



Franco-German and India-Pakistan Reconciliation: A Comparative Study

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ABSTRACT

Purpose - The study has been conducted to examine the process of reconciliation and conflict resolution between neighboring states with deep seated antagonism and to learn why in some cases enmity transformed into amity where as in others efforts of conflict resolution and reconciliation suffered failure.

Design/Methodology/Sample - In this study the authors have conducted a comparative analyze the reconciliation and conflict resolution between hereditary enemy states like France-Germany and India-Pakistan. The authors have also examined the internal and external factors driving or hindering the reconciliation process or responsible for their success or failure.

Findings - The study reviled a different result in both cases, where reconciliation between France and Germany was successfully materialized with regional integration and resolution of territorial disputes but the India-Pakistan case suffered dead-log. The study highlighted the importance of international actors along with the political leadership in conflict resolution. It also emphasized on the involvement of religious leadership, civil societies and popular media to pursue reconciliation.

Research Limitations/Implications - The authors concluded that the establishment of peace and reconciliation is inevitable without the contribution of religious leadership in cases where antagonism is fueled by religious sentiments. Deep seated inter-state antagonism can only be eliminated by altering the mindset of greater public.

Keywords: Conflict resolution, Peace, Reconciliation, India-Pakistan, Rival states

Jel classification: H1, H7, N4, O18

* The material presented by the authors does not necessarily portray the viewpoint of the editors and the management of the Institute of Business & Technology (IBT)

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1. INTRODUCTION

In the post-cold war, power oriented inter-state relations reconciliation has remained a least glittering concept. Reconciliation emphasizes on apology, forgiveness and harmony, and these concepts have not gained much prominence in power politics. The post-cold war era is revolution in itself due to a growing trend of reconciliation on outstanding disputes which were considered unthinkable in earlier decades. The Franco-German case is an important example that ended up centuries old animosity and rivalry between France and Germany and brought peace and prosperity to the region. Unlike France and Germany, India and Pakistan have a history of sixty five years of conflicts and rivalry that has led the region towards an arms race, as the two rival neighbors bear nuclear weapons the region is considered hottest nuclear flash point in the world. It is still debatable that to which extent the experiences of Franco-German is applicable in the South Asian context.

1.1 History of Franco-German Relations

Joseph Rovin a French veteran of reconciliation states “it took twenty-three Franco-German wars since the era of Charles V and François I to finally create Europe.” Thus the journey of conflicts, coercion and antagonism between France and Germany is centuries old but this study primarily focuses on the prominent eras of history that dramatically shifted the course of Franco-German relations. The French revolution brought end to French monarchy and Napoleon to power. Napoleon continued his expansionist policies by crushing French enemies in Europe and annexing former French territories “Rhine” region (a German territory). Acts like annexing German states, oppression and expulsion of German population from those areas fertilized anti-French sentiments among the Germans. Later mid-19th century the Bismarck’s era is regarded with German dominance in Europe (Ogrill, 2008).

At the beginning of 20th century, immergence of excessive nationalism both in Germany and France. Such pro-nationalist sentiments compelled both nations to prepare their new generation for military training, invent more leather munitions and maintain large standing armed forces. All these preparations by France and Germany were to provide security against foreign aggression and enable them to fight for national honor (Caldwell & Merrill, 1949).The world war broke out in 1914 and extended through Europe, with a death toll of over a million and defeat to Germany and central powers war ended in 1919. The “Treaty of Versailles” Signed on June 28, 1919, was apparently intended to create lasting peace in Europe, But its bias demands made it controversial. The treaty held Germany solely responsible for the war and for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied or Associated Powers and to their property by her aggression by land, by sea, and from the air (Grimshaw, 2008).Pain of these unhealed wounds motivatedthe German nationalists and these sentiments were later manipulated by Adolf Hitler in Main Kamf.

The writings and speeches of Adolf Hitler in his book *Mein Kamf* (My struggle), were good enough to fuel the growing anti-French sentiments as he said: “France is Germany’s eternal enemy and must be crushed” (Caldwell & Merrill, 1949). For Nazi leaders war with France was not only unavoidable but it was desired. The Second World War broke out on September 1, 1939 the German Third Reich invaded Poland, consequently on September 3, bound by the treaty, both Britain and France declared war on Germany, thus brought France and Germany again in an armed conflict. By June, 1940 almost 60% of French territories were captured by the Germans. On November 11, 1942 remaining French territories were fallen to Nazi occupation. As Germans were now stuck in Soviet Union, Allies were in position to liberate France, after a fierce battle at Normandy on June 6, 1944. On August 26, 1944, French General Charles de Gaulle with help of Allied forces succeeded to liberate Paris.

World War II resulted to be the most deadly and most costly military conflict, with total financial cost of approximately a trillion US\$ (1945 value of US \$). The war left approximately 7 million Germans homeless, approximately 1,860,000 German civilians lost their lives, nearly 850,000 civilians were injured and approximately 5,533,000 German soldiers were killed. The total number of German casualties were 10.6% of total German population (Worldology, 2009). The invasion thwarted the German economy,In the aftermath of World War II both Franc and Germany had to face

significant economic hardship, rapid and disruptive inflation (Casella & Eichengreen, 1991).

What a strange, cruel, beautiful and intense adventure it has been for these two fraternal peoples who needed almost half millennium to recognize each other as they are, to acknowledge each other, and to unite. These were the words of French President François Mitterrand's on the fortieth anniversary of the end of World War II (LappenKuper, 2008). On October 23, 1954 Paris Treaties were signed freeing FRG from bondage of occupation status and securing its place Western EU (LappenKuper, 2008). The arrival of J F Kennedy as U.S president 1961, helped Paris and Bonn to resolve their differences. On January 22, 1963 Charles de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer signed a treaty of mutual friendship that was aimed to change the traditional Franco-German relations of "hereditary enemies" to friends and partners (Elvert, & Schirmann, 2008). For Franco-German the fall of Berlin wall brought a positive change and the unification of Germany in 1990 brought Franco-German relations into a new prosper era.

1.2 History of India-Pakistan Conflict

The two south Asian neighbors got their independence in 1947 after the secession of British-India. During these 66 years both have fought four wars (1947-48, 1965, 1971 and 1999). In the race of military might and regional superiority, both have developed and tested their nuclear weapons, a matter of great concern for the regional and international community. Both India and Pakistan have allocated substantial amount of their budgets to defense. Today the region has become a nuclear flash-point in the world.

The Kashmir dispute has resulted to be as lethal as that of "Alsace and Lorain" between France and Germany. The first Indo-Pakistan war was triggered with dispute over Kashmir's control. Later the dispute was taken to the United Nations, the UN resolution over Kashmir demanded the return of both forces to their prior positions and conduct of plebiscite, giving Kashmiris a right of self-determination. Neither of the two belligerent states step back from their position and sought to absorb those parts of Kashmir that came under their control. Negotiations over Kashmir have remained in dead-log (Ganguly, 1998). Growing tension in Kashmir followed by 'Operation Gibraltar' in August 1965 ended up with a full-fledged war between India and Pakistan in September 1965. In the aftermath of 1965 Indo-Pakistan war 'Tashkent Declaration' appeared as a hope of reconciliation but resulted meaningless. Till 1968 Pakistan had change uni-dimensional foreign policy toward United States to multidimensional foreign policy, that Ayub Khan called the "Triangular-tightrope" a tricky security approach of having cordial relations with China and Soviet Union with maintaining good relationship with United States as well.

The 1971 war was actually the domestic political strains between the two segments of Pakistani state that initially turned into a civil war of which India took advantage off. Despite of vast cultural and linguistic differences, common religion and deep distrust of India were the force that bound the two segments together (Gill, 2003). The crises erupted just after uneven transfer of power between leading parties in December 1970's general elections (Soharwardi, 2001). Waging war was not the only option for India, but few of Indian scholars like K Subrahmanyam an Indian analyst and director of a government-sponsored 'Defence Studies Group', urged military action by India as "an opportunity the like of which will never come again", as Indian Prime-minister Indra Gandhi remarked to the Congress Parliamentary Party on India's decisive victory in 1971 "We have avenged 1000 years of history (Gill, 1994). Later in July 1972, Z.A Bhutto and Indra Gandhi met at Shimla (India), where a post-war peace agreement "Shimla Agreement" was signed. From Rann of Kach in 80's to the nuclear tests and Kargil crises in late 90's India-Pakistan relations continued their roller-coaster ride. In the following years Pakistan actively participated in US war on terror. Pakistan faced severe internal threats in form of suicide attacks on military installations and foreign consulates and high-profile assassinations. Due to the overpowering reality of daily incidents of bloody violence on its own territory, Pakistan's military establishment has redefined its security policy by declaring internal threats more crucial than the external threats.

