The Pakistan-India Conundrum: A Historical Survey

Tahir Ashraf
PhD Research Fellow,
The Centre of South Asian Studies,
University of Cambridge, CB3 9DT, United Kingdom

Abstract
The current research presents an overview of history of bilateral relations between Pakistan and India that have been adversarial since their inception in 1947. The study has also analyzed initiatives such as The Indus Waters Treaty (1960), the Tashkent Agreement (1966), The Simla Accord (1972) and the Lahore Declaration (1999) taken by Pakistan and India to build confidence and lower the intensity of the conflict. However, Pakistan and India have still to do concrete efforts to make their relations as durable and have ability to absorb political shocks like 2008 Mumbai incident. The study portrays Pakistan-India bilateral relationship as pendulum like movement. If they have taken one step forward they have moved two steps backward. However, Pakistan-India relations are moving towards maturity. And, peace overtures like the Composite Dialogue (2004) may have significant impact upon Pakistan-India relations provided that the negotiation process is not disrupted and disconnected. The primary objective of this research is to present an overall view of Pakistan-India relations in the backdrop of irritants that have made Pakistan-India normalization process as hostage to them.

Keywords: Pakistan, India, Bilateral relations, Composite Dialogue, Lahore Declaration, Simla Agreement.

I. Introduction
Since their inception in August 1947, Pakistan and India have antagonistic relationship and nature of their relations has been jittery except brief periods of rapprochement. Pakistan and India have fought three wars (1948, 1965, 1971) the Kargil crisis (1999) and several war-like situations like deployments of military troops at international border in 2002. History of Pak-India relations reveals that it has been adversarial relationship. There are many factors that have dictated Pak-India relations. The factors, generally, include the existence of various ideologies or religions, the legacies of colonial rule, the role of personalities, the imperfection of domestic as well as international political system, mutual images. (Cheema, 1999) While analyzing the causes of animosity between Pakistan and India, one needs to look on number of factors. These include the mutual perceptions and distrust, the role of historians, the role of outsiders and the divergent policy pursuits. Also, an important factor is legacy of bitter relationship between political parties i.e. the Congress and All India Muslim League, pursuing interests of the Hindus and the Muslims in British India respectively during the pre-independence period. The angry Congress-League disputes, emerged in the last decade of the Independence movement, eventually set the stage for India and Pakistan’s inability to live with one another in a reasonably amicable fashion.(Kux, 2006, p. 24)
The primary objective of this research is to present a general outlook of Pakistan-India relations while analyzing irritants that have made Pakistan-India normalization process as hostage to them. This study has two parts. First part presents an overall view of Pakistan-India relations. Pakistan-India relations may not be portrayed as ideal cordial relations between the two neighbors such as USA and Canada. However, leadership of both countries has taken different initiatives to dilute the intensity of mutual enmity. The second part of the study presents an analysis of important initiatives taken by Pakistan and India.

In studying Pakistan-India relations it is convenient to divide the period into different phases with regard to key junctures in Pak-India relations. Consequently, Pakistan-India relations can be divided into five phases. First phase (1947-1972), second phase (1972-1988), third phase (1988-1999), fourth phase (1999-2004) and the last phase covers the period from 2004 to the present.

A. First Phase (1947-1972)

Political relations between Pakistan and India have remained adversarial since their independence. Just after independence, Pakistan and India indulged in a war over Kashmir in 1948 that resulted into conflictual relationship and shaped future course of bilateral relationship between the two neighbors. Under the partition plan of 3rd June 1947, all princely states were to accede to India or Pakistan. The rulers of some of larger states had intentions to seek independence but they did not receive much support. (Sattar, 2013, p. 24)

The rulers of all 560 princely states were supposed to accede to Pakistan or India keeping in view geographical proximity as well as wishes of their masses. All the princely states followed the partition formula except Hyderabad, Junagadh and Jammu and Kashmir. The Nizam of Hyderabad aspired to independence but India invaded and occupied his state in 1948. (Choudhury, 1971, p. 42)

When the Muslim ruler of the Hindu-majority state of Junagadh announced accession to Pakistan on 15 August 1947, the Indian government protested and termed the decision by the ruler was in utter violation of the principle of the partition. (S. M. a. L. Z. Burke, 1990)

