a complete state of denial. On February 28, 1986 Ambassador S. K. Singh had a lengthy meeting with Pakistan Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan and the latter repeated the standard Pakistani vocabulary that Pakistan had rendered no assistance to the Sikh extremists and neither was Pakistan capable of doing so. Next day, March 1, Ambassador S. K. Singh met Zia in Lahore, before leaving for India for consultations. Again there was a detailed discussion on this subject. The Ambassador failed to detect any remorse on the part of Pakistani leaders. Nevertheless, Zia wanted to assure Gandhi of his *bona fide*. He gave Ambassador Singh an oral message for Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. (The message was given at a slow speed to enable the Ambassador to transcribe the same verbatim.) It too contained Zia's assurance of not helping the Sikhs. His message said:

"I know also that a lot of people in India think, and also say so, that Pakistan is aiding and helping the Sikhs, and by doing so Pakistan has already gone away from the letter and spirit of Simla Agreement. But please, believe me, we are not helping the Sikhs. In fact, we are doing many things to ensure realisation of our policy of supporting the unity and integrity of India. The Sikh problem is an internal problem of India. Only India can solve it. We wish to have nothing to do with it."

185. In his discussions with the Ambassador before and after dictating the message, President Zia maintained, that Pakistan had given no help to the Sikhs and even went on to suggest, that either the heads of the intelligence agencies or the Home Secretaries of the two countries could meet quietly (secretly) somewhere (suggested places were: Vienna, Geneva, Singapore, Hong Kong, or Tokyo), and exchange notes. Zia's assurances failed to satisfy Prime Minister Gandhi, who in return also sent an oral message through Ambassador Singh which said:

"You have given me the assurance that you will take all measures to stop assistance of any kind to the Sikh extremists. From the information we have, this assurance has not been implemented. This is a vital matter for our security and at this moment it is of basic importance for improving our relations."

186. The Ambassador in his briefing note (March 3, 1986) to the Ministry for policy formulation towards Pakistan emphasised that:

The concept of Khalistan, with a view to destabilising a strategic border region of India, has been an important element in keeping India on the defensive. For the dissidents, militants, radicals and extremists among our Sikhs, Pakistan has been over the years a conduit of Western assistance as also an original source of support, backup and training."

He suggested certain options available to India like diplomatic persuasion; political pressure; outright threat or finally making our friendship attractive to Pakistan. The Ambassador went on to suggest that if India were to be tough with Pakistan, it should be prepared for "open hostilities".

187. Despite several warnings to Pakistan, that its involvement in the activities of the Sikh extremists, had placed in jeopardy, the normalisation of Indo-Pak relations, and the Pakistan Government vehement and persistent denial of the same, India called upon Pakistan to come clean on the question of its support to terrorists, both Indian and foreign. It demanded that the Pakistan Government should make a public announcement, at the highest level, denouncing the concept of "Khalistan" and deploring all terrorist activities and in particular those directed against India. No such public statement however, emanated from Islamabad, at the desired level. Worried at attempts to subvert the loyalties of the Sikh pilgrims, visiting Sikh shrines in Pakistan, New Delhi warned Pakistan to be beware of such nefarious activities.

188. Since promoting unrest and terrorism had become an instrument of Pakistan's India policy, there was no respite and cross border terrorism continued to flourish with Pakistan's assistance and blessings. On April 13, 1988 in a Note to the Pakistan Embassy in New Delhi, Ministry of External Affairs, while noting the Pakistani denial and assertion, that there was "no justifiable reason to believe, that the Government of Pakistan would wish to encourage extremism in the Punjab", that "Pakistan does not wish to see the unity of India threatened from any quarter and that "Pakistan strictly adheres to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries", India was at pains to remind Pakistan that "notwithstanding such assurances and denials" by the Government of Pakistan from time to time:

"Pakistan has continued to provide encouragement and assistance to extremist activities directed against India. Such assistance has taken a variety of forms, including the continued

supply of arms, the setting up to training camps, providing a safe refuge for Sikh extremist, hostile propaganda designed to incite anti-Indian secessionist feelings etc. There is incontrovertible evidence about Pakistan's continued complicity in subversive anti-Indian activities, which belies its protestations of wanting to improve relations with this country. Pakistan's assistance to terrorist and secessionist elements in India is in clear violation of its commitments under the Simla Agreement and is inevitably a stumbling block in the process of normalisation of relations between the two countries. It is hoped that Pakistan will fulfil its assurances given on this issue, including at the highest level, and desist from aiding and abetting terrorist activities directed against India."

189. Persisting with its denial mode, on May 14, 1988, Pakistan expressed its "disappointment and dismay", while dismissing the Indian allegations as "old and discredited". Adding, it said "propagandist repetition cannot, of course, convert falsehood into truth". New Delhi was simply exasperated and incensed at this denial frame of the Pakistani mind.

190. The war of words between the two countries continued unabated. Meanwhile, Kashmir continued to be targeted repeatedly. The escalating activities of the terrorists financed and trained by the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) of the Pakistan Army, encouraged them to more daring acts, more heinous and hideous crimes. The bellicose statement from Pakistan invited strongest rebuttal even from the mild mannered Prime Minister V.P. Singh. On April 10, 1990, he warned that if a conflict was forced upon India, "we are not going to stop till we achieved our objectives" and that "we have the capability to inflict a very heavy cost on

Pakistan for its territorial goals against India." Speaking in Parliament, on the budget of the Ministry of Defence, he said "Ms. Bhutto talks of thousand-year war for Kashmir, Pakistan has to see whether it could fight for even 1000 hours." In this war of words, hiatus of sorts came, when the foreign ministers of India and Pakistan met in New York on April 25, 1990 on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly session and agreed to call a halt to hostile statements from both the sides. The meeting led to the foreign secretaries talks in July, 1990. The only achievement of these talks was that they "sat together and were able to understand each other's position in detail, brushing aside cobwebs". Amidst all the hullabaloo, the two countries saw it prudent to sign two significant agreements in April 1991 as confidence building measures-- 'Agreement on the Prevention of Air Space Violations and for Permitting Over Flights and Landings by Military Aircraft' and the 'Agreement on Advance Notice on Military Exercises, Manoeuvres and Troops Movements'.

## XXV

191. In June 1991, after the general elections in India, former External Affairs Minister, P. V. Narasimha Rao took over as Prime Minister of India which generated some sense of euphoria in the bilateral relations. But Rao, who had seen enough of Pakistan in his earlier *avatar* as foreign minister, was not impressed. He told the Parliament that every time there was a change of government, either in India or Pakistan, "there is a sense of euphoria." He was, however; frank to admit that "we have not been quite successful in persuading Pakistan to improve relations with India". There was the usual bonhomie when Rao had an opportunity to meet his Pakistani counterpart Nawaz Sharif at Harare, on the sidelines of the

Commonwealth Summit, in October 1991, which enabled him to say on return to New Delhi that India and Pakistan had rejected mediation by "friendly countries" to help them resolve their differences.

192. As in the past, there was yet another round of talks between the foreign secretaries of the two countries in November 1991 and even if some forward movement was said to have been recorded on some of the contentious issues, to give satisfaction to the two sides, in concrete terms, the issues remained where they always were, whether it was the question of Sir Creek, Wullur Barrage, Siachen, or Kashmir. As the sun was setting on the year 1991, on December 31, Pakistan demanded a drastic cut in the staff strength of the Indian Consulate in Karachi. The summit meeting between Prime Minister Rao and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on February 2, 1992 on the sidelines of the World Economic Forum, was marked by usual pleasantries, but had no concrete achievement to report. The statement after the talks, frankly accepted that "our talks are not in the nature that we should be regularly reporting progress in the discussions".

193. India reacted furiously to the Pakistan National Assembly's adoption of a resolution on the Babri Mosque in August 1992, and later in December when it was demolished by a crowd claiming the site to be the birth place of the mythical God Rama. In the past, invoking the Nehru - Liaquat Pact of 1950, it had become a common practice, for one country to protest the alleged "ill treatment" of the minority in the other. But in the Simla Agreement of July 1972, both countries pledged that they would follow the principle of "non-interference in the internal affairs" of each other and as such it became incumbent

on them to treat any problem in relation to a minority to be an internal problem of the country concerned, with no right of the other to take up the cudgel on its behalf, as was the practice hitherto fore. In the post-1972 period, India would not give any *locus standi* to Pakistan if ever there was such an unfortunate incident in India. New Delhi rejected any Pakistani claim to act as the guardian of the Muslims in India. This was the case, when the Charer-e-Sharif shrine got burnt in a fire in Kashmir and Pakistan sought to take advantage of the situation for propaganda.

194. Pakistan added further provocation by making an audacious claim that the terrorists and infiltrators in Kashmir were the "freedom fighters" and 'indigenous Kashmiris, who had taken up arms against the "tyrannical rule of the Kashmir government". While the fact was that the infiltrators, trained and armed by Pakistan's army intelligence, ISI from across the border, taking advantage of the long and porous border succeeded in sneaking into Kashmir and other parts of India, to carry out their criminal acts of sabotage and terrorism. The opposition cried hoarse for retaliatory action and asked the Government of India to go in for the hot pursuit of the terrorists coming from the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. Though such demands emanated from the public and opposition sources with no official stamp of approval, yet, the Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman responded belligerently on June 28, 1995 that Pakistan did not take these threats lightly, and warned that "if India were to cross over into Azad Kashmir, it would be construed as an act of war by Pakistan", which could endanger the security of the entire region. Thumbing his nose, he said the repeated terrorist attacks on Indian targets and their success was a failure of the "600,000 fully armed (Indian) troops to crush the Kashmiri movement."



195. It was a war of words with no holds barred. On January 4, 1996, Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs R.L. Bhatia described Pakistan as a "terrorist State". Returning the compliments, the same day, the Spokesman of the Pakistan Foreign Office said: "if any state deserved to be called a terrorist State it is India". The Spokesman accused India of using its "military might across international frontiers repeatedly since 1947" to dismember big and small states including Pakistan. He said Pakistan was in touch with "all its friends including the USA" to make it clear "as to which country in the region was fomenting terrorism in South Asia".

196. As the intensity and frequency of cross border terrorist incidents increased and spread to various other parts of India, New Delhi warned Pakistan, that it had taken "the most serious note" of the growing incidents of cross-border terrorism being promoted by Pakistan against India. Increased acts of terrorism provoked New Delhi to charge Pakistan once again as an "acknowledged sponsor of state terrorism". On March 17 1998 India advised Pakistan to look inward at the "serious and endemic ethnic and sectarian violence with which Pakistan itself was beset" and ponder over the consequences of the encouragement which it provided to fundamentalist and terrorist groups. In parent thesis New Delhi told Islamabad that its "attempts to divert the attention of its people from its own policies, which are now recoiling on itself, are pathetic and ridiculous."

197. In the midst of charges and counter charges, the dialogue process was lucky to survive. In November 1998 as part of the Composite Dialogue, the Home Secretaries met to talk, but the

result was no better than what was achieved in the past. New Delhi watched helplessly the terrorists roaming the streets of important Pakistani cities, particularly Lahore, and made open and public threats of violence against India. Lashkare-Tayyaba with its headquarters at Muridke, near Lahore, spearheading the violence against India became internationally well known. To India's consternation, Pakistan government was loath to take even modicum of action against it. There were other similar organisations like Harkit ul Mujahdeen. Their activities spread now all over India and innocent people, going around their daily chores, were targeted. Their immediate objective was to create communal disturbances in India, in which they miserably failed.

198. With the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan, America obsessed with its success, felt happy that Moscow had a bloody nose. Taking the problem solved, the United States turned its back on Afghanistan. It did not bother the US, that there was no credible government in Kabul to give political stability to the country, which was the need of the hour. Afghanistan needed financial help, to put in place, a viable politico-economic structure, to deliver to the people good governance and a decent life. In the vacuum thus created in Afghanistan, the Taliban, with the help of Pakistan, walked into Kabul. Pakistan's ISI became its financier and therefore its manipulator. The Taliban too allowed the Al Qaida, with its large purse, to set up shop in Kabul. The cadres of both the organisations, who needed to be engaged, were diverted by the ISI towards India, taking advantage of the long and porous border in Jammu and Kashmir. The hijacking of Indian Airlines flight, IC - 814, flying from Kathmandu to New Delhi to

Kandhar in December 1999, and several other hijacking cases in the past, as also the several terrorist attacks in Jammu and Kashmir including the attack on the State's Legislative Assembly, and on the Indian Parliament in December 2001 broke the camel's back. India said enough was enough. A few months later, occurred the 9/11, the attack on the Twin Towers in New York, which stirred the world conscious. New Delhi's warning stood vindicated that, if terrorism was not checked in its tracks, it could hit at targets anywhere and everywhere came true. The 9/11 did bring about a change internationally, but from India's perspective, it wasn't enough. In the face of American demand that Pakistan cooperate (or else...) to eliminate the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan, Pakistan was quick to realise that the Taliban game in Kabul was up. Pakistan not only dropped the Taliban regime in Kabul, but announced measures to modernise its own society ostensibly to wean the people away from fundamentalism. To propitiate Washington, it took on the role of a frontline State, in the fight against the fundamental forces in Afghanistan and in return, received millions of dollars in military and economic aid. This served to strengthen Pakistan militarily thereby disturbing the balance of power in a delicately poised region. India was disappointed, since it did not find enough evidence on the ground, to match Pakistan's 'sincerity' in its fight against terrorism *per se*. India looked cynically at the measures announced by Musharraf on January 12, 2002 and termed them simple rhetoric. Washington remained lukewarm to Indian concerns as long as it felt convinced that its own interests were apparently being served by Pakistan. President Musharraf was happy at the success of his strategy, which was well received in the US "as a courageous step to fight terrorism".

199. Left to fight its own battle, India withdrew its High Commissioner from Islamabad, cut the strength of its mission to the minimum and asked Pakistan to do likewise, banned over-flights, the Lahore - New Delhi bus service as also the trains services between the two countries were suspended. In the largest troop movement, since the 1971 Bangladesh operations, about a million Indian troops were mobilized all along the India - Pakistan border and the LOC. In May 2002, to express its strong annoyance with Pakistan on yet another horrendous (Kaluchak) attack, in Jammu & Kashmir in which 32 people were killed, besides many injured, New Delhi warned Pakistan of a "decisive battle" and asked Pakistan to withdraw its Ambassador from New Delhi. Pakistan's public pronouncements of continued moral and political support to secessionist forces in Kashmir and branding them "freedom fighters" was seen in New Delhi as an affront and challenge to India's sovereignty.

200. With the two armies positioned eyeball to eyeball all along the border, the international community was apprehensive of a wider conflict between two nuclear-armed South Asian States. In April of 2002, Musharraf in an interview with the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* had said that "in an emergency (use of) even the atom bomb can also be considered". Responding to international concerns at the escalating situation, and war clouds hovering over the sub-continental sky, New Delhi decided, once again, to give peace a chance. It decided to redeploy its troops from forward positions, without impairing their capacity to respond decisively to any emergency. Redeployment of troops, coupled with the decision to remove restrictions on Pakistani over-flights, and to withdraw naval warships from forward positions unilaterally,

despite Pakistani intransigence, was greatly appreciated by the international community as proof of Indian sincerity to promote peace and tranquillity in the region.