1.3 Research Questions

- If France and Germany have finally reconciled and established cordial relations after centuries of antagonism, hatred and aggression against each other and established peace in Europe. Why this practice has not been successful in India-Pakistan relations?
- What are the internal and external factors that are pushing or hindering peaceful relations between India and Pakistan?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

It is evident that constructive and non-violent relations between nation-states are possible only by ending conflicts and confrontation. However, such state of conflict often resumes due to the presence of fear, mistrust or deep seated hatred that interfere in building better relations between rival nation-states and lead to renewed violence (de La Rey, 2001). This Inertia can be ended through apology, forgiveness, sacrifice, harmony and accepting each other through reconciliation. Reconciliation may be defined as mutual acceptance or understanding of each other's stance by the conflicting parties (Stub & Pearlman, 2001) or a process of restoring a damaged relationship (Broneus, 2003). Reconciliation is a long-term process that leads to the transformation of inter-state enmity to amity (Assefa, 2001; Bar-Tal, 2004). Indeed, it is impossible to reconcile without ending the root causes of the conflict (Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004). A fundamental change of perception towards each other and rebuilding broken relations by gaining mutual trust are the core objectives of reconciliation (Ackermann, 1994).

The history of hostile relations cultivates a sense of superiority in one state and sense of humiliation, victimhood and revenge in the other inferior state (Boilding, 1959). An institutional framework can lead the reconciliation process between the countries by bringing the interests of conflicting nation-states under a single domain. The Franco-German case is considered as a role model of regional integration, as it is one such process that therefore greatly contributes to the peace building efforts (Feldman, Lilly Gardner, 1999b), it was also experienced that rationalizing the trade policy and reducing the trade barriers created an environment and mutual willingness towards peace and security. Indeed the Franco-German peace was a twofold process involving both France and Germany, but one must admire the German effort, pursued over five decades through education, public policy and citizen activism, and Federal Republic's specific commitment to "good neighborliness and historic responsibility" and its general belief that 'German foreign policy is peace policy' (Lily, Gardner, Feldman, 1999a).

The momentous turnaround of May 9, 1950 had been prepared by several individuals, personal "conversions" among the elites and the mutual efforts of the national leaders (Bossuet, 2009). The milestone was the Elysee Treaty of 1963, signed by the leaders of two countries the German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and the French President Charles de Gaulle (Koopmann, 2009). The Franco-German peace process was backed by international actors, Who wanted to secure western hemisphere from the potential Soviet expansion. The US lead Marshall's Plan for European rehabilitation and reconstruction was one of these efforts. But the context is different for India and Pakistan Yet, in spite of commonalities, one (India) defines its existence largely in opposition to the other (Pakistan) and vice versa.

Like the territorial dispute of Alsace-Lorraine that haunted Franco-German relations for decades, Kashmir is considered the root cause of all problems between India and Pakistan, but some scholars disagrees and believes that the Kashmir is itself the result of deep seated antagonism on both sides (Malhotra, 2002). The chronic tension between the two has swallowed vast quantities of resources that directly affect the quality of life of the inhabitants of South Asia (Mallika, n.d). Unlike Europe the international actors have influenced negatively in India-Pakistan relations, where the United States and the world community have acted as alert firefighters, just rushing to intervene diplomatically when indo-Pakistan relations start tripping towards the active hostility.