While rejecting Pakistan’s offer to hold a plebiscite (S. M. Burke, 1974; Sattar, 2013, p. 24) India promptly invaded and occupied the state. However, regarding Jammu and Kashmir, India accepted the offer of accession by the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir, Maharaja Hari Singh. Resultantly, Kashmiri masses resisted against Maharaja’s decision and tribesmen from Pakistan entered Kashmir to help their Kashmiri brethren. However, India sent its military troops to Kashmir while accepting accession to India that was utter violation of the principle of partition of British India. Thus, war broke out and India filed a complaint against Pakistan under Article 35 of Study VI of the Charter to stop giving assistance to the invaders. Pakistan also filed a counter-complaint, charging India with genocide and repudiating the validity of the accession offered by Maharaja. In this way, newly emerged independent neighbors indulged in adversarial relationship.

Kashmir war, stoppage of river water by India in April 1948, lack of parity at military level between Pakistan and India as well as Indian denial to give access Pakistani jute to Indian markets are the factors that formulated Indian threat perception among Pakistani security making circles. This threat perception induced Pakistan to join US sponsored military pacts such as South East Treaty Organization (SEATO, 1954), Central Treaty Organization (CENTO, 1955) and also became military ally while signing Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement (1954) and Bilateral Defense Cooperation Agreement.
After Pakistan’s joining to US sponsored defense pacts Indian leadership started to refrain from its promises regarding settlement of Kashmir dispute according to the UN resolutions of 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949. Indian leadership announced that ground realities had been changed after intervention by external powers so India had no reason to abide by its previous commitments at UN. (Sattar, 2013, p. 33) In the backdrop of Sino-Indian war (1962) the Western countries and US started to provide military and financial assistance to India to help it against China. Due to pressure exerted by US and UK India and Pakistan started negotiations on 16 May 1963 known as Bhuto-Sawarn talks but these talks remained as unsuccessful. (Jyotindra Nath Dixit, 2002) Pakistan and India indulged in war first in the Rann of Kutch area (April-May 1965), and then the full-fledged armed conflict (September 1965). With mediation and provision of good offices by then Soviet Union at Tashkent in 1966, Pakistan and India concluded an agreement known as Tashkent Declaration on 10 January 1966. However, spirit of Tashkent declaration could not prevail due to sudden death of Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and lack of Soviet interest in settling of Pak-India controversies. India and Pakistan again went to war against the backdrop of the civil strife in the then East Pakistan in November-December 1971. This war ended as Pakistani troops surrendered to Indian troops in East Pakistan on 16 December 1971 resulting emergence of Bangladesh. Pakistan and India signed Simla Pact on 2 July 1972 as post-war agreement that culminated war and laid down principles to govern future course of bilateral relations between them. Importantly, the Simla Pact obliged both countries to “settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations” (The Simla Agreement, 1972).

B. Second Phase (1972-1988)

Pakistan-India relations were marked by the concurrent acquirement of positive and negative interaction. Though there were periods of goodwill and relative harmony yet these were short-lived. However, they never stopped talking on the contentious issues and took the initiative to revive the dialogue whenever there was a downward slide or a standoff in their relations. Resultantly they kept their differences with in manageable limits. During early 1980s, Pakistan and India faced two major crises that put them into high alert situation and a war-like situation emerged between them. In 1984 Pakistani forces were on high alert in the wake of intelligence reports that India was making preparation for an air strike on Pakistani uranium enrichment plant at Kahuta. (Sattar, 2013, p. 214) After Pakistan’s message to India considering such attack as an act of aggression, this crisis melts down. Another volatile situation emerged in the winter of 1986-87 when India decided to hold the largest combined military exercise in South Asian history, code-named Brass-tacks. (Bajpai, Char, Cheema, Cohen, & Ganguly, 1995, p. 15) This exercise foresaw the gathering of a quarter of a million troops, nine army divisions, five armored brigades and 1300 tanks in western Rajasthan at places just 50 kilometres from Pakistan border giving the capability to launch a fierce strike into Pakistan (Sattar, 2013, p. 215) Pakistan also decided to extend its military exercises in December 1986 and moved troops of some formations to forward areas north of the Sutlej river opposite to the Indian town of Fazilka and west of the river Ravi in Sialkot district (Sattar, 2013, p. 215) In the wake of communications between two sides at various levels, Pakistan and India signed an agreement on 4 February 1987 regarding sector-by-sector disengagement, deactivation of forward air bases and return of forces to their peacetime locations. While quoting David J. Karl of the Pacific Council on Foreign Policy, Abdul Sattar, former Foreign Minister of Pakistan has termed the Brass-tacks as a
crisis that brought Pakistan and India “closer to the brink of war than any other crisis since 1970”. (Sattar, 2013, p. 216)

