

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	i
ABSTRAKSI	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	v
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	vi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 BACKRGOUND	1
1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION	4
1.3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	4
1.4 HYPOTHESIS	8
1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	8
1.6 STRUCTURE OF THESIS	9
CHAPTER 2: INDIA, PAKISTAN AND THE TERRITORIAL CONTENTION IN KASHMIR	10
2.1 CONCEPTS OF TERRITORIAL DISPUTE AND KASHMIR	10
2.1.1 <i>Paul Hensel & Tuomas Forsberg in Explaining Territorial Disputes</i>	10
2.1.2 <i>Kashmir as a Territorial Dispute</i>	12
2.2 DOMESTIC POLITICS OF INDIA	13
2.2.1 <i>State Building, the Indian National Congress and Politics</i>	13
2.2.2 <i>Other Major Political Parties in India, 1977 – Present</i>	16
2.3 POLITICS OF PAKISTAN	17
2.3.1 <i>Early Formations of the State, the All India Muslim League and Muslim Influence in Politics</i>	17
2.3.2 <i>Other Major Political Organisations since Independence</i>	21
2.3.3 <i>Military and Politics in Pakistan</i>	22
CHAPTER 3: INDIAN-PAKISTANI FOREIGN POLICY CHOICES AND DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS ON NEGOTIATING THE KASHMIR DISPUTE	24
3.1 EARLY STRATEGIES AFTER INDEPENDENCE (1947-1956) AND SUBSEQUENT REPEATED CLAIMS ON JAMMU AND KASHMIR	24
3.1.1 <i>Pakistan's Post-Independence Foreign Policies (1947-1956)</i>	26
3.1.2 <i>India's Post-Independence Foreign Policies (1947-1956)</i>	28

3.1.3 <i>Implications and Political Constraints on Foreign Policy Choices (1947-1956)</i>	30
3.2 1962 – 1963 SWARAN SINGH – ZULFIQAR ALI BHUTTO	
BILATERAL TALKS	32
3.2.1 <i>Pakistani Foreign Policies in the 1962-1963 Bilateral Talks</i>	34
3.2.2 <i>Indian Foreign Policies in the 1962-1963 Bilateral Talks</i>	37
3.2.3 <i>Implication and Political Constraint on Foreign Policy Choices during 1962-1963 Bilateral Talks</i>	39
3.3 BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND THE MUSHARRAF REGIME	41
3.3.1 <i>Foreign Policies of Pakistan under the Musharraf Regime</i>	43
3.3.2 <i>Indian Foreign Policies on Kashmir: Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Manmohan Singh</i>	44
3.3.3 <i>Implications and Political Constraints on Indo-Pak Bilateral Talks (1999-2007)</i>	45
CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION	49
BIBLIOGRAPHY	51

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: General Election Results and INC Prime Ministers of India 1947-1977	15
Table 2: List of India's Prime Ministers (1977 -)	16
Table 3: List of Pakistan's Prime Ministers since Independence	20

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIML	All-India Muslim League
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
CENTO	The Central Treaty Organization
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPP	Communist Party of Pakistan
INC	Indian National Congress
LoC	Line of Control
MMA	Muttahida Majilis-i-Amal
MMQ	Muttahida Quami Movement
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
PML	Pakistan Muslim League
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz
PML-Q	Pakistan Muslim League-Quad-i-Azam
PPP	Pakistan Peoples Party
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
SAARC	South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCIP	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
UNMOGIP	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UPA	United Progressive Alliance
US	United States (of America)
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics