

PAKISTAN GOALS COMMUNICATED & ACTUAL GOALS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF KASHMIR POLICY

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ABSTRACT

Foreign policy is the behavior of a state, towards other state to achieve its national outcomes. Pakistan has adopted two type of goals towards India with reference to Kashmir issue, the Goals communicated and the actual goals. Kashmir has been hanging as the only problem between India and Pakistan, for last seventy-five plus years, which did not solve. Pakistan claims the land of Kashmir, to be its own property and struggles for it. Such policy could not be addressed by Pakistan; therefore, it followed the way to communicate relatively small goals and pursue actual objective. The policy statement as given by Pakistan shows that, Pakistan struggles to preserve the Muslims from the tortures of nationalist ideology; Hindutva, to facilitate the lives of the people by calling for their rights. They face an anarchic condition where the value of democracy, justice and peace, is below zero degree for the people of Indian held Kashmir. In realist terms, they want to counter Indian hegemony and to withhold their rise in the region. Such policy means that, they want to pursue their relevant outcomes in such a way that, to avoid global war in future, to preserve their national reputation. The current qualitative study explores the major rise and falls in Pak-India Relations, and both of these actual and pursued goals.

Keywords: Kashmir Policy, Pakistan, India, Goals of Foreign Policy, Pak-India Relations.

INTRODUCTION

Technology has made the world, a small and interconnected village, and anything happens in one area immediately affects the other, Therefore, the world's states are now obligated to communicate with one another. In addition to attempting to describe how governments interact with one another in the global interstate system, international relations also aim to explain how individuals interact with one another when their acts are directed at citizens of other nations, (Khan, 2019) . The most important concept in

international relations is national interest. All politicians consider their national interests, when making foreign policy. The concept is very vague and difficult to define, according to Frankel, the confusion arises from the different use of the concept in different situations, the desire of the state can explain the national interest. In addition, it can be used to manage the rules and services on which it is based, it can be used in discussions in political debates to defend, justify or condemn the work, (Finnmore, 1966).

Foreign policy is the conduct of a nation towards other nations. This could entail, for instance, establishing free trade agreements with other nations or adopting measures that benefit those trading partners in return for their opening up their markets to the exports and imports of the country. In this sense, foreign policy is frequently seen as a tool or strategy that any government might employ in order to advance its own interests, at the expense of those of another nation or community of nations, though, embargoes and tariffs may fall within this category, it is not always the case. The strategy, which a nation adopts, towards the rest of the world is a crucial component of its foreign policy. Countries behave differently towards one another depending on how they engage with one another, which influences whether they can help or hurt one another. It will frequently be more advantageous for a country to cooperate with other countries, rather than, its self-sufficiency. These countries must be able to work together effectively in order for their economies to develop and grow, and can only attain their objectives without interfering in one another, if they cooperate, (Rafiq, 2022). According to Christopher Hill, foreign policy is the official conduct of foreign affairs by a state or other independent actor in international relations. The main goal of a state's foreign policy is to protect its interests as an independent state. "Every nation's goal is to have a favorable view of the future and to endeavor to realize it," claims Argansky. To attain the objective and protect its interests abroad, each nation uses distinct measures, (Wahdat, 2022).

Over the past 65 years, Kashmir has been a significant source of friction in India-Pakistan ties. India and Pakistan both acknowledge that the region is contested, but they have different perspectives, approaches, and objectives. "Pakistan upholds the right of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to self-determination in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council." However, the latter's ultimate goal seems to be Kashmir's annexation to Pakistan. The terrorist attacks of 9/11 and the United States' invasion of Afghanistan in retaliation significantly altered the security landscape in South Asia, if not the entire world. Regional actors, especially Pakistan, were forced

to modify their security strategies to reflect the most recent events in the area due to the changed [security] environment. Pakistan was forced to alter its security strategy in relation to its neighbors; Afghanistan and India as a result of this US demand, (Shafiq, 2015).

Rise and fall in Pak-India Relations

The conflict between India and Pakistan, is unresolved and the most serious conflict of past and present time. The roots of this conflict traces back to the release of two independent entities from the claw of British raj at the end of first half of twentieth century. It has been coming harsh with series of consecutive war and peace for over half century that has affected almost every dimension of state development of both states, but shows no chances of permanent solution, (Paul, 2005).