C. Third Phase (1988-1999)

The third phase (1988-1999) in Pak-India relations depicts relatively calm relationship despite incidents like Charar-e-Sharif crisis and the 1998 nuclear tests. With restoration of democracy in Pakistan particularly after coming of Benazir Bhutto in power in 1988 and Rajiv Gandhi in India, there was an excitement in political circles and the media that the two young leaders of Pakistan and India, lacking of the burdens of controversies of partition, would open a new study of practical and friendly relations between the two neighbors. (Gupta, 2005, p. 87) Two visits of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to Pakistan in December 1988 for participation in the SAARC summit conference and an official visit in July 1989 resulted in significant improvement in their relations. However, the goodwill generated by these visits did not last long as new wave of resistance movement against Indian occupation started in Indian held Jammu and Kashmir. (Rizvi, 2004, p. 20) Pakistan and India signed an Agreement on the Non-Attack of Nuclear Facilities in 1988. This agreement made an obligation to both countries to provide an annual exchange of lists having a detail of the locations of all nuclear related facilities in each country. Both the countries pledged not to attack the listed facilities. When lists were exchanged in 1992, each side reportedly left off one enrichment facility. (Krepon, 1998, p. 190)

Pakistan- India relations during this phase remained as less tense because political leadership of both sides manifested maturity to deal with their deep-rooted conflict. Therefore, the decade of 1988-1999 witnessed significant positive developments in history of bilateral relations of Indo-Pakistan. Several agreements were signed to build confidence between them. An Agreement on Prior Notification of Military Exercises was concluded on April 6, 1991. According to it, prior requisition of notification is essential for exercises involving ten thousand or more troops in specific location. This agreement also renounced the both countries to hold military exercise in the close proximity especially within five kilometers of the border. (Krepon, 1998, p. 194) Also, an Agreement on the Violation of Airspace was signed in April 1992 and ratified in August 1992. The agreement refrained both countries to fly combat aircraft within ten kilometers of each other’s airspace while the limit for unarmed transport as well as logistics aircraft is fixed as one kilometer away from the border. Though flights within this range for supply or rescue missions are permitted yet prior notification is mandatory. Pakistan and India also concluded “A Joint Declaration on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons” in August 1992. They pledged not to develop, produce, acquire, or use chemical weapons. They also ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention in 1997. The overt- nuclearisation of South Asia in 1998 created stability in bilateral relationship between Pakistan and India. Fear of mutual assured destruction by the use of nuclear weapons barred them to indulge in a full- fledged war.

In this security milieu leadership of both countries realized intricacy and concluded an agreement known as Lahore Declaration in the wake of Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee’s visit to Lahore on February 20-21, 1999. However, the spirit of the Lahore Declaration dashed to the ground in the wake of Kargil crisis erupted in 1999. After Kargil crisis, India, considered itself as betrayed by Pakistan in the form of Kargil crisis, was reluctant to restart peace process. (Gupta, 2005, p. 93)

Pakistan and India resumed peace process in the wake of Pakistan President General Pervez Musharraf visit to India on July 15-16, 2001 to hold a summit meeting with Prime Minister Vajpayee in Agra. The Agra summit produced no breakthrough. Rather, the two sides did not issue a joint statement and termed the other side as responsible for deadlock while adopting non-flexibility at the summit. Eventually the two leaders could not agree even on a ceremonial photo session in the end of the Summit.(Gupta, 2005, p. 94) Three months after the attack on the twin towers of New York (September 11, 2001) the militants attacked Indian Lok Sabha on 13 December 2001. In the wake of this terrorist attack on her Parliament, India deployed its military troops massively at Line of Control (LoC) and international border and Pakistan also responded in the same manner. Military troops of both countries remained in eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation until October 2002. This deadlock ended in December 2002 when both sides announced the withdrawal of troops from the border. The process of rapprochement started in April 2003 when Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee extended the “hand of friendship” towards Pakistan while addressing a public gathering in Srinagar. ("Pakistan-India Peace Process: Summits in Focus (1999-2005),” August 2006, p. 10) Consequently a cease-fire came into effect along the LoC in November 2003 that also paved the way for the start of composite dialogue process in January 2004.