201. Terrorism was not only injurious to India--Pakistan relations, which touched their nadir in 2002, it restricted India's foreign relations with other countries. Sensitizing the international community to Pakistani activities became the principal concern of India, particularly so in relations to the United States, the UK and the EU. Concern for internal security and sufferings of innocent victims of terrorism, led to neglect in other fields of activity. Similarly India's preoccupation with Pakistan, created vacuum in relations with important regions, particularly, Africa, Central and South America where interaction got reduced to the minimum.

202. On July 1, 2002 Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee in an interview to the News Week reiterated the fact that infiltration from Pakistan was unabated and training camps for terrorists were functioning as usual. The Indo - Pakistan relations for most of this period remained in a state of suspended animation, since India insisted that no business could be transacted with Pakistan as long as Pakistan continued to promote cross-border terrorism and allowed training camps in Pakistan and Pakistan occupied Kashmir. It was on the same premise, that the Agra Talks had earlier collapsed. There was also sufficient evidence filtering in that despite official ban on the Lashker-e-Tayyaba and Jaish-e-Mohammad and other outfits, they continued to function unhindered under different umbrellas and labels, unchecked and with official connivance.

203. The SAARC Summit in 2004 in Islamabad provided the break through, which promised to usher in a new beginning. In a bilateral meeting between Prime Minister Atal Behri Vajpayee and President Musharraf on January 6, 2004 on the sidelines of the Summit, *Pakistan implicitly admitted encouragement to terrorism from its soil and "assured Prime Minister Vajpayee that he will not permit any territory under Pakistan's control to be used to support terrorism in any manner"*. (emphasis added) Reference to "territory under Pakistan's control" included the area in Kashmir under Pakistan's occupation. It was on this solemn declaration that it was agreed to restart the 'composite dialogue' process.

## XXVI

204. The general elections in April 2004 resulted in the change of government in New Delhi. Dr. Manmohan Singh took over as Prime Minister. The dialogue process recommenced and raised hopes of a new era of relationship, ushering peace in South Asia. Besides, the talks between the Foreign and Home Secretaries of the two countries, talks were also held between the narcotics control agencies and investigative agencies of the two countries to work out ground level cooperation. The Home Secretaries at their first meeting, as part of the Composite Dialogue, met in August 2005 when they "reiterated their resolve to combat terrorism and re-emphasised the need for effective steps for the complete elimination of this menace". This commitment was again reiterated at the next Home Secretaries meeting in May 2006. Unfortunately, despite these

commitments, the Indian people continued to bear the brunt of terrorist attacks in various parts of the country.

205. Giving Pakistan the benefit of doubt, New Delhi, however persisted with the dialogue process. It was felt in New Delhi that perhaps certain non-state actors, not under the control of the Pakistan Government, were acting independent of the Government in Islamabad. It was the pious hope of India that the Pakistan Government would, in course of time, succeed in bringing these elements too under its control and this menace would get uprooted completely. But persistent attacks convinced New Delhi, of the hopelessness of the situation. The patience of the public and the Government had been stretched too far. The Mumbai terror attack in July 2006 did rattle the government in New Delhi but it again chose to be more patient. Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh after the Mumbai attack said "India and Pakistan have to establish new pathways to establish friendly relations". Underlining the importance of peace to the progress of both India and Pakistan, he said "both the countries need peace for stability and need to be free of terror to realise their potential. All this could not move forward if terror, aided and abetted by outside continued to take the lives of innocent citizens as it did in Mumbai and Kashmir in the previous week". Lamenting that the terrorists were having a free time, the Prime Minister reminded Pakistan of the January 2004 commitment that "Pakistan territory would not be used for aiding and abetting terrorism in India". Soon after the July-2006 Mumbai attack, Prime Minister Dr. Singh and President Musharraf met at Havana in September on the sideline of the NAM Summit and decided

to set up an "Anti Terrorism Mechanism", a forum for discussing all issues relating to terrorism. Justifying the mechanism, the Prime Minister said on September 24 in Nanital that its objective was to "test" how Islamabad would fulfil its responsibility towards fighting terrorism.

206. Terrorism did not take too long to revisit India. In February 2007 there was a bomb blast in the *Samjhauta* Express (the train running between India and Pakistan). Despite this unfortunate incident, the first meeting of the Anti Terror Mechanism took place on March 7, 2007 and then in July the Home Secretaries of the two countries met to convey the message that the Composite Dialogue process had not been interrupted. The Home Secretaries, as in the past, condemned all acts of terrorism and underlined "the imperative need for effective and sustained measures against terrorist activities". The second meeting of the Anti Terror Mechanism was held in October 2007. But it proved as ineffective as past efforts of New Delhi to put an end to the menace of terrorism. The 'mechanism' itself went into limbo thereafter, as New Delhi was convinced of the lack of sincerity on the part of Pakistan to take any meaningful steps to control this menace.