In fact, the controversy started from the day, when the sub-continent divided into two different minded sects; the Hindu majority and the Muslim majority. The people were mostly Muslims but the ruler was a Hindu Maharaja, who at early, wanted to remain independent, but being the Muslim majority, the people were not agreeing to be part of India and started protests on local basis, on other side the people from Pakistan also expressed their sympathies with Kashmiri people. That was the first war that was fought between two freshly born entities, in 1947/48. In 1954, Kashmir was ratified by the state assembly to be the part of India, (Johnson, 2004). The foreign ministers of Both India and Pakistan, Swaran Singh and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, held talk about the resolution of Kashmir Issue after the Sino-Indian war in 1962 under the supervision of United States and British. Following the water issue, which started as the Indians stopped the waters coming from India that affected the irrigation of Pakistan which led to the Indus water treaty 1960 between Ayyub and Nehru that handed over the water from Jhelum, Chenab and Indus to Pakistan and Sutlej, Ravi and Bias to India. The territorial dispute was once again tried by the border commission to solve the dispute that did not end with positive consequences, and finally led the war of 1965, (Hashim A. , 2019). Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was not in favor of leader from East Pakistan seated in the West Pakistan and warned them, the people

protested at Dhaka. Pakistani militant cracked down them in which mostly teachers and students were killed, India involved in the war that compelled Pakistani troops to surrender. About 90,000 were made prisoners of war, following the 1972 agreement at Shimla that led to the emergence of Bengal as an independent state and should be ratified by both of the states without any prejudice, (Johnson, 2004).

The treaty on non-nuclear aggression, that was sign between Rajiv Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto in 1988, was entered into force in 1991. In April 1991 they both agreed on prohibition of combined or close military exercises and training. A terrorist carrying car bomb attacked the Indian Embassy in Kabul on 6 July 2008 that killed 57 people and wounded 141. It was claimed that it is launched by the Pakistani Operative associated with Taliban, (Nizam, 2013).

Samjoota express, a train service that used to carry people between Delhi and Lahore, in 2007 two Bombs were adjusted that caused fire in the train. The fire was so hot and violent that could not be put out through hands and waters and lasted for two hours that put the lives of 66 people on fire. The Indian Railway Minister Laloo Prasad Yadav state that the act was to derail the improving relationship between Pakistan India. The dialogues regarding the composite relation between India and Pakistan that had completed its four rounds from 2004-2008. It included the people relation between through train and bus service, a judicial committee that will discuss the issue of civilian prisoners and fishermen, also the trade that should be extended from US \$344.59 million to 2.23 billion but the fifth round of talk was interrupted by the Mumbai attack. It was launched by 10 gunmen with automatic weapons and hand Grenades, mostly targeted the civilian people gathering like service stations, hospitals, theaters and hotels that were claimed to be belonged to Lashkar-e-Taiba. The only alive attacker was arrested named Ajmal Kasab who claimed that the attack is connected with Pakistan and the whole connection was controlled from Pakistan and added that that attackers were trained in Pakistani Camps, as a result the India broke the talks with Pakistan, (Haider, 2009).

The events in 2009 between India and Pakistan once again arose the expectation to exchange the

shape of violent relation and hard situation into prosperous and smooth relations. Pakistan accepted the Mumbai attacked claim that the training might have taken place at Pakistani soil but rejected the claim of facilitation by intelligence. The Indian Foreign Minister gave its statement that Pakistan is a failed state, as it is unaware of its territory under control. They proposed the that Pakistan should ensure the cracking down on its militant groups to recover the relation, during the NAM summit resuming the composite relation, and further added that it is up to Pakistan whether they want a good relation or otherwise prefer its militant groups keeping at their soil, and proposed the prosecution of Hafiz Muhammad Saeed acted as a head of Jumat-Ud-Dawa, (Waheed, 2008).

In the early days of January, the LOC was again crossed by the Pakistani militants at Jammu and Kashmir, Poonch district Sabziyan. According to intelligence report, there is no change in attitude of Pakistan toward LOC. They accessed through new way closer of mountains where the dense fog and low visibility helped them. Pakistan and India once again started the negotiation toward the rebuilding confidence after series of meeting to discuss the recently occurred issue like Mumbai attack, the dispute on border region and water issue. Both state foreign secretaries met on Thursday, Mr. Rao, the India foreign secretary added that my meeting with Pakistani official is the first step toward rebuilding, the discussion remained same as before and Mr. Rao argued that hope to be in touch with each other. After four years of Mumbai attack, the only surviving criminal Ajmal Kasab was sentenced to death at jail after the rejection of request of pleas of mercy by the president, (Yardley, 2010).

Shoukat Ali proposed to punish the victims of Samjoota express event. After five year in 2011, four persons were accused for the attack on train going from Delhi to Lahore. They were charged by National Investigation Agency (NIA). According them, the attack took place in response to similar attack launched by Muslim militant groups to disturb the peace and prosperity of India. Again on 2013, the Indian forces attacked on check posts that resulted in displacing many people from their homes due to regular firing. As a result of firing, one man was killed, and later,

the Indians fled to their territory leaving the weapons. Pakistan accused Indian forces being responsible for attack, they rejected the claim that it was as a result of firing in Pakistani territory by their own forces. Nawaz Sharif and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Sing met at New York in 2013. The meeting lasted for one hour where they talked about the cooling down of recent clash in disputed region of Kashmir. Pakistani Army Chief Raheel Sharif called Kashmir to be the Jugular vein of Pakistan and proposed the solution of problem according to the will of Kashmiri people and UN Security Council. Following the release of 151 Indian fishermen by Pakistan on good willing bases, Narendra Modi and Nawaz Sharif once again showed good will for smooth relations, (Saleem, 2019).

Border conflict in 2020 in series of clashes at Kashmir, which took the lives of 5 Indians and two Pakistani soldiers in the exchange of fire. In 2021 both states made a joint agreement joined by the Director Generals of Military operations. The agreement took place for the interest of achieving mutual peace and harmony. The conditions show that the relation is gradually becoming smooth and clear. Recently in 2023 Prime Minister of Pakistan Shehbaz Sharif in his interview to Al-Arabia TV told that Pakistan wants to live in peace with India, he stated that, ““My message to the Indian leadership and Prime Minister Modi is that let’s sit down on the table and have serious and sincere talks to resolve our burning points like Kashmir, (Krishna, 2022).

Kashmir

Kashmir is the region of one of 562 princely states of sub-continent which has been remain under the sword of different Rajas and Empires. It is situated at the North-western side of India, surrounded by autonomous region of Tibet at the East and by Uyгур autonomous region of Xinjiang.

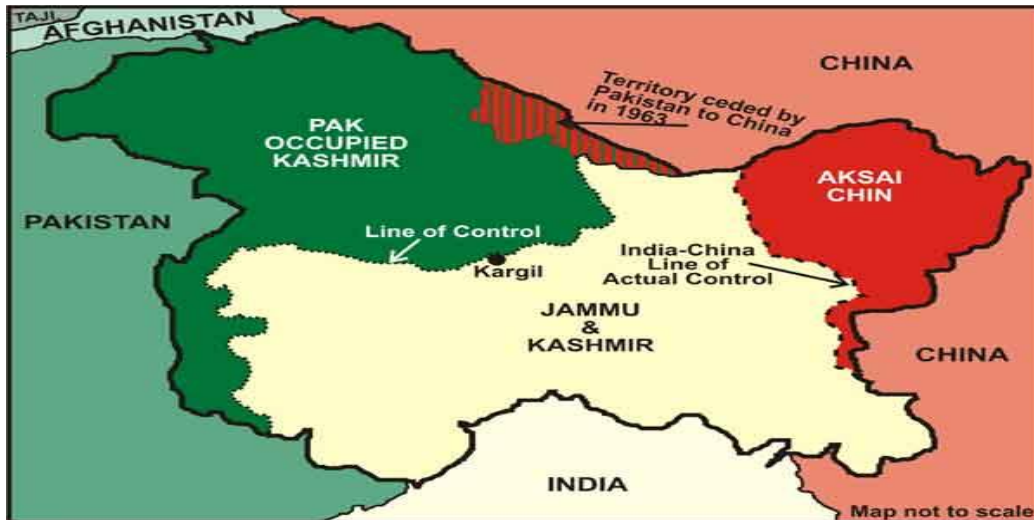
The Indian two states Himachal Pradesh and Punjab lie at the south of Kashmir. Pakistan lies at the west and Afghanistan at the North-Western side.

Background of Kashmir

Until the mid-19th century, the term "Kashmir" denoted only the Kashmir Valley between the Great Himalayas and the Pir Panjal Range. Today, the term encompasses a larger area that includes the India-administered territories of Jammu and Kashmir and Laddakh, the Pakistan-administered territories of Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Biltistan, and the Chinese-administered territories of Aksai Chin and the Trans-Karakoram Tract. In 1820, the Sikh Empire, under Ranjit Singh, annexed Kashmir. In 1846, after the Sikh defeat in the First Anglo-Sikh War, and upon the purchase of the region from the British under the Treaty of Amritsar, the Raja of Jammu, Gulab Singh, became the new ruler of Kashmir. The rule of his descendants, under the paramountcy (or tutelage) of the British Crown, lasted until the Partition of India in 1947, when the former princely state of the British Indian Empire became a disputed territory, now administered by three countries: China, India, and Pakistan.

Areas of Kashmir State

Both India and Pakistan claim all of Kashmir, but the territory has been partitioned between them since 1947. India controls the southern half of Kashmir, which it has organized as the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Before India's defeat in the 1962 Sino-Indian War, the state of Jammu and Kashmir also included the north-eastern section of the territory, which India still claims as part of Jammu and Kashmir State, but which has since been occupied by China as Aksai Chin.



Bhashyam Kasturi. (2012). Line of Actual Control or Contention?

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Pakistan controls the northern and western portion of Kashmir which is organized into three main regions: Azad (Free) Kashmir, occupying the crescent of land on the western border of Kashmir, between the state of Jammu and Kashmir on the east and Pakistan on the west; and Gilgit and Biltistan (the Northern Areas) located in the Karakorum Range in the far north-west. The area of Jammu and Kashmir State was about 138,200 sq.km (53,448 sq. mi), before the Sino-Indian war; excluding the area occupied by China it is now about 101,387 sq. km (39,145 sq. mi). It has a population of 10.1 million (2000). The area controlled by Pakistan is about 84,100 sq. km (32,494 sq mi), of which Azad Kashmir comprises about 1,680 sq. km (650 sq. mi). The population (1985 estimate) of the three Pakistani-controlled areas is about 2.8 million.

Pakistan's Communicated Goals in Kashmir

Quaid-e-Azam point of view about Kashmir can be understood from his statement which he gave after his visit to Kashmir and understanding the importance of Kashmir for Pakistan that, "Kashmir is the Jugular vein of Pakistan and no state or nation would tolerate its jugular vein remaining under the sword of enemy". Ayyub khan being very happy on his visit to Pakistan welcomed him and discussed the Kashmir issue with him and also told him for the US aid to India, he promised that I will think about it. Quaid-e-Azam always gave importance to Kashmir in his important activities. He has so much grief about

Kashmir that even before the independence, he used to say that Kashmir has been under the sword of Indians and has always been put to violence for many decades. He also ordered the commander in chief of Pakistan Army, to dispatch the force in Sri Nagar and Jammu, also wrote to Mount Batten in 1947 about the word Pakistan that P means Punjab, A for Afghans that is pathan of NWFP, I, is the word that has no mean in Urdu, S for Sindh and Tan for the last words of Baluchistan, (Sandeela, 2023).

Iiaquat Ali khan was also so much furious about the incorporation of Kashmir with India. The issue of Kashmir was the first and highest priority to him. He had also spoken many times about Kashmir and smooth relations between the two states. Indians many times threaten Pakistan for its invasion but the Liaquat Ali khan united the people of Pakistan against India with extreme strategy which affected the Indian intentions so much that Jawaharlal Nehru went back, claiming that India has no intentions to war. The independence formula was such that the Muslim majority sates would join Pakistan and at of Hindu majority would do so with India, but the Dogra Raj was linked with Hindus of India so he decided to handover the Muslim majority state to India. Nehru promised Iiaquat Ali khan that they should be given the right of self-determination whether to India or otherwise Pakistan. According to an article, that once the US offered Liaquat Ali Khan for secret talks, their intentions ware to decide the easy targeting of Soviet Union from Pakistan.

Liaquat Answered that Pakistan has captured the annex part of Kashmir and without US and would be able to do so with another part too, (Bhatti, 2010).

