

**Pakistan's Foreign Policy towards India
During Musharraf era**



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Pakistan's Foreign Policy towards India during Musharraf Era

Abstract

Foreign policy is the set of principles or certain objectives which determines the relations of one state with other. It is the persuade of national interest of any state and shaped by various actors including governmental institutions, political parties, lobbies , public opinion, media, research and policy oriented think tanks. Since inception, Pakistan's foreign policy is based on friendship and good will towards all the nations of world. Pakistan has always extended moral and material support to the needy nations of the world. However as far as Pakistan's foreign policy towards India is concerned it is full of multiple constraints. Both nations have problematic relations full with history of wars and bilateral disputes. Some of long running issues include the territorial dispute of Kashmir, Siachin, Sircrek along with water issues. There are several issues of multiple nature which need to be addressed by both states.

After taking office, General Pervaiz Musharraf tried to rebuilt the softer image of Pakistan towards all including India. The process of reconciliation between both neighbours once again started through Agra Summit after the period of deadlock since Kargil episode of 1999. The post 9/11 war on terror changed the attitude of both India and Pakistan. Particularly soon after terrorist attack on Indian

Parliament at India started raising voice globally against state sponsored terrorism by Pakistan apart from that both states were reached at brink of war. Pakistan banned the several Islamic militant organization involved in jihad cause in Jammu and Kashmir under pressure of India and international community and it was a major shift in Pakistan's foreign policy towards India. Pakistan declared that she would not support the militants against India and would not let her territory to be used against any state including India. The series of composite dialogue, the historic four point formula of Musharraf over Kashmir, the several efforts towards Confidence building and the Joint Anti Terrorism Mechanism were the core developments during President Musharraf regime.

Introduction

I feel very greatly honored to have the opportunity to present my research work on Pakistan's Foreign Policy Towards India during Musharraf Era (1999-2008) My basic aim to write this research paper is to closely analyze all the aspects of Pakistan's foreign policy towards India during General Pervaiz Musharraf era. In his first press conference Musharraf showed his policy aims regarding India in the way that Indian hostility would be met with hostility, peace with peace and threats with threats and he will ensure the honor and dignity of the country. It was also declared that anyone threatening to Pakistan would get a threatening response.

Musharraf talked about the Kashmir Issue and placed it at central position in Pakistan's foreign policy towards India. Musharraf expressed the desire for the revival of composite dialogue process. The major shift in Pakistan's foreign policy towards India came after 9/11 incident. Pakistan was remained engaged in support of freedom fighters in Jammu and Kashmir. Many Islamic militant organizations were funded by Pakistan's government and ISI for a long period against the Indian army in occupied Jammu and Kashmir. After 9/11, Pakistan became US ally in war on terror and made strategic decisions to eradicate terrorist groups and their activities. Pakistan's support for Kashmiri militant groups has been severely constrained by its status as a key US ally in the 'war on terror. Since 9/11 many Kashmiri groups which Pakistan long favored as 'freedom fighters', have featured prominently on US government terrorist watch-lists or had their assets frozen after being classed as proscribed organizations .The terrorist attack on Indian Parliament in Delhi on 13 December 2001 led the both states towards the high of confrontation resulted in military standoff. President Musharraf in his speech on 12 januray 2002, declared ban on Jaish e Muhammad and Lashkar e Toiba, by freezing their assets and Pakistani authorities detained nearly 2000 Islamic activists. General Musharraf's speech is being interpreted as beginnings of quantitative change in Pakistan's India policies. Pakistan resumed the peace process with the resurgence of Composite Dialogue in 2004 and the restoration of

diplomatic relations and over flights etc was the first priority above all which had been broken after the terrorist attacks on Indian Parliament in December 2001. Several rounds of talks on Sir Creek, Siachen, Wuller Dam, talks on Nuclear Confidence Building Measures, Conventional CBMS were the part of peace process. The opening of the Bus service between Srinagar and Muzzffarabad , the humanitarian steps on the return of the fishermen along many other issues of concern were the part of dialogue between both states.

Literature Review:

Owen Bennett and Dr. Farzana Shaikh in the article “**Pakistan’s foreign policy under Musharraf: between a rock and a hard place**” have reviewed Pakistan’s foreign policy towards India. General Musharraf was more determined to break the deadlock surfaced early between India-Pakistan and showed seriousness about resolving the Kashmir dispute. Musharraf moved further from Pakistan’s established positions on Kashmir than any of his predecessors. His main objective to resume dialogue with India was to build his country’s image as responsible player on world stage and to build international support for his military led regime.

P. M. Kamath in the book “**India-Pakistan Relations: Courting Peace from the Corridors of War**” has analysed the ups and downs of Indo-Pakistan relationships. He wrote that the emergence of a common threat-terrorism including

the potential for nuclear, radiological terrorism has drawn Pakistan closer to India. The cross border terrorism as an instrument of Pakistani state policy has been source of much India-Pakistan hostility of recent years. However Pakistan started to change its policy over militant support in Indian occupied Kashmir and several Islamic militant organizations were banned in the country under General Musharraf regime.

Saira Khan in her book “**Nuclear Weapons and Conflict Transformation: The Case of India-Pakistan**” explained the role of leadership as well as third party in diffusing high tension among states. She highlighted crucial role of US to hold dialogue and improve mutual understanding between Indo-Pakistan. US pressurized Musharraf to crack down on terrorism and the steps he took towards this direction have helped to change India’s image of Pakistanis. A dramatic policy change was outcome of role of great power which helped to create so propitious environment for conflict resolution between the parties. In the result of third party mediation , Musharraf took steps to uproot terrorism against strong domestic opposition and participated in dialogue process.