E. Fifth Phase (2004-2014)

The last phase covers the period from 2004 to 2014. This phase starts with a new beginning of Pak-India rapprochement On the sidelines of 12th SAARC Summit held in Islamabad (January 4-6, 2004), Pakistan and India agreed to proceed to normalization process through composite dialogue while discussing simultaneously eight issues identified by them including Jammu and Kashmir. Under Composite Dialogue process various initiatives such as launching of Srinagar-Muzaffarabad bus service and proposal to reopen the Khokrapar-Munabao rail link were taken. The 8th October 2005 earthquake that trembled some parts of Pakistan also provided an opportunity to Pakistan and India to get closer to lower human sufferings resulted by the earthquake. Therefore, they agreed to open five points along the LoC from November 7, 2005. These points included Naurseri-Tithwal, Chakothi-Uri, Hajipir-Uri, Rawalakot-Poonch and Tattapani-Madhar. ("Pakistan-India Peace Process: Summits in Focus (1999-2005),” August 2006, p. 20) Having history of ups and downs this phase started with new enthusiasm and several good steps were taken in the right direction yet the Mumbai attack (26 December 2008) stalled the composite dialogue process. India alleged Pakistan based militant organization Lashkar-e- Tayyeba (LeT) as responsible for the terrorist activity and demanded to handover the alleged mastermind of the Mumbai attack. Pakistan reject Indian claims on the basis of insufficient evidences. However, Pakistan offered to jointly investigate the Mumbai attack (Ahmad & Ebert, 2013) but India has not responded it. Despite repeated offers by the Pakistani governments (PPP 2008) and (PML-N 2013) for restart of peace process India has not reciprocated it. Likewise, an invitation by the two successive Pakistani governments to Indian Prime Minister to visit Pakistan has still not been acknowledged. However, both countries emphasize the need to resolve all outstanding issues through dialogue according to spirit of the Simla Accord (1972) and the Lahore Declaration (1999).
II. An Overview of Pakistan and India’s Preceding Initiatives

Despite hostility prevailing between Pakistan and India, both neighbours took scores of initiatives to lower intensity of enmity and tried to establish cordial relationship between them. The Karachi Agreement of 1949 was an important initiative taken by Pakistan and India during the initial phase that established an 800 miles cease-fire line (CFL) and obligated troops to keep a distance of five hundred yards from the line. After the 1965 and 1971 wars, the CFL was reestablished, although with some changes.

By the 1960 Indus Waters Treaty, brokered by the World Bank, India and Pakistan resolved their long-standing resource distribution problem caused by the partition of India and Pakistan. According to the said treaty, the eastern rivers the Beas, the Sutlej and the Ravi were assigned to India while allowing the unrestricted use of the waters of these rivers. Pakistan got the control over the unrestricted use of the waters of the Western rivers including the Chenab, the Jhelum and, the Indus. ("IndusWatersTreaty1960," p. Article II (1)) The two countries, under the terms of the Indus Waters Treaty, agreed to cooperate in regular data exchanges, routine consultation, arbitration of any disagreement and assurances not to interfere with. ("IndusWatersTreaty1960," p. Article IX) Despite having some minor disagreements between the two sides, the Indus Waters Treaty is working in an efficient way.

The Tashkent declaration, concluded between Pakistan and India in 1966, is considered as key initiative to regulate future course of Pakistan-India relations generally and post 1965 war issues specially. The Tashkent declaration, brokered by the Soviet Union, formally concluded the 1965 war. It stated that future relations between India and Pakistan would be based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the other. (The Tashkent Declaration, 1966) Unfortunately, the Tashkent Declaration could not be implemented owing to lack of will and commitment by both sides. It was capable of being interpreted in different ways. However, its main achievement was the agreement between the parties to withdraw “all armed personnel” to the positions held before 5 August 1964. (S. M. Burke, 1973, p. 351)

At Tashkent, neither party obtained what it had declared as its essential conditions for withdrawal. Pakistan had to be content with mere assurances that both sides “will continue meetings both at the highest and at other levels on matters of direct concern to both countries”. (The Tashkent Declaration, 1966) Likewise, India had to vacate all the territory in Pakistani Kashmir without obtaining any clear guarantee that there would be no repetition of armed infiltration from Pakistani Kashmir.