207. The year 2008 struck with a double whammy, at the hands of Pakistani terrorists. First, in July, the Indian Embassy in Kabul came under attack from Pakistani terrorists and then, a bunch of terrorists, taking a boat from Karachi, struck in Mumbai (26/11). Both attacks were lethal. The Kabul blast killed senior Indian diplomats and staffers besides several Afghan visitors to the Embassy. In the Mumbai attack, the count of those killed



ran into a couple of hundred, including some foreign nationals. The war cries went out loud and clear from the people of India, who had suffered, and suffered enough, at the hands of the Pakistani terror machine that it was time to put an end to this menace. A lesser government would have wilted under public pressure, but wiser counsel prevailed in the upper echelons of the Government of India. Though the immediate result was that, the composite dialogue process came to a halt, more blood was prevented from being spilled. Whatever little was achieved, in terms of normalisation of relations since the January 2004 Joint Statement, was washed away in the tears that rolled down the cheeks of the people of India who abhorred terrorism because it was against human decency, violated human dignity, took away innocent lives, rendered families distraught, and children orphans.

208. What got dented most was the trust, which had got some fresh lease of life after the Joint Statement of January 6, 2004. A gentle Prime Minister was hurt to no end, since he was very keen on establishing a durable peace with Pakistan. He repeatedly said that one can choose one's friends but not neighbours. On December 14, 2008, speaking in Kashmir, Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh ruled out normal relations with Pakistan until it ensured that its soil was not used for terrorists activities against India and added "the fight against terrorism will continue at all costs and at all levels." Taking a tough line the Home Minister P. Chidambaram said, Pakistan would have to give "cast iron guarantees" that it soil would not be used to launch terror attacks on India or else it would pay an "enormous

price". Clarifying, he said, "the guarantees would have to come from those who control the levers of power and that means, the elected civilian government plus the army. These are not guarantees you can execute on a piece of paper. These are guarantees that have to be given to the international community."

## XXVII

209. Before the start of the 2004 composite dialogue process, two major peace initiatives by India must be noted. In 1999 it was proposed to start a bus service between New Delhi and Lahore to facilitate travel between the two countries and create an important linkage to promote people-to-people contacts. Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee decided to take this bus on its inaugural run to Lahore, in February 1999. A Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) Prime Minister, leading the coalition government in New Delhi, visiting Pakistan had a particular symbolic value, though it was not articulated openly. When in May 1996, BJP had formed a short-lived government in New Delhi, the Pakistan Foreign Office had expressed "misgivings and unhappiness" over the growth of Hindu fundamentalism in India and cited the demolition of Babri Mosque at Ayodhya as an example. While stating that it was not Pakistan's concern, which party formed the government in New Delhi, the Spokesman added that he hoped that "the new government will protect Muslims and resolve the Kashmir issue peacefully".

210. Whatever the Pakistani reaction in 1996, when the BJP returned to power later in 1998, for a longer period, Pakistan was reconciled and was prepared to do business with it. In his

message of felicitations to Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on March 19, 1998, invited him to "work closely.... for ushering in a new era of durable peace and stability in South Asia". Vajpayee, in reply advised that "India and Pakistan must not remain mired in the past and the prisoners of the old contentions".

211. Be it, as it may, the visit by Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee was highly successful and considered a major step towards creating a direct dialogue at the highest level. Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif underlined the importance of direct talks, by giving the example of American duplicity, in conveying misleading messages. As an example, he quoted the example of Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). He said the "Americans were talking to both the countries and were telling each side what they wanted to tell. Neither India nor Pakistan had any way of knowing whether they were being given the correct picture regarding the other side. For Example, he said, the Americans had told them (Pakistanis) that India had agreed to sign the CTBT in May (that) year. He wondered if this was correct." Prime Minister Vajpayee told Nawaz that "it was not correct." Nawaz thereupon suggested that the foreign ministers of the two countries should meet once a year, to discuss all such issues and Vajpayee agreed with the suggestion.

212. The visit ended with the signing of the joint statement, the Lahore Declaration and the Memorandum of Understanding, to lay down the road map for deeper relations between the two countries. It was noted, that it was after 27 years, i.e. after the Simla Agreement, that documents of such importance were

signed between the two countries. The Official Spokesman of the Pakistan Foreign Office, underlining the importance of the occasion, said "Both the Lahore Declaration and the MoU also contain the agreement of September 23, 1998 between the Prime Ministers of the two countries, that an environment of peace and security, is in the supreme national interest of both sides and that, resolution of all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, is essential for this purpose." The External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh told the Parliament on February 26 that, "the bus journey captured the imagination of the people of India, of Pakistan, indeed, of the world". But the statement made by Pakistan Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz was set, in the past history of conflicts between the two countries and particularly the Kashmir issue. On March 8, in his statement to the National Assembly, on the visit of Prime Minister Vajpayee, Aziz gave primacy to the Kashmir issue and touted it as its main achievement, in that, the Kashmir issue, which was lying dormant, had been resurrected and thrust into the forefront. He said: "there is increasing appreciation in the world now, that peace, progress and prosperity in South Asia, are not possible without an environment of security and stability, for which purpose, it is imperative to resolve the root cause of tensions - the Kashmir dispute."

213. But, no sooner was the ink dry on these historic documents that India had to face the ugly reality of Kargil. It was like one step forward and two backward. The entire atmosphere of goodwill, generated by the visit of the Indian Prime Minister, was not only washed out in one stroke, it led to a major clash of arms since the Bangladesh war. The Pakistani regulars and irregulars,

masquerading as "Kashmiri freedom fighters", as Pakistan chose to dub them, infiltrated across the Line of Control in Kargil, a highly sensitive sector of Jammu and Kashmir. In the ensuing conflict, India resisted any mediatory role, either by the UN Secretary General or the US President, until the whole area was cleared of the intruders. It was made clear at the highest level that until all Pakistani elements, regular or irregular, had withdrawn from the Indian side of the Line of Control, as established by the Simla Agreement of July 1972, which eventually happened, there can be no talks for peace with Pakistan nor was India prepared to concede any space for any mediatory role to any country or individual at any level. Pakistan even tried the Chinese card to browbeat India. Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, on May 29 in a telephonic talk with Prime Minister Vajpayee, offered to send his Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz to New Delhi "to discuss all issues". The Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi followed it up with a Note to the Ministry of External Affairs on the next day, May 30 asking for convenient dates for the visit. New Delhi agreed to receive Aziz on the 12th June. In a sudden move, it was announced in Islamabad that Aziz would make a dash to Beijing before visiting New Delhi. After his visit to Beijing, on June 10-11, Sartaj Aziz announced that China had "assured its deep and abiding interest in and support for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and security of Pakistan", the usual clichés Chinese were used to pronounce without meaning much. New Delhi was least perturbed by such pronouncements of Pakistan or for that matter of the Chinese. India refused to accept Pakistani ingenious explanation that the LoC in the Kargil sector was not well demarcated and caused confusion. In yet another

attempt to draw the Chinese into the conflict, Nawaz Sharif himself made a dash to Beijing and when Chinese apparently disappointed Pakistan, Nawaz knocked on the doors of President Clinton for help, who provided the fig leaf of face saving. Peace was restored after Pakistan withdrew all its intruders on its side of the LoC. While Kargil was a setback for the bilateral relations between the two nations, it did dent the position of Nawaz Sharif domestically. Within a few months, in October he was overthrown by a military coup by his Chief of Army Staff, who had him arrested and tried in a military court. He was saved from being awarded a death sentence, by the intervention of the Saudi King and the US President Clinton, and exiled with his family to Saudi Arabia. That he managed to return home later, is another story.

### XXVIII

214. Another effort at peace making with Pakistan was made in July 2001 at Agra. Prime Minister Vajpayee decided to invite the new ruler of Pakistan, General Musharraf for talks to test his commitment to peace, since he had been talking big on better relations with New Delhi. To create the necessary climate of goodwill preceding the Summit, India took several confidence building measures, such as offer of scholarships to Pakistani students for study in Indian technical institutions, invitations to poets, artists and intellectuals to visit India, issue of visa to Pakistani passport holders at the border check posts, no arrest of fishermen who inadvertently crossed into Indian waters while fishing etc. While Indian effort was at creating a climate of peace and confidence between the two countries, before tackling any problematic issue, Pakistan, on the other hand, remained

obsessed with Kashmir. In several media statements and interviews, which Musharraf indulged in, before his arrival in New Delhi, one single theme which ran through them was that of Kashmir. India recognised that Kashmir was an issue which needed to be tackled, but only when the necessary and conducive climate for that had been created. This was articulated by Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee in his opening remarks at the plenary of the Summit. He said "we remain committed to the establishment of trust and confidence to develop mutually beneficial cooperation and to address all outstanding issues including Jammu and Kashmir." However Prime Minister believed that the "core concern of our people is their struggle against poverty, want, hunger and deprivation". Conceding that there were differences between the two countries on the question of Kashmir, he was willing to "address these differences and to move forward". Vajpayee insisted that "it is important to create a conducive atmosphere". He, however cautioned Musharraf that the "terrorism and violence being promoted within the State from across the borders, do not help to create such an atmosphere". This was the crux of the whole problem, which did not find ready resonance from the General. While Prime Minister was motivated in taking this initiative by his desire to fill the gap in the trust-deficit, Musharraf's perception appeared to be that India's quest for peace was prompted by the deep wounds that terrorism had successfully inflicted on the Indian people and dented India's resolve. But Vajpayee disabused him of any such notion and told him that India would "counter these resolutely" and "let no one think that India does not have the

resolve, strength or stamina for continuing resisting terrorism and violence". Failure of Pakistan to imbibe this warning, contained in these words, led to the failure at Agra.

215. For India, Agra's failure marked the end of its renewed effort to drive home the message to Pakistan, that without end to terrorism, there was little chance of restoring trust between the two countries. Since Musharraf's emphasis remained merely on Kashmir, it was made clear to him that India-Pakistan relations "ought to, or cannot be held hostage by any single issue" and that India believed in "the totality of approach which addresses all issues (and) as we move along improving bilateral relations we will continue to address the issue of Jammu and Kashmir as well."

216. Pakistan admitted that the talks broke down on the question of "the relationship between settlement of the Kashmir question and progress on normalisation of relations." Pakistan Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar, however chose to believe that "we came close to arriving at the settlement" and he remained hopeful that "a full agreement can be reached in the next meeting". He added that the two leaders "succeeded covering a broad area of common ground in the draft declaration" which he said would "provide a valuable foundation for the two leaders to reach a full agreement at their next meeting". Hoping that there would be more talks in future, Sattar described the Agra Summit "inconclusive" and not a failure. Be it, as it may be, the December-2001 terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament vitiated the atmosphere completely. It not only destroyed any chance of



another immediate effort at peace making, but there was a real danger of a hot war breaking out between the two countries, as their armies faced each other eyeball-to-eyeball all along the international border and the LoC.