Muhammad Asif Bashir and **Mughees Ahmad** in the article “**Pak-India Relations during Musharraf Era: Behaviorak study of leadership**” argued that the challenges of 21st century global politics led both India and Pakistan to devise

their foreign policy towards the war against terrorism. The history of India-Pakistan relations is a story of mutual misunderstanding, mistrust, lack of confidence to take positive decisions, misperceptions and disharmony. However the speed with which Musharraf launched his diplomatic peace offensive with India was prompted by Perhaps his calculations of how India initiative could contribute to counterbalance the negative characteristics of his two major liabilities, the Kargil legacy and his government's unconstitutional status.

Shamshad Ahmad in his article “**Post-9/11 Foreign Policy of Pakistan**” has described the acute challenges to Pakistan's national security and her interest in the post 9/11 era. In the context of her relationship with India, Pakistan reshaped her foreign policy agenda to normalize her relations with India. President Musharraf's unprecedented gestures of flexibility and compromise, including his multiple formulae for resolving the Kashmir issue beyond the UN prescribed solutions based on the inalienable right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir did not cut any ice . The future of this process will now depend on the freshness of political approach that both India and Pakistan will be able to bring in to sustain this process and to make it purposeful. What should be clear to them by now is that in today's world, there will be no military solution to their problems, nor will militancy bring oppressed people any closer to freedom.

Objectives:

I have multiple aims of having the research on “Pakistan’s Foreign Policy Towards India during Musharraf Era” including:

- To closely examine the nature of the bilateral relationship between both states particularly during General Musharraf rule.
- To describe the important prospects and the challenges in the way to building up peaceful relationship between both states.
- To briefly explain the significant initiatives taken by the government of Pakistan under Musharraf leadership to resume the peace process between both neighbours.

Research Question:

- What were the foreign policy priorities of General Pervaiz Musharraf in the context of Pakistan’s relationship with India?
- What were the significant initiatives taken by Pakistan to normalize its relations with India during Musharraf era?

Research Methodology:

I used qualitative and analytical research methodology in this research paper. Different books, articles and research papers were read and then data was interpreted to get the complete understanding and answers to the basic research

questions. This was done to give the reader a complete background knowledge of the topic and make it a worth reading research. While concluding some policy options or suggestions have also been mentioned.

Military Regime of General Pervez Musharraf:

On October 12, 1999, Pakistan's army chief, General Pervaiz Musharraf took over the country by dismissing the democratically elected government of the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. General Musharraf coup was not a unique one and was the result of weak political institutions. After coming into power General Pervez Musharraf Introduced a new word "Chief Executive" instead of adopting the customary title of Chief Martial Law Administrator. He projected himself as responsible and professional soldier who will bring true democracy in Pakistan. He justified the role of army that army was forced to take this step to save the country from turmoil and uncertainty.

After coming into power, General Musharraf tried to resume the positive image of Pakistan. He tried to resume friendly relations with the rest of the world. Moreover he expressed his desire to resume the process of normalization of Indo-Pakistan relations. The military took over in Pakistan was not welcomed by India and they extensively criticized General Musharraf. The Indian leadership refused to negotiate with the Military dictator General Musharraf. Actually the India

leadership was not ready to initiate dialogue with the non-democratic government. The Indian attitude was much negative to the newly establish military rule and there were two main reasons for which India did not want to continue the dialogue with Pakistan. The first reason was that the Indian leadership did much trust on the democratic government of Nawaz Sharif due to his positive attitude to the resolution of mutual disputes. The second reason was that the Army Chief General Musharraf was the master mind of the insurgency in Kargil. Nawaz Sharif was more trust worthy for India as compared to Musharraf and reason was the struggle of Prime minister of Pakistan for holding the Lahore declaration.

Indian leadership considered Musharraf the reason for the dismantling of peace process between India and Pakistan. India also blamed Pakistan for the cross – border terrorism. They not only dismantled all diplomatic relations with Pakistan but also tried to defame Pakistan at international front. India declared that she will not attend the South Asian Association for Regional cooperation (SAARC) meetings, and made several efforts to isolate Pakistan at international fronts like in Commonwealth Conferences and the UN. The Indian hostile attitude created more tension in the relations of both countries. The aggression and hostilities continued and even Pakistan remained involve in violence and supported the Jihadists in Kashmir.¹

The Indian leadership was quite unhappy with the military takeover by Musharraf. They showed their grave concerns regarding the dismissal of democratic government. The Indian External Affairs minister Jaswant Singh said that:

“We are concerned over the developments in Pakistan. But there is no cause for alarm or anxiety”²

General Musharraf adopted more assertive approach towards India. He was very much keen for the revival of peace between Pakistan and India on the basis of equality. In his first press conference on 1st November Musharraf showed his policy aims regarding India in the way that:

“Indian hostility would be met with hostility, peace with peace and threats with threats. I will ensure the honor and dignity of this country. Nobody threaten us without getting a threatening response.”³

Musharraf talked about the Kashmir Issue and placed it at central position in Pakistan’s foreign policy towards India. Musharraf expressed the desire for the revival of composite dialogue process. He expressed that:

“We would like to resolve all our differences with India and when I say all our differences, I mean the core issue of Kashmir first of all or simultaneously at least. But if there is any design to address issues other than Kashmir and sideline the

Kashmir issue then I am not part of it. The Kashmir issue has to be addressed and with that all other issues can be addressed. If this is the attitude we see from across the border, I can assure that I will be going far ahead of the Indian in this area".⁴

The conflicts between India and Pakistan escalated in December 1999 when an Indian Airline aircraft was hijacked to Kandhar after taking off from Katmandu. It was stated that the hijackers came from Pakistan and supported by Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI). The hijackers made demands to the Indian government to release the thirty five imprisoned terrorists. The major demand was to release Mohammad Masood Azhar the leader of Pakistan based militant organization Jaish e Mohammad who was involved in the insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir. The Indian government after the seven days later took important decision to release the three terrorists and in return the hijackers released the captured passengers. This incident proved as the last nail into the coffin of Indo-Pakistan dialogue process. The relations of two countries reached to its lowest point where aggression, hostility and animosity left for each other. Till mid 2000 the deadlock continued between India and Pakistan. Pakistani support for militant in Kashmir was increased, the violation of cease fire, cross border terrorism get strength with the arrival of the military regime in Pakistan. The reason for Pakistan's aggression was their unwanted withdrawal from Kargil under International pressure due to which they had to step back and faced much criticism and insult.⁵

Agra Summit 2001: The Revival of Bilateral Negotiations:

During 2000 Pakistan tried hard to convince India for the bilateral negotiations and she struggled to revive the relations with India. Pakistan although accepted the unilateral cease fire from India but the Indian leadership did not respond more than the withdrawal of troops from the borders.

The deadlock broken to some extent when in early 2001 the President Musharraf made a telephone call to the Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee and showed his sympathies over the disaster during earthquake in Kutch and Gujarat. Moreover Pakistan sent relief goods and medicine to India for the victims of earthquake.⁶ The Indian Prime Minister later on showed gesture of goodwill towards Pakistan. On May 25, 2001 the Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee sent an invitation to the Chief Executive of Pakistan General Musharraf to visit New Delhi for Summit level talks. General Musharraf accepted the invitation and on July 14, 2001 he reached India. He was warmly welcomed by the Indian officials. The visit based upon many expectations from the both countries. The leaders met in the historical city of Agra. The expectations were too much high from both countries and the meeting was encouraged from the stake holders of both countries.⁷

The four rounds of talks were held and the both leaders talked about mutual issues of grave concern. They discussed about the number of issues including the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. The leadership of both sides insisted upon the need of resolution of conflicts through the bilateral talks. India and Pakistan focused upon the need of developing peace and cooperation. Pakistan expressed that India should accept the Conflict of Kashmir as the Core issue in the way of development of peace and mutual harmony. Whereas the Indian leadership forced Pakistan to take concrete steps for the elimination of Cross- Border terrorism. However there was difference of opinions over Kashmir and General Musharraf argued that the Cross- border terrorism was the outcome of Kashmir dispute which could only end in case of resolution of that dispute. Both states could not reach to a joint statement and remained static over their agenda which ultimately resulted in the failure of the bilateral talks. Moreover the talks rather failed but the both countries agreed upon the continuation of the dialogue process in the future. Both states focused to increase the role of media for the normalization of relations and India allowed Pakistani delegations to come and present their views to the Indian public.⁸ However all discussions led towards the failure of the Agra Summit. Actually the draft of the Summit was finalized between the Foreign Ministers and the secretaries from the both sides but the Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee refused to sign the agreement at the last minute because his cabinet did not accept the

agreement. Whereas the agreement was re-drafted but the Indian leadership stepped back from signing the agreement.⁹

India-Pakistan Relations Post 9/11:

On September 11, 2001, United States of America was hit by the terrorist attacks which changed the whole political scenario of the world. These attacks suddenly shocked the United States of America as well as the whole world. The terrorists targeted the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington D.C by striking the hijacked aircrafts them. These attacks brought a huge destruction and over 7000 people were killed. The US president decided to attack the Al-Qaeda and her supporters the Afghan fundamentalist rulers or the Taliban. Bush announced War against terrorism and asked a direct help from Pakistan in order to capture the important leaders of Al-Qaeda and the Taliban.¹⁰

The US stance was that the state that will not support her war against terrorism will be considered equal to her enemy. Pakistan was having just an option to accept the US proposal of War against terrorism. The President of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf accepted the US demand and tried to provide every kind of support to US including the air base and the roads access. Pakistan became the frontline state against the war on terror and received much economic and military aid from US.¹¹

A new dimension of conflicts between India and Pakistan evolved after the event of 9/11. Pakistan became the front line state in the US led war against terrorism. Terrorism became the global threat and it opened a new chapter of conflicts between India and Pakistan. India got the opportunity to associate the Kashmir issue with the act of global terrorism. India declared that US should focus on the cross border terrorism in Kashmir by the assistance of Pakistan. India projected Cross border terrorism as a grave concern for regional peace and Security. They asserted that various Pakistani based terrorist groups and organizations were involved in the Cross border terrorism in India. The Indian President Abdul Kalam Azad and the Home Minister L.K. Advani also criticized Pakistan and argued that some concrete steps should be taken by the International Community to avoid the huge cost in this regard.¹²

In December 2001 a significant event took place which incorporated a new chapter of animosity between Indo-Pakistan. The Indian Parliament was hit a terrorist attack on 13th December 2001 in New Delhi. The attack did not cause much more loss except the thirteen people were killed including the terrorists. The small scale fight continued between the attackers and the security forces till forty five minutes. The sudden attack surprised the Indian Government and the Indian Home Minister took the incident as a biggest threat in the two decades of Pakistan sponsored terrorism in India. He alleged that two Pakistan based terrorist

organizations were directly involved in the Parliament attacks. He further blamed on Pakistan's intelligence agency Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) for supporting the terrorist networks against India. Pakistan's immediate response was full of grief and condemned the terrorist attacks. The Indian government's reaction was too much aggressive over the terrorist attacks. They continuously alleged Pakistan responsible for creating insecurity in India.¹³

Furthermore India put allegations over the Pakistan based organizations named the Laskar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM) for the insurgency in Kashmir. However Pakistan rejected the allegations of India while claimed that Indian government should provide some appropriate evidences. India at the movement demanded Pakistan to stop the cross border terrorism. Moreover they dismantled all transit links to Pakistan along with the withdrawal of high commissioner and diplomatic staff from Islamabad. The diplomatic relations of both states once again reached to the lowest level.¹⁴

The misperceptions continued to grow and led to deep intensity conflict in the shape of the largest military standoff between both countries. India immediately deployed her forces (land, air, naval) along the Pakistani borders. All the Communication links including air, road and rail were seized. The Indian government took the strategy of Offensive strike against Pakistan. The deployment of troops was estimated to the number of one million along the border of both

countries. After the 13th December attack the Indian government posed several threats to Pakistan to cross the line of control to counter the infiltrators from Pakistan and expressed more aggression. The too much aggression was showed by India and its example was the largest movement of Indian troops along the borders from May to June 2002.¹⁵

The conflict escalated more and developed the danger of nuclear warfare between both countries. The statements of governmental officials from New Delhi reflected that the nuclear first use threshold was more expected in order to combat the activities of Jihadist camps in Azad Kashmir as well as to crush the Pakistani military assistance to them.

President of Pakistan General Musharraf made a statement before the Pakistani press and argued that:

“If Indian troops moved just a single step across the International border or the Line of Control then In Sha Allah the Pakistani Army and supporters of Pakistan would surround the Indian Army and it would not be a conventional war”.¹⁶

The Indian response was not very much different and they assumed Musharraf statement as a biggest threat of using nuclear weapon against them. The Indian defense minister George Fernandez observed the statement of Musharraf as ‘irresponsible and stated that:

“We can take a bomb or two or more.... but when we respond there will be no Pakistan”¹⁷

The international community widely condemned the nuclear and military aggression of both states and forced them to move for reconciliation. They insisted that both states should defuse their tensions through initiation of the dialogue process. On one front Pakistan was fighting the war against terrorism as an ally of USA while on other hand she had been engaged in a biggest military standoff with India. The security environment of the whole region was under threat due to the terrorism plus the Indo-Pakistan engagement in military conflict. Now the role of international community was much significant in order to defuse the tensions between both countries.

President Bush had played a significant role to defuse the tensions initially aftermath of the Parliament attack in India. He made telephonic interaction with Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee to express his condolence. Moreover he did telephone to the Pakistani President Musharraf to take appropriate measures to counter the cross border terrorism in India. He forced Musharraf to take serious steps against the organizations involve in the violence especially against India. He provided assurance to the president of Pakistan that US was ready to give her every kind of assistance against the terrorist networks.¹⁸ On 20 December 2001 the US President declared that they would ban the Lashkar-e-Taiba and would add it to the

list of global terrorist organizations. They seized the assets of two more organizations upon the allegation to attack the Indian Parliament. On December 27 the US Secretary of the State Collin Powell declared Jaish-e-Mohammad and Lashkar-e-Taiba as international terrorist wings. US wanted some serious action from Pakistan against the terrorist networks in Pakistan. They had more hopes from General Musharraf to initiate major steps to counter the actions of banned organizations by US.¹⁹

Pakistan was receiving many instructions from US to act against the domestic terrorist networks. Finally on January 12, 2002 Musharraf took a bold step to counter the international pressures and declared ban to the leading extremist organizations much prominently were Jaish-e-Mohammad and Lashkar-e-Taiba. He furthermore announced that Pakistan would not allow her territory to be used for terrorism inside or outside the country. He added that Pakistan would continue the support for the Kashmir Cause and would not step back from her stand point on Kashmir. After some days later the speech of Musharraf, the US Secretary of State Collin Powell took an important visit to South Asia. He visited India and Pakistan and met the high officials. He forced the leadership of both countries to opt the way of reconciliation. He advised them to develop the environment to release their tensions and resume the bilateral dialogue. The US Secretary of State did not get

any break through to end the military standoff between Indo-Pakistan and his visit could not get the positive results.²⁰

In July 2002 Collin Powell visited to South Asia when India was preparing for the elections in Kashmir. He called upon India to conduct the free and fair elections in India held Kashmir. He further added that India should allow the Independent bodies to monitor the elections. Whereas he gave an important statement before the press in Islamabad in which he accepted that “Kashmir is on the International agenda”. His statement was too much criticized in India. The role of US regarding the implementation of peace between India and Pakistan was much important. The US administration did not want the escalation of conflicts between India and Pakistan.