Recently there is a positive tone in some of the statements from both sides just after the announcement of a redefined strategic policy by Pakistani Army chief General Ashfaq Pervez Kiyani, declaring India as a secondary threat and a statement by the Pakistani democratic leadership, declaring India as most favorable country for trade (Anita Joshua, 2011). Indian foreign minister Salam Khursheed responded that we welcome it and will make an appropriate response, the peace process has been something in which a lot of time has been invested and we won't let these incidents that have happened recently affect it" (Roy & Guha, 2013). The Franco-German alliance is indeed a successful experiment and can be considered as a role model for nation-states with hereditary enmity like India and Pakistan. But many scholars perceive Asia as a completely different regional context to which the Franco-German model is not applicable (Jiang, 2003). On the other hand India-Pakistan relations are characterized by periodic ups and downs, uneven diplomacy and intermittent breakdown. This makes predictions about the future destination of their relations and endurance of the dialogue processes a bit problematic (Askari, 2011).

3. RESEARCH METHOD

In our study we have followed descriptive, quantitative and analytical approach to examine the internal and external factors pushing and hindering the peaceful Indo-Pak relations. We have analyzed the Franco-German and India Pakistan in a comparative perspective. We have first chosen the Franco-German case where the two erstwhile foes states finally reconcile, whereas the second is the case of India-Pakistan relations where the inter-state animosity and rivalry has still not been eradicated or altered. A questionnaire consisting of 12 questions was prepared pointing out the prominent aspects of India-Pakistan relations. The survey included 200 participants, and mainly students belonging to several Universities and educational institutions of Karachi.

Variables	Yes	NO	Don't Know	StDeviation
	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	StDeviation
Distortion of historiography	57	25.5	17.5	0.76937
Peace Narratives	61	23	16	0.75522
Collective Peace Movement	70	17	12	0.70488
Trade for Peace	43	33	24	0.79818
Citizen Diplomacy	45	25	30	0.85508
Possibility of Indo-Pak Peace	49	42	9	0.6497
Indo-Pak Arms race	59	27	13	0.72151
Regional Integration	35	31	33	0.82959
Peace resolution of Kashmir	40	44	16	0.71058
Priority Kashmir dispute	58	26	15	0.74062

4. DATA ANALYSIS & RESULTS

In our study we have conducted a survey to analyze the internal factors like accessing

the willingness of individuals to reconcile “Track-2 diplomacy”. The participants were asked about the possibility of India- Pakistan reconciliation in comparison with the Franco-German case, 49% agreed where as 42% disagreed. Answering “*Distortion of historiography*” 57% individuals believed that “Distortion of Historiography” is responsible for mutual antagonism, where as 25.5% disagreed. Answering “*Arms race*” 59% of individuals stressed to immediately end the arms race between India and Pakistan, whereas 27% believed that the arms race must continue. *Kashmir dispute like Alsace-Lorraine* 40% participants believe that a peaceful settlement of Kashmir dispute is possible, while 44% suggested that it’s impossible. For *priority to Kashmir dispute over others* 58% answered that Kashmir dispute should be given priority over other disputes, where as 26% opposed.

Table 2: Correlation

	resolution of Kashmir	regional integration	Peace on Franco-German model	Peace narratives	Citizen diplomacy
resolution of Kashmir	1	.284(**)	.216(**)	.144(*)	0.073
Sig (2-tailed)		0	0.002	0.042	0.306
N	200	200	200	200	200
regional Integration	.284(**)	1	0.017	0.053	.167(*)
Sig (2-tailed)	0		0.814	0.453	0.018
N	200	200	200	200	200
Franc/German model	.216(**)	0.017	1	.154(*)	0.018
Sig (2-tailed)	0.002	0.814		0.03	0.799
N	200	200	200	200	200
peace narratives	.144(*)	0.053	.154(*)	1	-0.019
Sig (2-tailed)	0.042	0.453	0.03		0.785
N	200	200	200	200	200
Citizen diplomacy	0.073	.167(*)	0.018	-0.019	1

Sig (2-tailed)	0.306	0.018	0.799	0.785	
N	200	200	200	200	200

The dependent variables, (*exchanging peace narratives, collective peace movement, trade for Peace policy and citizen diplomacy*) collectively represent the public opinion towards different peace initiatives for reconciliation between India and Pakistan. 61% of participant answered in favor of exchanging peace narratives while 23% against them. 70% answered in favor of initiating collective peace movement where as 17% opposed it. 43% believed that trade for peace policy would bring prosperity to the region while 33% opposed. 45% of participants answered that citizen diplomacy will help to reduce mutual antagonism between India and Pakistan, where as 25% answered that it will not be effective. Altogether 54.75% remained in favor and 24.5% against taking Peace initiatives between India-Pakistan.