The succession of new leadership in India, lack of commitment by both the countries i.e. India and Pakistan and the lack of extra interest by the then Soviet Union led to loss of the Tashkent spirit in Indo-Pak bilateral relations.

The Rann of Kutch Agreement was another important attempt to resolve demarcation of border between Indian state Gujarat and Pakistan province Sindh. It was concluded in 1968. The Gujarat-Sindh border faced the early hostilities before the breaking out of 1965 war. Prior to this war, India and Pakistan were disagreed over the demarcation of their borders in the area. After the war, however, both sides agreed to refer the case to binding international arbitration in order to remove a nuisance to relations. Thus, the Rann of Kutch Tribunal Award was concluded. (Ashraf, 2007)
Unfortunately, there was no ruling on the demarcation of Sir Creek, a disputed area that remains a source of irritation.

To improve communication, a direct communication link (DCL) or ‘hotline’ between the Pakistani and Indian director general military operations (DGMOs) was established in December 1971 just after 1971 war. In December 1990, following period of high tension, it was decided that both DGMO’s would use the hotline weekly to exchange routine information. Many observers believe that skirmishes and stand offs have been diffused on a number of occasions by contact over the hotline. (Devabhaktuni & Rodolph, 1998) Direct communication links (DCLs) are also in place between sector commanders along the western sectors of the line of control (LoC) that divides Kashmir.

The Simla Accord 1972 signed in the wake of the 1971 war obligates both the countries to renounce the use of force as a means of settlement for outstanding dispute. (The Simla Agreement, 1972) They agreed to resolve their disputes bilaterally. The cease-fire line in Kashmir was renamed as Line of Control (LoC). Both sides pledged not to seek to alter or breach it through unilateral action. The Simla Agreement was capable of being interpreted in different ways. The two sides agreed to resolve their differences by “peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them”. (The Simla Agreement, 1972) However, India and Pakistan gave divergent interpretation to this provision. India argued that the Indo-Pakistan problems, especially Kashmir, could not be raised on any level other than bilateral. The Pakistani leadership did not share this viewpoint. It argued that if the bilateral approach did not resolve a problem, Pakistan could take it up at a multilateral forum, including the United Nations or any other international organization. (H. A. Rizvi, 1993, p. 26)

The Simla Agreement recognizes that “the principles and purposes of the charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the two countries.” (The Simla Agreement, 1972) Thus, it has placed the agreement within the framework of the UN. It also considers Jammu and Kashmir as an unsettled dispute “without prejudice to the recognized positions of either side” and the representatives of both governments will meet to discuss “the final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir”. (The Simla Agreement, 1972) The Simla Agreement has failed due to asymmetry in power balance in South Asia, hostages of political leadership to domestic factors, role of ideologies against harmony between them, negative impact of the Hindu-Muslim clashes at the time of partition and the most important personal and institutional interests. These factors have worked as stumbling blocks to normalization process.

To institutionalize peace overtures between them the Indo-Pakistani Joint Commission was established in 1982 to facilitate discussion at the ministerial and sub-ministerial levels dealing with a wide range of issues, including trade, tourism, technology and communication. Since 1990, the Indo-Pakistani Joint Commission had been replaced by a series of foreign secretary level talks. The prior notification agreement (1991), the airspace agreement (1992), and the bilateral chemical weapons declaration (1992) are the outcome of it. Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Pakistan Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto signed an Agreement on the Non-attack of Nuclear Facilities in 1988. It was ratified in 1991 and implemented in January 1992. Both the countries pledged not to attack the listed facilities. (Agreement on the Prohibition of Attack Against Nuclear Installations and Facilities, 1988) According to this agreement, both parties are
under obligation to provide an annual exchange of lists having a detail of the locations of all nuclear related facilities in each country. When lists were exchanged in 1992, each side reportedly left off one enrichment facility. (Devabhaktuni & Rodolph, 1998, p. 192)