The deadlock broke in the spring of 2003 when the Indo-Pakistan leadership took important initiatives to start a new beginning. The Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee did a speech in Srinagar during the mid of April 2003 where he enhanced the hand of friendship towards Pakistan. India placed some conditions for the revival of dialogue process. The major demand from India was to stop the infiltration in Kashmir and cross border terrorism. The opportunity was warmly welcomed by the Pakistani Prime Minister Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali and he appreciated the stance of Indian Prime Minister. Prime Minister Jamali made telephone call to the Indian

Prime Minister Vajpayee and both agreed to start the dialogue process including the resumption of diplomatic relations.²¹

The Indo-Pakistan relations entered into the new direction of mutual peace and cooperation when Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee took initiative to normalize the environment of tension. In October 2003 Vajpayee proposed various confidence building measures (CBMs) to Pakistan. The proposals of CBMs included the project of Srinagar-Muzaffarabad bus service and the resumption of Khokrapar-Munabao train service which had been closed since 1965 war. The ice over the bilateral relationships melts further on 23 November 2003 when the Prime Minister of Pakistan Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali made a proposal of unilateral ceasefire along the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir. The Indian leadership accepted the cease fire proposal from Pakistan and argued that the ceasefire should be operational to the Actual Ground Position Line in Siachin. The ceasefire was finally enforced on 26 November 2003.²²

The Revival of Composite Dialogue:

The history of Indo-Pakistan relations has always remained full of tensions and reconciliations. The struggles for the development of peace and cooperation between India and Pakistan started many times and eventually stopped due to various reasons. In post 9/11 scenario the India- Pakistan had to face new tensions.

Like India blamed Pakistan for sponsoring the terrorist networks in India and then the India Parliament Attacks of December 2001 and the terrorist attacks on the Srinagar Constitutional Assembly led both state to the brink of war. India blamed Pakistan for sponsoring these attacks. The ten months long military standoff continued between both countries. Pakistan banned many religious extremist organizations in order to satisfy the Indian authorities. A cease fire agreement of 2003 cooled down situations to some extent. After a long period of tensions the ice broke between both states when In January 2004 the Summit conference of South Asian Association of Regional cooperation held in Islamabad. The Indian and Pakistani leadership met in the Summit conference where they announced the revival of composite dialogue. Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee agreed that peace process should be revived. Pakistan also declared that she will not allow anyone to use her territory for the purpose of terrorism or against India. The leadership change came in India and Manmohan Singh became the Prime Minister of India. He continued the peace building process in May 2004. In September 2004 the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and the President of Pakistan Musharraf met in New York where they urged to continue the negotiations and bilateral talks for the normalization of the mutual relations. The agenda of composite dialogue dealt with eight core issues upon which both state would continue the dialogue process including:

- Confidence building measures
- Jammu and Kashmir
- Siachin
- Wular Barrage
- Sir Creek
- Terrorism and Drug Trafficking
- Economic and Commercial Cooperation
- Promotion of friendly exchanges in various fields

The Foreign Secretary level talks were held in New Delhi from 27 to 28 June 2004. These talks were the part of Composite Dialogue represented by the Indian Foreign Secretary Shashank and Pakistani Foreign Secretary Riaz Khokhar. They issued a joint statement to promote the cooperation peace and security. They focused on the need of developing Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) for the environment of peace and mutual cooperation. The good number of CBMs was adopted in joint statement including the Pre notification of missile tests, reopening of consulates in Mumbai and Karachi, permission to high commission to be operational and the release of the fishermen. The foreign secretaries agreed to continue the meaning full efforts related to the Kashmir issue. They jointly aimed to solve the all the disputes through bilateral negotiations. The transport diplomacy is quite interesting prospect in the peace developments over Kashmir. They agreed

to Srinagar-Muzaffarabad Bus service and discussed the issues over the legal documents of the passengers. Both Secretaries expressed desire to solve the Kashmir issue according to the spirit of UN charter and the Shimla agreement. They recognized the nuclear strength of each other and signed an agreement for holding regular meetings over the mutual concerns regarding the nuclear technology.²³

President of Pakistan General Musharraf once again took the way of Cricket diplomacy after former president Zia Ul Haq in order to resolve the conflicts and tensions. Basically during March and April 2005, the India Pakistan cricket matches were going on in India. Musharraf wanted to see the cricket Match between India and Pakistan in India. The Indian government sent him an invitation for watching any match. President Musharraf accepted the invitation and went to India on 17 April 2005 to watch the one day Cricket match. This visit turned into a complete Indo-Pakistan Summit and the both leaders expressed the desire to negotiate the differences. The Summit level meetings held in New Delhi in April 2005 where the president of Pakistan and Prime Minister of India gave several proposals for the solution of mutual conflicts. Musharraf. They issued a joint statement and agreed to encourage the Confidence Building measures, people to people contact and cooperation between both states. Musharraf and Manmohan Singh agreed to continue the dialogue process over the issue of Jammu and

Kashmir. They committed to develop the meetings points across the line of control in order to provide opportunity for the dividend families to meet each other, and for the trade between both sides of Kashmir. The leadership also decided to start the Sirinagar-Muzafarabad Bus Service with the additional plan of initiating the Bus service between the major cities of the both countries. The both leaders agreed to open the train service between the Khokrapar and Munabao on 1st January 2006. They also decided to reopen their respective Consulates in Mumbai and Karachi at the end of 2005. Both leaders encouraged the proposals of Composite Dialogue. The leadership of both sides decided to begin discussions soon over the issues of Sir Creek and Siachin Glacier. They gave instructions to the high officials to held discussions over these issues according to the international mechanism. The leaders of both countries also agreed to enhance cooperation in fields of trade and commerce and took the decision for the reactivation of Joint Economic Commission and the Joint Business Council.²⁴

On October 3, 2005 , the Foreign Minister level meeting held between India and Pakistani Islamabad to review the progress of the Composite dialogue including of the peace and security related Confidence Building Measures (CBMS). Moreover the meeting of the joint commission held on October 2005 to further the joint statement of 18 April 2005 by the President Musharraf and the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan Khurshid M.

Kasuri and the Indian External Affairs Minister focused to progress the agenda of the Composite dialogue for mutual peace and cooperation. They overview the progress of the agenda of the dialogue process. Both Ministers encouraged the recommendations of the joint Statement of 2nd September 2005 between the Foreign Secretaries. It was mutually agreed upon between them to arrange the Expert level meetings by the end of the year 2005 to the settlement of rules and regulations for the meeting points of the dividend families. The ministers from both countries showed joint agreement over various issues including: ²⁵

- An agreement for the execution of plan over the Lahore-Amritsar Bus service in November 2005
- A mutual agreement for conducting the meeting of the experts in Islamabad from 25-26 October 2005 for initiating the Nankana Sahib-Amritsar bus service.
- Agreed that in near future a technical level meeting would be conduct for the discussions over the Rawalakot-Poonch bus service.
- Jointly agreed for further discussions relating the rules and regulations for the enforcement of the plan of Truck service between Muzaffarabad and Srinagar.
- Both took the decision to release the fishermen and prisoners on the grounds of humanity.

The Foreign Ministers of both countries also signed an agreement of Consular access which comprised of the terms and conditions regarding the capture of their citizens by respective security authorities. It was agreed that an immediate notification would be issue in case of arresting their citizens. They would provide consulate access to each other citizens within the three months of arrest. They also discussed other issues including the release of prisoners, the national status verification procedures and the illegal crossing of LOC. The both representative also talked over the issues of Siachin and Sir Creek. They agreed that before the next round of the composite dialogue in January 2006 they would continue the discussions over the Siachin issue in order to find a common agenda for the possible solution of the problem. The Ministers agreed that they should conduct a joint survey in Sir Creek in order to find the maximum options for the solution of issue of that maritime boundary which will be report in the next round of Composite Dialogue. They discussed the important prospects of the project of Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline. The both Ministers agreed to sign the various confidence building measures including: the Agreement of the Pre-Notification of flight testing of Ballistic Missiles, the informal agreement of MOU between the Maritime Security Agency of Pakistan and the Indian Coast Guards for the development of a communication links.²⁶

In the third round of talks between the experts from India and Pakistan they agreed on non conventional CBMs including the non-development of new posts and non fortification of existing defiance works with reference to the Jammu and Kashmir. They did agreement over issues of grave concern including the arrangement of flag meetings and regulations over the return of people crossing borders by mistake. Pakistan gave proposal that both states should reduce the number of troops in Jammu and Kashmir. While the Indian responded that reduction of troops would give advantage to the terrorist for the implementation of their goals. The two days talks held between the home secretaries of India and Pakistan from 30 to 31 May 2006. The both representatives agreed on the agenda that notification of arrest and early release would be issued. The fishermen of both sides who crossed the maritime boundaries by mistake would get benefit from that agreement. Moreover for countering the illicit narcotics trafficking a Memorandum of Understanding came under discussions. The both secretaries exchanged the lists of the wanted persons. Pakistan demanded access to 58 persons while India demanded access to 35 persons. Both countries also showed tilt towards the relaxation in the Visa policy. Particularly in June Pakistan made some relaxations in her visa policy for India. The tourists were provided a 30 days visa rather than 14 days while the Indian Pilgrims were extended a 15 days visa rather than the shrine specific visa while the business visa extended to the six month triple entry

visa with maximum stay of 30 days each time. The trade relations also got boost when the Indian films were given space in Pakistan. The trade of Indian films towards Pakistan began to increase despite of the resistance of some business lobbies. The trade of other goods also went smoothly in that period. Pakistan made an important decision for the revival of conducive bilateral relations and allowed the transit of the Indian trucks from the land routes of Pakistan towards Afghanistan. The Punch-Rawalakot bus service was inaugurated by Sonia Gandhi on 20 June 2006 which further played important role in defusing the mutual misperceptions. The third round of Composite Dialogue was ended on 23 June 2006 when the representatives of both sides briefly discussed the Tulbul-Wular barrage issue.²⁷

Adoption of the Joint Anti Terrorism Mechanism:

The indo-Pak relations went towards the right direction in early 2006. The commitments for peace implemented in the form of inauguration of first cross border bus service between Amritsar and Lahore on January 20, 2006. The several efforts for confidence building measures took by both countries to move forward towards the peaceful mutual relations. The weekly train service in the name of Tehar Express initiated between Khokropar-Munaba on 18 February 2006. The bilateral talks between both countries continued in a gradual process toward the positive direction. The bilateral negotiations were going in a smooth manner but

the efforts towards the peace process suddenly abrupt when in July 2006 Mumbai the metropolitan city or economic hub of India attacked by the Islamic militants. The remote controlled bomb blasts happened in the first class apartments of seven Mumbai suburban trains who carried over 4.5 million passengers a day. The casualties were much higher almost 200 people died and 800 got injured. The Indian response to these attacks was quite responsible. The Indian leadership condemned the attacks and blamed on the foreign entities for conducting these attacks. The Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh argued the involvement of foreign hand by avoiding calling the name of Pakistan. However Indian leadership postponed the Foreign Secretary level talks with Pakistan. In September 2006 the Mumbai police placed the penalty over Lashkar-e-Taiba for the conduction of attacks in Mumbai. In September 2006, the meeting of the higher leadership from both sides took place in Havana.²⁸ A joint mechanism for countering terrorism adopted by the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and the Pakistan's President Pervez Musharraf at Havana in September 2006. The both leaders expressed the desire for the continuation of Composite dialogue in order to address all the persisting issues. They agreed to implement all the joint statements issued during 2004.

Aftermath of Mumbai blasts of 2006 the leadership of both sides strongly condemned the terrorist attacks. They tried to eliminate their mutual reservations

over the security infrastructure by jointly designing several security initiatives. The both countries took the decision to implement the India-Pakistan anti terrorism institutional mechanism for countering the growing terrorism. They issued a joint statement based upon various significant clauses including the mutual agreement for continuation of Composite dialogue abrupt aftermath of Mumbai blasts. The both sides agreed over a joint institutional mechanism for countering terrorism and implementing the counter terrorism initiatives. The conclusion of an agreement to adopt operational mechanism for resolution of Siachin Issue. They mutually stated for the resolution of maritime boundary at Sir Creek. Moreover the both leaders encouraged the Foreign Secretaries to hold meeting in New Delhi in the Spirit of Composite Dialogue. The other proposals included the mechanism for quick solution of Siachin issue. The expert level meeting for the joint survey of the Siachin area in November 2006 and the discussions over the maritime boundary. They also instructed the foreign secretaries for the implementation of agreements of CBMs related to LoC including the bus services, crossing points and truck services.²⁹

Musharrafs Four point Formula on Kashmir:

On 5th December 2006, President Musharraf proposed his four point solution to the Kashmir issue during an interview to the Indian television network NDTV. This formula included:³⁰

- The soft or porous borders in Kashmir without change of borders.
- Autonomy or self governance within each region of Kashmir
- Demilitarization of all region
- A joint supervisory mechanis

Musharraf was in a position to convince the Indian leadership to the conclusion of years old Kashmir Conflict. Pakistan wanted the immediate solution of the Kashmir issue. The Indian leadership agreed to overview Musharraf's Proposals over Kashmir. The Indian Prime Minister later on accepted that India and Pakistan had reached to the preparation of final draft for the resolution of the Kashmir conflict. The both government were in contact through backdoor channels for the implementation of Musharrafs proposals.

Samjhota Express Incident and After Effects over Indo-Pakistan Relations:

The Indian Minister of External Affairs paid visit to Pakistan on 13-14 January 2007. He signed an agreement for the promotion of mutual peace and cooperation in several fields of interest. The mutual peace process was going on smoothly and both states engaged into several initiatives for mutual peace and security. The environment of peace suddenly turned into violence and fear when on 18th February the train running between the India and Pakistan the Samjhota Express

targeted by the terrorists. The time bombs were implanted in the train which caused the blasts and fire in the train. The trains carried 757 Passenger and most were Pakistani. The train blasts proved a big disaster and almost sixty seven people were killed, many got injured and thirty had to admit in the hospital for their treatment. The passenger were much badly burned even their identification became so tough. The bomb blasts were carried out by well organized manner and the terrorists implanted heavy inflammable material in the train including the dozen of Kerosene bottles. The police suspected that the attacker had complete information about the arrival of train and they examined the whole environment before implementation of their plan. The eye witness also described that they saw the several Hindi speakingmen coming out of the train just before 15 minutes of the detonation. The train blasts widely condemned by the leaders from India and Pakistan. The timing of this terrorist activity was much surprising in the sense because it happened when the Foreign Minister of Pakistan Khurshid Mahmood Ksuri had planned the visit to India for bilateral peace talks on February 21, 2007. Both states agreed to capture the responsible elements immediately for their trails.

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In March 2007, two persons' were captured by the police who had sold the suitcases to the attackers for keeping the bombs. The investigations were spread towards the Islamic Militant organization including Jaish-e-Mohammad and

Lashkar-e-Taiba, the student Islamic Movement of India (SIMI). However the some Indian official claimed that the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) directorate was involved in the terrorist act. However Pakistani authorities refused the blame from the Indian side.³²

Despite the targeted attacks against the majority of Pakistani passengers in the Samjhota Express the both countries continued the peace initiatives. India and Pakistan reached to an agreement of reducing the risk from accidents relating to nuclear weapons in the February 2007. The other initiatives included the mutual trust building by adopting several CBMs. Both sides focused on the need of developing the trust for the elimination of rivalries and misperceptions. The bilateral economic relations improved and both states made several initiatives for economic cooperation. A significant agreement reached in May 2007 between the representatives to establish the branches of Reserve Bank of India and State Bank of Pakistan in each other countries. The state Bank proposed that three Pakistani banks would open in the Delhi and Mumbai while Reserve Bank of India proposed to open two Indian banks in the two major Pakistani cities. The meeting of the Commerce Secretaries of both countries held in August 2007. The trade issue mainly discussed by them including the issue of trade barriers and liberalization. The important decisions taken regarding the promotion of trade between both states. They decided to enhance the bilateral trade from \$ 1.7 billion to \$ 10 billion

till 2010.³³ In October 2007 the second round of Joint Anti Terrorism Mechanism (JATM) held in New Delhi but the JATM failed to reach any result and India continued the demand that Pakistan should capture the responsible entities and initiate trial against them.