Correlation analysis was conducted to represent the data and to show the relationship between different variables or to measure the magnitude or degree of linear association between two variables, table 2 on next page represents the results. The correlation chart reflects that the dependent variable “Peaceful resolution of Kashmir dispute” shows the strongest correlation with the variable “regional integration of South Asia like EU” (0.284**) and “Possibility of Indo-Pak reconciliation” (0.216**), whereas a weak correlation with variables “Peace Narratives” (0.144*) and “Citizen Diplomacy” (0.073).

5. CRITICAL DEBATE

In the power politics it was once considered impossible to pursue reconciliation and conflict resolution between erstwhile enemy nation-states, but the phenomenon of globalization has brought a positive trend by bringing hereditary enemies towards reconciliation. Recent researches have revealed the fact that, in this complex process of reconciliation certain nation-states reconcile successfully (France and Germany) whereas other failed to achieve the goal like India and Pakistan (Korea and Japan). Here we will discuss some key determinants that govern the course of successful Franco-German reconciliation; turning these hereditary enemies to partners in Europe. And discuss the feeble pillars of Indo-Pakistan relations, where reconciliation has still not materialized. No matter, what the case is, there are certain internal and external factors that influence reconciliation process.

5.1. Perception of traditional enemy and bitter memories of past

Inter-state enmity and hatred, largely depends on bitter memories, Genocides, massacres and wartime brutalities committed by one nation, make a lasting impression of hatred, revenge and enmity on individuals of other nation. On the other hand stereotype mentality, political propaganda and distortion of historical facts and narratives have played a vital role in nurturing inter-state enmity. France and Germany have remained rivals for centuries and have fought three most catastrophic wars, the Franco-Prussian war of 1871 and the First World War were the main events that germinated Franco-German antagonism (Nolan, 2005). Both sides propagated jingoism and presented the image of other side as hereditary enemy, as Adolf Hitler wrote in his NAZI propaganda campaign in Men Kamp “France is our eternal enemy and must be crushed”. This Franco-German antagonism was also fed by Cultural and racial superiority-inferiority towards each other and these arguments were consumed in political propaganda, while Germanic roots in French civilization and Celtic elements in German culture were commonly invoked by nationalists in both countries (Nolan, 2005).

Unlike the Franco-German rivalry in Europe, India and Pakistan have experienced unequal power proportion in the region, Pakistan experienced inferiority complex as geographically smaller and economically weaker than India, whereas Indian

nationalists consider Pakistan's independence as division of India, assassination of Mahatma Gandhi by Hindu extremists is example of such feelings who accused Gandhi being responsible for division of India. This nationalist jealousy has given rise to the so-called "admiration-enmity complex" towards each other. It must be noted that there is no room or reason for religious rivalry between India and Pakistan, as the number of Muslim population in India is twice to that in Pakistan, but unfortunately religious rivalry has been a main tool in legitimizing antagonism against each other in Indo-Pakistan relations. The traumatic experiences of partition and the bitter memories of rape, murder and other brutalities committed by both sides has also ingrained hatred and feeling of revenge against each other.

5.2. Distortion of narratives and cultural constraints

A negative use of literature has been a key tool of propaganda. Distortions of narratives and intertwining the historical facts have remained effective methods to taint and defame the image of once opponents. In Germany, the anti-French resentment was fertilized by the writings of Heinrich von Treitschke and Heinrich von Sybel, two of the most prominent national historians of the Prussian-dominated German Empire (Struck, 2008). Authors with stereotype mentality and emotional attachment to national cause have injected their thoughts even in recreational writings. Some famous novels such as Ludwig Rellstab's *1812*, published in 1834, or Theodor Fontane's *Vordem Sturm*, published in 1878, highlighted the issue of the Napoleonic Wars and linking the war time memories to the search for a cause of national identity in which the "French" served as oppressors (Struck, 2008). Furthermore, a vast national and liberal movement had developed in Germany since the occupation by Napoleon's troops. Culturally, the German nationalist scholars were proud on the achievements of German nations and believed Germans as descendants of a particularly gifted people "Aryans". A famous German song of that time "Deutschland iber alles" reflected their belief. Feelings of revenge were there too, when we look upon the French society, students at school were taught, 'not to forget about their lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, when those states were under German occupation. Revenge breeds aggression and vice versa, the French defeat in Franco-Prussian war 1871 and German defeat in World War I, gave rise to national antagonism associated with "national humiliation from memories of defeat".