An Agreement on Prior Notification of Military Exercises was concluded on April 6, 1991. According to it, notification is required for exercises involving ten thousand or more troops in specific location not in close proximity to each other’s borders. Exercises at the corps levels must be held forty-five kilometers away from the border. At the division level, exercises must be held twenty-five kilometers away from the border. No military exercise is permitted within five kilometers of the border (Krepon, 1998, p. 194) An Agreement on the Violation of Airspace was also concluded in April 1991. The agreement states that combat aircraft are not to fly within ten kilometers of each other’s airspace. The limit for unarmed transport as well as logistics aircraft is 1000 meters away from the border. Flights within this range for supply or rescue missions are permitted provided prior notification is given. (Agreement Between Pakistan and India on Prevention of Air Space Violation, 1991) Likewise, a Joint Declaration on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons was concluded in August 1992. Both countries promised not to develop, produce, acquire, or use chemical weapons.

At the Malé Summit held in Maldives in the summer of 1997, Inder Kumar Gujral and Nawaz Sharif revived a hotline between the Prime Ministers that was first installed during the premierships of Benazir Bhutto and Rajiv Gandhi, but was suspended in later years as tension over Kashmir heated up. At this summit, both leaders agreed to take some confidence building measures such as the formation of “joint working groups” at the foreign secretary level to consider all outstanding issues including Kashmir; Revival of hotline between the two Prime Ministers; Exchange of civilian prisoners such as fishermen; Easing of travel restrictions between the two countries; and observance of restraint in their public statements. (Ashraf, 2001) The Nawaz-Gujral Summit (May 1997), held on the sidelines of the 9th SAARC Summit at Male, was considered as the most significant event in the history of Indo-Pak relations after the Benazir-Rajiv meeting in Islamabad in July1989. The subsequent measures, like releasing of 389 fishermen and easing of travel restrictions, taken after the Nawaz-Gujral meeting displayed commitments of leadership to the dialogue process. However, these goodwill gestures could not prove as result-oriented due to exchange of firing across the Line of Control (LOC) in August-September 1997. (Ashraf, 2001)

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and his Indian counterpart Atal Bihari Vajpayee met on July 29, 1998 on the sidelines of 10th SAARC Summit held in Colombo, Sri Lanka. This meeting did not prove as result-oriented. However, it compelled them to continue negotiations at the highest level. Therefore, Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India met again on the sidelines of the annual session of the UN General Assembly in New York on September 23, 1998 where they agreed upon several measures including start of Lahore-Delhi bus service, relaxation in visa rules, road and rail link between Khokhrapar-Munabao, increase in cultural exchanges, stoppage of firing on Line of Control (LoC) and restart of hotline between the two Prime Ministers to build confidence between the two sides. (Ejaz, 1998)

The Lahore Summit was held on February 20-21, 1999 in the wake of Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee’s visit to Lahore. Three documents named as
Tahir Ashraf

Lahore Declaration signed by the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India, Joint Statement by India and Pakistan and the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed by the Foreign Secretaries of India and Pakistan. The Joint Statement cites agreements on periodic meeting of the two Foreign Ministers to “discuss all issues of mutual concern, including nuclear related-issues”. It further includes a number of other issues beginning with bilateral consultations on WTO related issues, technical cooperation for tackling the problem of Y2K, bilateral consultation on visa and travel liberalization and human it humanitarian issues such as missing fishermen and so on. (The Joint Statement, 1999)

The Lahore Declaration in its preamble reaffirms the two countries commitment to the Simla Agreement and also recognizes that “the nuclear dimension of the security environment of the two countries adds to their responsibility for avoidance of conflict…. (The Lahore Declaration, 1999) It further obligates the two countries to “take immediate steps for reducing the risks of accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear, weapons and discuss concepts and doctrines with a view to elaborating measures for confidence building in the nuclear and conventional fields, aimed at prevention of conflict.” (The Lahore Declaration, 1999)

The Lahore Declaration also stated that the two countries “shall refrain from intervention and interference in each other’s internal affairs” and “refrain from their condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and manifestation and their determination to combat this menace”. (The Lahore Declaration, 1999) This clause proved as very critical because both countries give contradictory interpretations according to their respective interests particularly with reference to Jammu and Kashmir. India considers the indigenous Kashmiri uprising as against the spirit of the Lahore Declaration because it allege Pakistan’s involvement in the Kashmir uprising and termed the Kashmir resistance movement as terrorist movement especially after the nine eleven and militants’ attack on her parliament in December 2001.

The Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) focuses on the nuclear issue and CBMs. It lays down mutually agreed benchmarks to regulate future negotiations for ensuring the prevention of any irrational decision making in nuclear matters and accidental use of weapons and missiles owing to misperceptions. (Memorandum of Understanding, 1999)

The Agra Summit was held in July 15-16, 2001 but it produced no breakthrough in Indo-Pak normalization process despite both parties negotiated for two days. The two sides, even, could not issue a joint statement and labeled the other side as responsible for deadlock while adopting non-flexible at the summit. Eventually the two leaders could not agree even on a ceremonial photo session in the end of the Summit.(J. N. Dixit, 2004) Incident of 9/11 and resultantly Pakistan’s decision to join US bandwagon against terrorism compelled India and Pakistan to initiate peace process. On the sidelines of 12th SAARC Summit held on January 4-6, 2004 Pakistani President Gen. Musharraf met with Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and agreed to devise a roadmap for future dialogue.(Gul & Noor, 2005, p. 29) The Composite dialogue also provided comprehensive structure for discussing controversial issues while identifying eight issues that were to be discussed simultaneously. Under the composite dialogue framework different rounds of talks were held successfully and both countries were displaying maturity and political will to move forward on road to peace. However, Mumbai terrorist attack in 2008 stalled the ongoing peace process and India took step backward while
alleging Pakistani ISI to support terrorist groups involved in Mumbai attack. (J. N. Dixit, 2004) Mumbai terrorist attack 2008 has severely affected the composite dialogue process to the extent that despite passage of five years, peace process still has not been restarted with the due spirit.

There are some constraints to the effectiveness of the bilateral agreements and treaties between Pakistan and India. These include the Kashmir dispute, non-adherence to bilateral agreements and perceptions and images especially negative image of ‘other’. (Cheema, 1999) Common view of India among Pakistani policy makers is a hegemonic power. Popular image of Pakistan is that of a militaristic and theocratic state. J.N. Dixit has termed the political process in Pakistan dominated by “the extremist theocracy” and “militarism” whatever government in power (J. Dixit, 1995) (J. N. Dixit, 2004)

However, there are circles in India and Pakistan that give credit for avoidance of war between the two countries to the several confidence building measures (CBMs) and initiatives like the Simla Accord and the Lahore Declaration.

III. Conclusion

History of Pakistan-India relations reveals several ups and downs between cold war and war; and war-like situation. They have fought three full-fledged wars, one limited war (Kargil war, 1999) while confronted war-like situation twice. Both countries concluded two post-war agreements (Tashkent Agreement, 1966 and Simla Accord, 1972) one successful agreement on sharing of waters (The Indus Waters Basin Treaty, 1960). Though nature of Pak-India relationship has not been cordial yet stability in their bilateral relationship can be seen in the post-Simla period and they have avoided war during Indian military exercises Brass-tacks. However, after their overt-nuclearisation in 1998, mutual assured destruction (MAD) persuaded them to engage in bilateral negotiations to avoid accidental nuclear war and take initiatives to resolve outstanding issues between them. The Lahore Declaration (1999) is notable example in this regard. Though Kargil crisis derailed peace process that was initiated at the Lahore Parleys (1999) yet maturity on both sides did not let them to intensify hostility. Consequently, the Composite dialogue process started in 2004 that provided a road map to discuss eight issues including Siachin, Sir Creek and Jammu and Kashmir simultaneously without making one issue to the hostage of any other issue.

However, the Mumbai attacks in 2008 disrupted the composite dialogue process between them. The post-Mumbai resumption of talks has given priority to trade and investment over the heated political issues. Pakistan has shown flexibility in its approach towards India for the normalization of relations and has accepted people-to-people contacts and establishing of economic relations as an approach. Giving priority to the bilateral trade and overall economic cooperation, Muslim League government led by Nawaz Sharif in Pakistan and Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) government under Narendra Modi in India can move forward and manage their conflict that may be resulted in the well being and betterment of more than one and half billion masses of poverty-stricken South Asia.
References


Indus Waters Treaty 1960. 