General Ayyub Khan was also among those leaders who has always struggled for Kashmir on every forum, and particularly, it would not be incorrect to say that he was the first among all in whose era the Narratives of United State and India were regularly going to change but he always spoke in each of his visit and meeting to solve the Kashmir issue through bilateral talks but due to regular changing in time, change in US policy and also a dynamic relation with Pakistan. Ayyub Khan has never missed any opportunity to talk to US but they have given just a temporary response based on its own interest. The short summary of Ayyub offers and US behavior during his era is following, (Mugheri, 2023).

- Eisenhower became the president of United States, he visited Pakistan in 1959. Ayyub Khan being very happy on his visit to Pakistan welcomed him and discussed the Kashmir issue with him and also told him for the US aid to India, he promised that I will think about it. After his return from Kabul, he visited India to discuss the Kashmir issue with Nehru, but he refused to do so. Eisenhower warned both countries to avoid any war and solve the dispute. Being interested in their own aims, they gave aid to Pakistan during this era and called that Pakistani military needs to be strongest in the region.
- In 1961 Kennedy became the 35th resident of United States, as the government change if US, the policies also changed which resulted in the Kennedy orientation toward India. The vice president of Kennedy visited Karachi, Ayyub Khan met him and once again talked about the issue of Kashmir, like all other times he just called the Kashmir issue on peaks of lips in a single sentence and the modernization of Pakistani Military. Ayyub again put his objection in front of vice president about the provision of US aid to India and assumed it a direct threat to Pakistan. Kennedy invited the President of Pakistan to visit US. Kennedy welcomed him and praised for help on Korean War. Ayyub described the internal problems, soon Kennedy sent its team and aid to solve all the problems where most of them were related to the infrastructure at low level.

- Ayyub Khan on his second visit to United State, met with Kennedy and again highlighted the US aid to India. Kennedy said that it is economic aid which is aimed to force India for peace talk about Kashmir. After one month the President Kennedy sent message to Ayyub Khan about US aid to India and demanded for helping India in Sino-Indian war 1962. Ayyub Khan was already upset of the US behavior toward Pakistan and refused to do so. He called an emergency session of Assembly and suggested that we have two options to solve the Kashmir Issue; war or negotiations. At general assembly session of United Nation Kennedy agreed to solve the Kashmir issue, Ayyub on his return to Pakistan, addressed at Karachi that US ensured us that they will the Kashmir Issue. Kennedy called a session at Washington and said that we want the smooth relations between India and Pakistan, settlement of Kashmir and do not want to blame any of them.

- 28 November 1962 was the last day of Pakistan hopes from US in Ayyub era to solve the Kashmir dispute. Two officials came from US to solve the Kashmir Issue, Ayyub Khan was agreed but Nehru was not ready to solve the dispute. After Sino-Indian war, Kennedy again put pressure on India for solving the problem and arranged six rounds of discussion between Pakistan and India but the session again ended fruitless. In his speech he criticized US aid to India and addressed smooth relation with neighbor countries; India China and USSR. Finally, Ayyub made tie with China even US was not agreed.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was one the crucial leaders in the history of Pakistan. He stated the Kashmir issue that Kashmir is not the integral part of India and has never been the so, rather it is a disputed territory between Pakistan and India. The people of Kashmir are almost associated to the people of Pakistan in their color, race, blood and religion. He added that this is our promise, we will fight for Kashmir for 1000 years, (Hameed, 2018).

Among all the plans and policies regarding the Kashmir issue, Musharraf presented its four points formula about the solution of Kashmir issue. The formula might have proved fruitful for Kashmir and both states but before its implementation, it was highly criticized even from inside Pakistan, (Nabi, 2017). Like all other state officials, Imran Khan also worked about Kashmir issue both

bilaterally and on international forum. On his interview to TV in 2015, he told that one of the core issues to Pakistan is Kashmir issue which we need to solve through dialogue with India, (Alam, 2020) . Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz Sharif (PMLN) was in power up to 2018, he manifested that a special procedure should be used to solved the issue of Kashmir, while doing so, the UN Security Council resolution, 1999 Lahore accord and their right of self-determination, must be considered. Pakistan people party (PPP) announced the slogan of ‘The new hope for a prosperous and progressive Pakistan. They promised in their 2018 manifesto that they will maintain solidarity on Kashmir, (Kuszevska, 2022).