Indian Subcontinent is the land of rich cultures and heritage, the Muslim conquerors especially Mughals played their part in development of art and culture in India but injected a "Muslim-tough" in architect and literature, and dominated the Vedic Hindu culture, after eight centuries of Muslim rule, a feeling of cultural inferiority immersed in Hindus towards Muslims. It is evident that this intertwining has also given rise to a softer Sufi Islam in this region which is rare in other parts of Islamic world. Contrary to that, in last sixty-five years of independence Indian art and culture has developed rapidly and influenced the Pakistani society that is unacceptable to nationalists and radicals in Pakistan. In India-Pakistan case the example could be Muslim invaders who conquered Hindu states that gave rise to feeling of being oppressed in Hindus. Indian Prime Minister Indra Gandhi's triumphantly declared Indian victory in 1971 Indo-Pakistan war as "The revenge after 1000 years". A statement delivered in twenty fifth year of Pakistan's independence. Before going nuclear, Pakistan have lost grounds in Indo-Pakistan wars of 1947-48 and 1971, that has given rise to feelings of military inferiority in the minds of many Pakistanis'. Just like Franco-German dispute over Alsace-Lorraine, Kashmir has been a bone of contention between India-Pakistan and nurtured jingoism on both sides. As far as distortion of narratives is concerned, the atrocities committed by fanatics during the time of independence are still exploited by both sides to present a demonic image of other. The school curriculum have been a main victim of distortion of narratives, the school curriculum are distorted to poison the mind of youth in order to get a pro-nationalist hardliner breed. School curriculum in Pakistan is more extensively infected as compare to the Indian school curriculum, the reason behind is the regular interference of military leadership and disruption of democratic process, distortion in curriculum has been used by military regimes to enforce their desired agendas.

5.3. International actors

It is evident that, transforming perception of enmity into amity between warring countries is quite difficult but international initiatives or external impulses plays a viable

role in peaceful settlement of disputes (Jacques, 2000). A sturdy multilateral forum leads the cause of dispute settlement and reconciliation between the two parties, by guaranteeing that the parties cannot avoid one another (Feldman & Lily, Gardner 1999a). In post-War period Franco-German reconciliation was powered by international actors. Primarily it was intended to end war between France and Germany and to unite Western Europe against Soviet expansion. So the common security threat led France and Germany to institutionalize common military relations by putting their coal and steel resources under supranational authority (Ackerman, 1994). As both countries were devastated by the war and were in severe need of economic aid for development, the Marshall's Plan for rehabilitation and reconstruction of Western Europe act as another international factor for Franco-German reconciliation.

Contrary to Franco-German case, international actors have shown lack of interest in resolving disputes between the two South Asian neighbors. It wouldn't be wrong to say that, during cold-war period the US and Soviet strategic alliances with Pakistan and India respectively coupled with arms aid have further deteriorated Indo-Pakistan relations. Despite of declaring South Asia as a "nuclear flash point" the key international actors have not taken any serious effort to dissolve the crises. On one hand the United States declares Pakistan its non-NATO ally, on the other hand the United States has signed Indo-US nuclear deal, a strategic step to overcome growing Chinese influence in the region but something unacceptable to Pakistan.

5.4. Political and religious leadership

Political leadership of conflicting parties always play a dominant role in freezing the conflict and establishing cordial relations, no matter what has been the intension of international actors, decision to reconcile primarily depends upon the intension and efforts of political elites. The post-war Franco-German relations are worth telling example when we analyze the role of national leaders in interstate reconciliation. It was Robert Schuman and Konrad Adenauer who took a daring step towards rapprochement by signing the "Schuman Plan" between France and Germany. The first concrete step to void the memories of past and eliminate mutual antagonism. A unique element of Franco-German rapprochement was the positive role of religious leaders. Although, both Schuman and Adenauer were influenced by catholic values but religious leaders played a vital role in thawing relations. Not only the Catholics but the Protestants also showed their intension through voices and actions. The foundation of Action Suhezische in 1958, to encourage Germans to volunteer in the states that suffered Nazi aggression, was the most humane effort by evangelical church to strengthen the spiritual bond between France and Germany. This Franco-German partnership on governmental level was continued by de Gaulle and Adenauer that lead to the mutual treaty of friendship in 1963.