President General Pervez Musharraf began to lose his political position in late 2007 and early 2008. The several decisions of him proved against his will including the operation in Lal Masjid of Islamabad by the Pakistan army. The actions against judiciary led the nation and the political thinkers against General Musharraf. The Indian leadership began to losing confidence in Musharraf especially after the terrorist attacks in India since 2006. The struggles for peace process got set back and the relations of both states remained uncertain. The political setup was leading towards democratic transition in 2008 in Pakistan. Pakistan people's party won the elections and Mr. Asif Ali Zardari established his government. The democratic government came into existence after the long rule of military. With the establishment of the new government the policy posture of Pakistan remained deeply concerned over the issues of terrorism, nuclear strategy and relations with India.

Conclusion:

Since independence, Pakistan-India had several mutual conflicts which tend to grow with the passage of time. Kashmir has been remained the bone of contention between both neighbours since 1947. William E. Brown and Robert Windrem in their controversial book “Critical Mass” had mentioned that because of the Kashmir issue south Asia is the most dangerous place on the earth. The issue of Kashmir occurred when the ruler of Kashmir declared its accession with India. Pakistan always raised Kashmir issue in her Foreign Policy agenda towards India whereas India always showed attitude of ignorance on Kashmir Issue. Basically every government in India tried to shut down the chapter of Kashmir issue. The leaders came and went with the passage of time and the relations of both states sometimes got improved and sometimes got deteriorated. The foreign policies of India-Pakistan mainly depended on the leadership of the both states. Pakistan’s Foreign Policy remained under several challenges since independence. The country went under the political instability and democratic institutions could never be strengthened in Pakistan. The military interventions had always been the significant feature of Pakistani politics. However the military rulers tried to improve the bilateral relations with India but they never wanted to engage in friendly relations with India without Kashmir. In addition to it the military rulers of Pakistan always pressurized by the religious groups to had Kashmir centric foreign

policy towards India. The Indian leadership never trusted much the military governments of Pakistan.

The Indo-Pakistan dialogue process initiated at several times but it never became successful due to reservations from both sides. The dialogue process although had importance but in case of India-Pakistan it proved as the game of musical chairs. At various occasions the leaders of both states agreed at several initiatives of mutual cooperation, CBMs, peace and security but all efforts proved temporary with the broke out of new conflicts.

Aftermath of acquiring the nuclear powers status India-Pakistan brought several changes in their policies towards each other to avoid the nuclear conflict. Both countries signed agreements not to use the nuclear weapons against each other. The biggest threat was that anyone of them could use the nuclear technology to immediately conclude their major conflict over Kashmir. So the nuclearization of India-Pakistan completely alter the policy patterns of both states. Pakistan had always claimed Kashmir as her jugular vein and India had threat that Pakistan might use the nuclear option to resolve that issue. The negotiations between India and Pakistan were eventually stopped due the the emergence of Kargil crises. Kargil was another war fought between Indo-Pakistan due to the Kashmir problem and resulted into deadlock between both countries.

The 21st century had witnessed new dimensions of conflicts between India and Pakistan. Pakistan was under the military rule of General Pervez Musharraf whom India considered as the master mind behind the Kargil episode of 1999. India-Pakistan relations were still in deadlock and India was not ready to negotiate with any dictator ruler of Pakistan. Musharraf tried to rebuilt the softer image of Pakistan towards all including India. The war on terror post 9/11 also changed the nature of conflicts between both rivals when India tried to convince the world that Pakistan was involved in cross border terrorism in India. India blamed that Pakistan was supporting the militant groups in Jammu and Kashmir against India. she demanded US and international community to take serious action against Pakistan. US pressurized Pakistan to address the reservations of India over cross-border terrorism. Pakistan on the other hand denied the Indian blames and stated to take action against any entity from Pakistan involved in the cross border terrorism in India.

India-Pakistan came towards reconciliation and the relations of both countries took a new start through Agra Summit 2001. Both countries agreed to cooperate for the development of mutual security, peace and CBMs. They agreed to negotiate all mutual conflicts including Kashmir issue. However the normalization process could not remained for long time and both nations reached at brink of war due to attacks on Indian Parliament. India blamed Pakistan for its involvement in the

attacks on Indian Parliament. However the relations of both states could not move forward due to lack of mutual trust.

After the resumption of the composite dialogue India-Pakistan agreed to several proposals for the resolution of the mutual conflicts. The several core issues came under discussions including the Kashmir issue. The significant development was the Four points formula of Musharraf on Kashmir. Although he had raised the Kashmir issue at several occasions but his four point formula was unique on which the Indian leadership also showed positive attitude. However due to the domestic political unrest Pakistan could not reach to any solution over Kashmir. The composite dialogue began to lose its significance when the terrorist attacks hit the Mumbai city in 2006. The Indian government indirectly blamed Pakistan's Intelligence agency ISI behind these attacks. However the peace process did not completely dismantled. The normalization process between both countries continued till 2008 when the relations of both states were going in the right direction. However the with the democratic transition of 2008 in Pakistan the things were changed and the initiatives taken by Musharraf government were not fully implemented by the next democratic government. Furthermore the peace process became the victim of Mumbai Attacks Or 26/11 incident led to the deadlock between both states.

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