Pakistan’s Actual Goals in Kashmir

It is claimed that the people of Indian part of Kashmir are tired of Indian supremacy over them. They are opining to be either independent or to be with Pakistan. The majority of them belong to Islam. The India is a state where the religion of majority is Hinduism while in Pakistan the religion of majority is Islam. If the problem is left as such, the Indian administer Kashmir can be easily sued to target Pakistan, (Panhwar, 1996) . The geopolitical importance of Kashmir for Pakistan leads her to strive for its accession and get these opportunities. Pakistan and Kashmir are dependent on each other’s. Kashmir leads Pakistan to have easy access to central Asia than to Europe, (Kalis, 2013).

India is surrounded by six countries where all share borders with India but no one have common border with each other’s, India takes the opportunity of her geography to exercise Hegemony in the region. The strong hindrance in the way of Indian Hegemony is Pakistan that does not let India to rule the region, as a result, the India has diverted its attention toward Pakistan to disrupt its peace and subjugate it on every base, (Falak, 2017).

The whole credit of invasion, division and occupation goes to British when they lift the conflict as such. Neither the UK criticized the India for its atrocities in Kashmir which means they are involve in this issue nor did the US question the illegal stay of Pakistan in Kashmir by snatching their independence and sovereignty.

The Kashmir looks like the plan of both India and Pakistan to use their own military strength and exercise their power in Kashmir to make Kashmir as a buffer between them, while the people of Kashmir are highly exhausted for the peace and independence, (Rauf, 2014).

Pakistan is among few states to recognize Taliban government in Afghanistan. To ensure its entry and avoid international influence, Pakistan claims for the threat from India and searching of Strategic Depth against Indian Aggression. It has also been told by some commentators that “the road to peace in Afghanistan goes through Kashmir”. While Pakistani involvement in Afghanistan is undoubtedly motivated by its rivalry with India, it is too simplistic to take a wholly Kashmir-centric view of their strategic calculations, (Blomqvist, 2011).

The relationship between Pakistan and China is much closed since the independence of China, recently the re-establishment of Ancient Silk Route would pass its one road through Gilgit Baltistan. The analysts have different opinions about its impacts. It is argued that if there was peace in the region, the success of CPEC will not only improve its prosperity but will also help the region in solving its major disputes. India claims Gilgit to be the part of disputed territory and are hostile to the establishment of CPEC, with its different projects of \$46billion CPEC would connect Pakistan and China through roads railway. The chief minister of Indian held Kashmir, Mahbooba Mufti had appreciated the development of CPEC and called it a nucleus toward new economic alliance in the region. The rise of China in the region has led the Indians to think about new development in the region, (Shah, 2017).

Conclusion

In response to questions, which demand a contrast between communicated goals and actual goals of Pakistan in Kashmir, the reasons for following such policy and the consequences of such policy on Pak-India relation respectively, it is clear that the mid of 20th century, British released two nations from its claw. According to their independence act people had the right to join either of two states or to remain independent, the same was valid for princely states. The separation took place smoothly but at last, the princely state

of Kashmir remained disputed due to its majority of Muslims which wanted to be with Muslim majority Pakistan but ruler decided independence. He was backed by India for the cost of accession which was not accepted even to Pakistan. The war broke out in 1948, followed by the UN ceasefire. Since that time, the relation between India and Pakistan has not seen a healthy and prosperous day. A series of rise and fall has wounded the relation between them. Water dispute, Sino-Indian war Pak-India war of 1965 and then 71, each of the conflict is followed by resolution or agreement. The situation got a severe shape when they both became the nuclear powers. The early policy of Quaid-e-Azam was based on his personal observation of people of Kashmir and the condition of their rights, and also due to importance of Kashmir for Pakistan. He expressed that Pakistan would always help Kashmiri people against Dogra ruling. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto during his speech to UN, expressed that Kashmir is not the sole property or issue of India, rather, it is a disputed territory and should be put to discussion. To sum up the addressed policy of Pakistan for Kashmir, shows the mutual share of Kashmir as Bhutto expressed, crimes are backed by Indian government, their right of self-determination to decide their own future. But actually, it works for taking whole Kashmir, they want to counter Indian Hegemony in South Asia, they use Kashmir as a Buffer zone with India, and also as a strategic depth to secure from Indian threat.

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