### XXIX

217. Pakistan which embarked on the road to terrorism, in moments of its weakness to wreck vengeance on India, for splitting Pakistan, and to weaken it internally, by creating communal disharmony in a multi-religious Indian society, had to eat a humble pie. If these terror attacks mounted on India failed to break the delicate fabric of communal harmony or to set the Ganga or the Sutlej on fire, the credit must go to the institutional strength of the society, so assiduously built since independence. The secular and inclusive society, that India endeavoured to build, paid dividends by withstanding the tribulations of the past years, marred by insurgency in north India and terrorists attacks in several parts of the country. One wonders, whether Pakistan has at all realised, that terrorism was a hydra-headed Frankenstein which could strike back and gobble those who ride it. Terrorism knows no national or international frontiers. It attacks as much others as those who breed it. It is like an avalanche, if it cannot get the direction on one side, will find another outlet and cause the devastation whichever way the space becomes available. If the Pakistani terrorist groups have not found it possible to turn their wrath on India anymore, because of its exercise of greater vigilance, they have turned venom on their creators and Pakistan is now reaping the whirlwind it sowed for India.

218. That Pakistan, despite the split following 1971 war with India, did not change much, was perceptible in many ways. It continued to distort intellectual perceptions and domestic and foreign policy planning, at various levels. Increased fear of proportionately bigger India, the impulses among the younger army officers to avenge the 1971 defeat, and a more acute crisis of identity, considering that Pakistan housed only 1/3rd of the Muslims of the sub-continent, were major factors contributing to the anti-India bias in Pakistan. Most of Pakistan's foreign and defence policies, as evolved and pursued since Bangladesh, are explained as stemming from this approach.

219. India continues to be a paramount factor in Pakistan's perception and determination of its policies on international issues, colouring both its internal and external developments. Its Islamic consciousness, needed to keep the Kashmir issue alive, and the need for Indian bogey to contain democratic aspirations of its people are chief contributory factors of almost fixed anti-India bias in Pakistan. This policy of uncompromising hostility towards India, gave it advantage of simplicity and of unprincipled manoeuvrability, thus justifying subservient role to the Western policies in cold war era and thereby also acquire economic and military inputs in substantial quantities. However, the internal consequences of a continuing confrontation with India have proved disastrous for its socio-economic and political growth as well as its institutions. The emergence of Bangladesh can be considered as the direct result of the same policies. Massive foreign involvement in its militarisation also

encouraged lopsided growth leading to an overwhelming role and influence for the military establishment in its society and social and economic life, which led to the subversion of democratic institutions too.

220. The developments in Afghanistan, first in Soviet intervention in 1979 and later the US war on terrorism, in the aftermath of the 9/11 attack on Trade Towers, catapulted Pakistan to the role of the front line state, bringing in tons of money in economic and military aid besides the huge quantities of arms and equipment. These developments, while further strengthening the army's position in Pakistan, had an unfortunate effect and were not at all blessings in the long run. First intervention created the Taliban, whom Pakistan exploited in the following years to strengthen its standing in Kabul. The second intervention by the United States, was to eliminate the Pakistan supported Taliban, who had in the meantime become the proclaimed guardians of the Islamic fundamentalism and allowed international terrorist organisations like the Al Qaida to set shop in Kabul, and in conjunction, had now challenged the Western world by declaring it the enemy of Islam. In turn, Afghanistan became the epicentre of international terrorism. This development too resulted in massive dose of military equipment being injected into Pakistan thus once again strengthening the military establishment further with serious and pernicious impact on the society and democratic institutions.

221. The United States and the West, failed to realise that in allowing itself to become the frontline state, Pakistan was fighting to protect its own strategic interest on its western border with

Afghanistan. It helped it to set up a client state in Kabul, to the exclusion of other powers, particularly India, which had then to wind up its mission in Kabul. The American intervention now, was against the Pakistan's strategic interests, it had built up in Kabul. In playing an acquiescent role, in joining the war against terrorism under the American threat, (as pointed out above, "or else"), one has to remember that during the period of Soviet intervention and in the intervening years, following the Soviet withdrawal, much of the Pakistan area adjoining its western borders with Afghanistan, too had come under the Taliban's influence and the Pakistani and Afghani Taliban had developed a synergy between them. Therefore rooting out Taliban from Kabul meant war against Pakistan's home-grown Taliban too. Much of Pakistan's military strength had to be deployed against its own Taliban in the Frontier Province and the adjoining Federally Administered Area, where they had a sort of complete freedom, shorn of sovereignty, right from the colonial period.

222. Pakistan's military establishment reckoned that defeat of the Taliban in Kabul, in the long run would result in the loss of a client state. India's massive economic programme to develop the economic and social infrastructure of Afghanistan, meant return of the Indian influence in Kabul, which too was anathema to Pakistan. Slowly but surely, the United States discovered Pakistan's fight against terrorism in Afghanistan was not only half-hearted but surreptitiously undercutting the American efforts, by encouraging terrorist groups fighting the United States. The presence of a number of Al Qaida top leaders including Osama bin Laden, despite Islamabad's denial of their presence

on Pakistani soil, though unconvincing to the United States, provided enough proof of Pakistan's perfidy. Pakistan may have gained some crumbs from the United States' munificence, but its duplicity established Pakistan as a terrorist state, where world terrorists could expect to find a safe haven, along with home grown elements. In the process, it, not only compromised and undermined its position in the eyes of the world, but also its sovereignty, where foreign powers, could with impunity, mount clandestine operations to hunt out the terrorists and even launch drone attacks on terror outfits operating from its soil, with or without its connivance.

223. Today Pakistan is besieged by extremism and terrorism in more than one way. There are radical religious groups fighting against each other. Islamic fundamentalism has spread its toxin to an extent that even the Pakistani liberal society has come under its attack and receded into the background. The assassination of one of Pakistan's most charismatic leaders, Benazir Bhutto, underlined the extent to which the Pakistani society had been brutalised. The army, in order to retain its stranglehold on the Pakistan polity and society, developed a vested interest in ensuring that Islamic fundamentalism retained its vice like grip on the institutions of the State. Despite the restoration of democracy after the overthrow of Musharraf led military regime, the democratic institutions are gasping for breath and their sustainability is tested almost by the day. Some false hopes were, indeed, raised that after several spells of disastrous military rule, Pakistan had perhaps realised, after all, that democracy, like liberty needs to be nurtured and cannot be taken

for granted. For it to succeed, socio-economic development of society was the pre-requisite. But development cannot come without peace, both internal and external. Pakistan has to realise that terrorism is the anti-thesis of both peace and development. In the case of Pakistan there are too many imponderables putting a question mark on the success of democracy. Unfortunately for Pakistan, the democratic government has come under severe attack from one of the strongest pillars of a democratic polity, the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The Supreme Court's challenge to the Government is so harsh, that the survival of the regime looks grim, and it should not surprise anyone, if the army were to strike once again.

### XXX

224. As stated in the very beginning, the origin of Pakistan was based on Islam. But one had hoped that in the age of reason, liberalism and socialism, and since much of the history of Pakistan movement was steeped in the democratic movement, Pakistan would move in the direction of a liberal society even if it was an Islamic society. The speech of Mohammad Ali Jinnah at the Constituent Assembly on August 11, 1947 raised those early hopes too. But alas, after his death, Pakistan moved towards the narrow path and created a theocratic state. Gradually, the ruling elite, whether democratic like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto or military like Zia-ul-Haq, in order to perpetuate their rule, fell back on Islamic fundamentalism, distorting noble Islamic values, thereby undermining the institutions of the state to their own benefit. It resulted in alternative political phenomenon promoted by both international

and national forces. As long as, state institutions were not distorted, benign Islam did no damage to society. It propagated righteous values and virtuous behaviour. It caused the greatest damage, when Islam was made to sub-serve the personal interests of individuals. Islam and Islamic fundamentalism are two distinct phenomena and they do not complement each other. One is antithesis of the other. It was the latter phenomenon, which proved pernicious and caused the maximum damage to the Pakistani society and state, because it promoted backwardness, social deprivation, a low level of consciousness, poverty and ignorance.

225. The people of India and Pakistan have lived side by side for centuries and in two separated independent states for more than six decades now. The partition was an opportunity for the two to go their own ways and build egalitarian societies for the benefit of their people in their own chosen way. Given the bonds of geography, history, and culture, it was expected that they would grow together complementing each other. Alas that was not to be. Pakistan used its Islamic self-consciousness based on two-nation theory, to keep alive the animosities of the past and added fresh ones to keep alive, the Indian bogey to contain democratic aspirations of its people, and create an anti-India bias in Pakistan. The feeling of insecurity that it sought to create for itself and its people, drove Pakistan to seek security from sources, which exploited it to their own end, while creating the mirage of security. In this process, it became a pawn in the cold war politics of great powers. Obsession with Kashmir drove Pakistan to an uncompromising confrontation with India, to

establish international connections which though brought it economic and military aid, used it as a base for confrontations of their own. But the internal consequences of a continuing confrontation with India have proved disastrous for Pakistan's socio-political growth and therefore its economic development too was stunted. Bangladesh was a direct result of this confrontationist mentality. Massive foreign involvement in Pakistan's militarisation also encouraged lopsided growth leading to an overwhelming role and influence of the military establishment in Pakistani society.

226. It is time for Pakistan to realise, that more than six decades of its existence, in confrontation with India, has only undermined its social, economic and democratic institutions and its development. India may have, to a great extent, succeeded in sensitising itself from Pakistan's baggage, but its growth and development has not remained unaffected. Both were one country, one economy, one market, one culture and one people. Going separate ways but living side by side, in peace and harmony, complementing each other, could have been a great asset in creating a prosperous South Asia, benefiting other smaller nations in the region too. Alas, South Asia after sixty five years of post-colonial history, remains the most volatile region, riven with poverty, ignorance, and disease. This has to end.





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