Although, Tashkent agreement (1966), Shimla Agreement (1972) and the Lahore Declaration (1999) were icebreakers as far as India-Pakistan relations are concerned, but no steps were taken from both sides to materialize the intended results. India insists to discuss infiltration first along with other issues, while Pakistan is bent on to discuss Kashmir issue at first. Both have not stepped back from their respective stance. Unfortunately a major obstacle in the dialog process has been the long spells of military dictatorships and the interruption of democratic system in Pakistan; the influence of military in governance totally altered the course of Pakistan's foreign policy. But it would be wrong to accuse the military dictatorships in Pakistan, the democratic governments in India and democratic leaders have remained reluctant to bridge the gap between two countries and initiate reconciliation measures. Worse enough, governments in India with a flexible foreign policy towards Pakistan are often strongly criticized or labeled as unpatriotic by Hindu extremists groups.

Unfortunately in South Asia religious leaders have negatively influenced India-Pakistan relations, it is totally opposite to the Franco-German case where the church and religious leaders played their part for peace. In India-Pakistan the politico-religious parties, religious leaders have spread antagonism, chauvinism and jingoism and interpret such thoughts as Patriotic. The religious extremist elements (groups) like Lashkar-e-Taiba and Harkat-ul-Mujahideen in Pakistan and RSS (Rashtrisaivak sang), Shiv Saini and Bhrang Dal are being held responsible for spreading animosity against India and

Pakistan respectively. These groups and their lieutenants are mainly responsible for demolition of Hindu temples Pakistan and, in India behind the demolition of ancient Babri Mosque, attack on "Samjhota Express" and mass murder of Muslims in Indian Gujrat, these extremist elements in both countries have received a continuous support of ruling elites. In a country like Pakistan which was separated in the name of religion the religiopolitical parties have remained less concerned about piety but more power thirsty and thus have never contributed in the peace process on religious level. However, the extremist elements do not exist in majority in either societies, but enlightened and pacifist religious leaders in both countries have not took any part in normalizing India-Pakistan relations.

5.5. Track-2 diplomacy bringing the people closer

Indeed, it was Germany who confronted its past mistakes, condemned the atrocities of Nazi era and strived to discard its negative image after World War II by pursuing an active politics of reconciliation. Unfortunately such intensions are hardly visible in Indo-Pakistan case there has been lack of will to reconcile on both sides, none of the two countries have confronted their past coercive policies against each other, for example: the mass murder and looting of immigrants in 1947, committed by both sides have never been condemned and have always been used to propagate antagonism against each other. Although, the responsibility to normalize relations between India and Pakistan mainly lays on the shoulders of political elites, but in this regard the individuals along with the governments must play an active role within and between the societies. Along with various other measures an extensive collaboration of the intellectuals and scholars has been most effective tool in Franco-German relations. As both India and Pakistan share a same history, a joint educational initiative such as joint school book commissions, youth exchange, and joint university programs would help people to both confront their past and retain an accurate historical interpretation of events, as it worked in the Franco-German case (Feldman & Lilly Gardner, 1999). Such continual efforts between India and Pakistan on socio-cultural level would compel public and elites to on both sides of border to gradually change their old perception towards their historical enemy.

Another vital reconciliatory tool or institution can be media, though the popular media was not much influential during the days of Franco-German reconciliation. But the proactive role of media as an actor has become a paramount reality in the contemporary international politics so its role and importance cannot be neglected in the context of Sub-continent. Today the media has become a weapon, the observers would agree the media can contribute to peace or fuel the conflict (Nazir, 2009). Unfortunately neither private media groups nor the state owned media have acted responsibly. With their ability to reach and influence large number of people, the media carries immense power in shaping course of a conflict. Although many examples of media's negative contribution to the violent conflict exist, fair and acute journalism and media content that builds confidence and counteracts misperceptions may have a potential in both conflict prevention and reconciliation (Sandra, 2004). The traditional approaches to conflict resolution have come under great criticism owing to their failure to eliminate the deep-rooted acrimony and hostility between the rival groups (Asma, 2009). The conventional "track-1 diplomacy" where the actors are chauvinist bureaucrats would not be enough to eradicate deep seated antagonism, in this regard we consider track-2 diplomacy "the people to people contact" much effective to neutralize stereotypical mentality on both sides, but in reality it is moving the mound of mistrust and bias that have accumulated over the decades (Kuldip, 2009).

6. CONCLUSION

The centuries old Franco-German enmity finally changed to amity, these two European nations with deep rooted antagonism finally reconcile. Both nations learned lessons from the great war of 20th century the Second World War. Firstly one must credit Federal Republic of Germany for condemning the atrocities of Nazi era and for eradicating the racist ideas of NAZI Germany. It was their firm belief on reconciliation and peaceful coexistence. The mutual distrust continued for years dominated the French psyche vis-a-vis Germany. But the sincere efforts by national leaders from both sides helped to materialize lasting peace and mutual trust. Second the French did not exploit the economic weaknesses of FRG, as they believed that economically prosperity of

Germany is necessary for regional stability and peace. In South Asia both India and Pakistan there has never been a serious effort towards reconciliation. All the pacts and treaties remained meaningless, as they were roll backed by the next government in office. There has been no intention from both nations to condemn their atrocities against each other during mass migration of 1947. In 2003 France and Germany took an initiative to have a joint Franco-German history book, a milestone end the myth of distortion of historiography, whereas in India-Pakistan the textbooks and media are the main propagators of jingoism, chauvinism and transferring the stereotypical thoughts to the new generations. Demonizing the image of “other” with distortion of narratives through textbooks and media has remained the cornerstone of national policy both in India and Pakistan.

Our survey on Peace initiatives reflected a positive tone among Pakistani youth towards reconciliation with India. But this perception can easily be changed or damaged by a single coercive move from either side. India mainly blame Pakistan for infiltration and crossbred terrorism either its was Mumbai terror attacks or attack on Indian Parliament. But unfortunately the Indians too have acted irresponsibly when the Pakistani women cricket team was threatened by Hindu extremist groups during Women World Cup or when the Indian Cricket Board refused to play Pakistan on any venue and when Pakistani crickets were banned to play IPL. Such acts are surely a hurdle for citizen diplomacy which is an effective tool in bridging the gap between two societies.

Indo-Pakistan relations lack the factors that drove the Franco-German rapprochement. Above all is the external factoring the willingness international actors, as peace between France and Germany was mandatory to maintain US and Britain’s domination in Western Europe and protect the region from Soviet Influence. In South Asia the United States and USSR (now Russia) have never been serious to supervise the peace process due to their own interests in the region, worse enough, but US and Russia have funded India and Pakistan with massive arms aids, thus indirectly supporting the arms race between India and Pakistan. In France and Germany where the religious leaders and the church initiated the peace movement among the effected societies, the catholic, protestant and evangelical Churches played their part for peace. In India-Pakistan the religious extremists and orthodox on both sides of border have used every mean to spread jingoism, chauvinism and prejudice in the name of religion, whereas the remaining so-called enlighten and moderate religious leaders and groups have hardly taken any step to condemn antagonism and revanchist.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

Above all efforts there is need eradicate deep rooted antagonism and hatred, in this regard there are few recommendations.

- Both India and Pakistan need to work together to bring a decisive reform in textbooks and history which are responsible for sowing seeds of hatred among youth and present a demonic image of other. The 2003, initiative of “joint history book” by France and Germany should be considered a model.
- Track-2 diplomacy or citizen diplomacy could help be helpful to root out mutual antagonism from grassroots level, interaction between students, artists, sportsmen, journalists and scholars from both countries would create a healthy environment.
- A flexible trade relation between India and Pakistan would not only create a feasible environment in the region and bring economic prosperity to the region but also other SAARC member states.
- The international actors like the United States and the UN should play their role in dispute resolution between India and Pakistan, rather than exploiting the regional context for their own interest.
- The civil societies and scholars from India and Pakistan should establish a joint forum to initiate a collective peace movement in the region, for ending conflict and arms race between India and Pakistan.

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