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SOĞUK SAVAŞ SONRASI HİNDİSTAN VE PAKİSTAN'IN DIŞ POLİTİKASI: KARŞILAŞTIRMALI BİR ANALİZ

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India and Pakistan's Foreign Policy Since the End of the Cold War: A Comparative Analysis

Ph.D. Thesis

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ABSTRACT

All foreign policy activities exhibited by states affect and follow each other in a process and form a similar structure. This is more relevant for neighbouring countries. This study investigates how the foreign policy of India and Pakistan as neighbouring countries can be studied in a comparative manner. It also demonstrates that to understand the political instability of relations between India and Pakistan, it is significant to comprehend their foreign policy comparatively. Concerning India and Pakistan's foreign policies and relations, this study establishes a context that goes back to the times when the British colonized the Indian subcontinent and left India and Pakistan with unclear border lines. Carrying the same theme, the study discusses the history of partition and the legacy that Britain left, one in the form of the Muslim-Hindu question and the Kashmir issue. By analysing foreign policy trends through critical lenses, it is determined that in the case of India and Pakistan, it is their rivalry that affects their foreign policy regionally as well as in the international arena. To understand the bilateral relations of India and Pakistan, it is important to understand their pre-and post-cold war foreign policy in a comparative manner. This research aims to constitute an additional contribution to the role of the foreign policy of India and Pakistan by showing its impact on the dynamics of decades-

old rivalry. The study further discusses the contemporary foreign policy of India and Pakistan and mostly evaluates the foreign policy under Narendra Modi and Imran Khan. However, in this era, there have not been many initiatives for boosting the relationship between the two. In fact, the religious tension in India between Muslims and Hindus in India have escalated the religious hatred between India and Pakistan. This study concludes that the two so-called rival states do follow similar foreign policies since both states have similar reasons, factors and mechanisms that affect foreign policy making.

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ÖZET

Devletlerin dış politikaları süreç içinde birbirine benzemekte ve benzer bir yapı oluşturmaktadır. Bu komşu ülkeler açısından çok daha geçerli bir durumdur. Bu çalışma, Hindistan ve Pakistan'ın dış politikalarını karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmeyi, kuruluşundan günümüze Hindistan ve Pakistan arasında yaşanan siyasi istikrarsızlıkları da bu bağlamda analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Tezde Hindistan'ın ve Pakistan'ın dış politik araçları, söylemleri ve uygulamaları karşılaştırmalı olarak ele alınmıştır.

Hindistan ve Pakistan arasında yaşanan politik istikrarsızlığın en temel kaynağı İngilizlerin, Hindistan alt kıtasını sömürgeleştirmesi ve Hindistan ile Pakistan sınırını belirsiz bırakarak ülkeden ayrılmasıdır. İngilizlerin iki toplumu bölerek ve istikrarsızlaştırarak ektiği Müslüman-Hindu gerilimi ve özellikle de Keşmir Sorunu bu bağlamda ele alınmıştır. Hindistan ve Pakistan ikili ilişkilerine teorik olarak Dış Politikanın Analizi ile Karşılaştırmalı Siyaset perspektifinin dahil edilmesi, çalışmanın daha eleştirel bir şekilde yürütülmesine yardımcı olmauştur. İki ülke arasındaki ilişkiler Soğuk Savaş öncesinden başlatılıp günümüze kadar analitik olarak değerlendirilmiş; bu dönemde her iki ülkenin de özellikle bölgesel konularda rekabet ettikleri tespit edilmiştir.

Son dönemlerde de bu eğilimin devam ettiği görülmüş, özellikle Narendra Modi ve Imran Han döneminde her iki ülkenin de dış politikada uzlaşmaz tutumlarını devam ettirdikleri ve bu nedenle de her iki ülkenin de kronikleşen sorunlarının çözülemediği görülmüştür. Her iki liderin de dış politikayı araçsallaştırdıkları, din referanslı popülist-nasyonalist söylemler ve iç politikayı öne alan bir dış politika yürütmeyi tercih ettikleri için sorunların çözümüne değil de daha da derinleşmesine yol açtıkları tespitinde bulunulmuştur. Örneğin son yıllarda Hindistan'daki Müslümanlar ve Hindular arasında yaşanan politik-dini gerilim Hindistan ve Pakistan arasındaki ilişkileri de olumsuz yönde etkilemekte bu durumdan da popülist liderler iktidar devşirmeye çalışmaktadırlar. Çalışma iki ülkenin pek çok alanda farklılıklara sahip olmasına ve bir birine rakip görünmesine rağmen aslında dış politika alanında birbirinden çok da farklı politikalar üretemedikleri sonucuna ulaşmaktadır.

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ABBREVIATIONS

USA – United States of America

USSR– Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

EU– European Union

BJB – Bartiya Janta Party

INC – Indian National Congress

UN – United Nations

LOC – Line of Control

RSS – Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

SAARC – South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

BIMSTEC – Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation

IMF – International Monetary Fund

ASEAN – Association of Southeast Asian Nations

OPEC – Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries

OECD – Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
APEC – Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation

FPA – Foreign Policy Analysis

IR–International Relations

SCO – Shanghai Cooperation Organisation

BRICS – BRICS is the acronym coined to associate five major emerging economies: Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa.

IEA – International Energy Agency

PPP – Purchasing Power Parity

ULFA – United Liberation Front of Asom

BLTF – Bodo Liberation Tigers Force

CPEC – China–Pakistan Economic Corridor

PRC – People's Republic of China

ISI – Inter-Services Intelligence

MOSSAD – Central Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations

MOU – Memorandum of Understanding

VHP – Vishva Hindu Parishad

NPT – Non-Proliferation Treaty

CTBT – Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

OBOR – One Belt One Road

WTO – World Trade Organization

SAFTA – South Asian Free Trade Area

SEATO – Southeast Asia Treaty Organization

CENTO – Central Treaty Organisation

ECO – Economic Cooperation Organization

FETO – Fethullah Terrorist Organization.

TIKA – Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency

MTCR – Missile Technology Control Regime

PTI – Pakistan Movement for Justice

PLM – Pakistan Muslim League

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Foreign policy plays a significant role in the peace and progress of every country in the world today.[1] South Asia has been at constant war since the establishment of India and Pakistan. The problems between these two countries are post-colonial; the fragmentation has produced the desired results neither in India nor in Pakistan's favour. Millions of people were killed on both sides during and after the independence on both sides. These events, which have created traumatic effects for the people of both countries, converged with existing political problems such as Kashmir and created mutual mistrust. The environment of insecurity developed with the battles that were fought between these India and Pakistan. These wars were fought in 1948, 1965, 1971 and 1999. Each war has made the solution of the problems increasingly impossible. In addition, the internal political problems of both countries and the search for legitimacy of their governments led them to reproduce these problems in discourse and developed a conflictual mentality.[2] The confrontations between these two countries also had serious impact in shaping their foreign policy. Both India and Pakistan have shaped their foreign policy according to the alterations between their relations.

During the Cold War period, India was implementing its policy of non-compliance; on the other hand, Pakistan looked to weaken its feeble position by engaging in an alliance with the United States. As a result, the leaders of the block during the Cold War era had found themselves in the realm of conflicts. However, the end of Cold War did not end the conflict and caused a re-establishment in a new era. The methods and tools of conflict between these two countries varied i.e., nuclear weapons, terrorist activities, communitarian discourses. The relations between India and Pakistan have also been replaced by the elements of the post-Cold War order. The problems between the two

[1] Derek Beach, Rasmus B. Pedersen. *Analyzing foreign policy*, London: Red Globe Press, 2020, p. 2.
[2] Duncan McLeod, *India and Pakistan: friends, rivals or enemies?*, London: Routledge, 2016, pp. 32-43.

countries may seem to be regional in nature but they have international implications as well. However, a situation cannot be limited to the two countries when it is considered that the two countries have nuclear power, their weapon technology, their populations, their place in the world economy, and the international atmosphere of the radical organizations fed by the negative atmosphere created by the conflict. Similarly, those who lived in Kargil in 1999, and the threat of using nuclear weapons by the two countries, required the international community to act more towards the issue.[3] In this way both countries tried to shape their foreign policy to guard their national security ad interest. The event of September 11 re-attracted attention in South Asia with new elements and the concept of conflict. For India and Pakistan, it has created a new international environment for conflict or reconciliation, which means that both the countries had to shape their foreign policy according to the changes in the world order.[4]

After the partition, more than twelve million people emigrated to either Pakistan or India, which has been recorded as the most massive migration in human history. This tragic division, in the subconscious of a few generations of the two countries, left permanent traces in their minds. During the Cold War, the United States of America and the Soviet Union's struggle for effectiveness in this geographical region resulted in the possession of nuclear weapons by both India and Pakistan. India and Pakistan's Line of Control (LOC) is believed to be the world's most nuclear weapons explosion prone area. Therefore, the relationship between Pakistan and India is closely followed not only in terms of demography and economy, but also in terms of global security.[5] Despite all these similarities, the point that these two countries reached after 74 years is quite different.

India claims to be the world's largest democracy, yet its rank keeps falling in the Freedom house index every year. More than eight hundred million voters voted in the election in 2014 and were able to change the government.[6] India claims to have a system that guarantees religious and political freedom. However, since its creation the communal

[3] Duncan McLeod, *India and Pakistan: friends, rivals or enemies?*, p. 67.
[4] Ibid., p. 71.
[5] Sumit Ganguly, *Conflict unending: India-Pakistan tensions since 1947*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2002, pp. 168.
[6] Duncan McLeod, *India and Pakistan: friends, rivals or enemies*, p. 126.

tension came alongside the establishment. After the partition, hundreds of thousands of Muslims were reported to be killed by the Right-wing group of both India and Pakistan and in Kashmir; the Jammu region went through a massacre of Muslims, which is argued to be a genocide.[7] Recently India has not only been blamed for religious intolerance but discriminating against its own fellow religious group based on race and castes.[8]

Pakistan is the sixth most populous country in the world with majority of its population being Muslims. It is still believed to be in the transitional phase of democracy, which is why it has been often attached with the labels of authoritarian rule. Since its establishment, the army is reported to have an upper hand in the governance, because of having a constant security dilemma coming from the hostile neighbourhood.[9] Thus, this makes it clear that the army department has a say in shaping the foreign policy of Pakistan. The questions that most of the scholar have been asking are how did the two states, which are remarkably identical to each other, and which started on the same terms, reach such contradictory results? What went wrong? One of the reasons that is believed for these results is the early death of Jinnah, who had designed the ideology of Pakistan as a nation for Muslims. The second most important reason, which is prioritized more when it comes to analysing the status-quo of Pakistan, is the issue of Kashmir. According to the British Partition Proposal, the Muslim majority princely states, including Kashmir, were supposed to accede with Pakistan, yet the Hindu prince ruling Kashmir decided to accede with India. There are many narratives to how it happened, depending on who is speaking, Kashmir, India, or Pakistan. Kashmir issue has been there since the creation of India and Pakistan and Pakistan is constantly believed to be helping Kashmiris to be merged with itself, since they are reported to be suffering under India's occupation.[10] In order to understand the Pakistan's foreign policy, it is believed to be shaped according to Kashmir.

[7] Christopher Snedden, "What happened to Muslims in Jammu? Local identity, the massacre of 1947and the roots of the Kashmir problem", *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*. Vol. 24, No. 2, 2001, pp. 111-134.
[8] Victoria Schofield, *Kashmir in conflict: India, Pakistan and the unending war*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2021, p. 99.
[9] Sumit Ganguly, *Conflict unending: India-Pakistan tensions since 1947*, p. 198.
[10] Victoria Schofield, *Kashmir in conflict: India, Pakistan and the unending war*, p. 20.

In order words, it can be said that Kashmir is believed to be the nucleus of Pakistan's foreign policy.

Pakistan is also blamed to sponsor terrorism in Kashmir and India is believed to be the one fabricating this narrative. After 9/11, India along with United States and Israel started a tripartite alliance against war on terror. Pakistan blames India for using this alliance to portray it as a nation supporting terrorism. In Afghanistan, and Kashmir, Pakistan is believed to be supporting several radical armed organizations, especially the Taliban, on the grounds of strategic interests. Pakistan has denied these claims for many years. However, it is contradictory, because one of its members United States of America has collaborated with Pakistan to help it to get rid of Taliban.[11]

Unlike India, the army has been the most influential focus of domestic and foreign policy in Pakistan since the first day of its establishment. Army is believed to have set up the entire foreign policy of the country keeping the New Delhi in mind. Pakistan is believed to be prioritizing the Kashmir issue in its foreign policy agenda and makes allies in the international arena according to that. For instance, Pakistan does not recognize Israel as a state. Many scholars believe that its recognition will take its credibility in the Kashmir issue.[12]

Foreign policy aims and goals are the results of foreign policy. These goals are determined by the decision-making units or persons working in the international community to protect or change the relations of a state. The main goals of states vary from one state to another state, and it includes protecting and defending its existence, securing its borders, national strength, national prestige, ideology and strengthening of power. The basic policies that a state has implemented to achieve its foreign policy goals are decided in accordance with national interests.[13]

The foreign policy of Pakistan is decided by the way it interacts with the foreign nations, international organizations, companies, and citizens. As per the reports Pakistan

[11] Duncan McLeod, *India and Pakistan: friends, rivals or enemies?*, 2016, p. 82.
[12] Ibid., p. 90.
[13] Derek Beach, Rasmus B. Pedersen. *Analyzing foreign policy*, p. 3.

has been considered as the world's forty seventh largest (nominal GDP) and twenty seventh largest (purchasing power) economic power having a defence budget of about $ 5.60 billion, and all this supported by a semi-agricultural and semi-industrial economy. The foreign minister of Pakistan is the official who is bestowed with state-to-state diplomacy and the prime minister of Pakistan has a final authority over foreign policy. The foreign policy goals are achieved and safeguarded by national interests that includes the economic interests and strategies. [14]

India, which is a newly industrialized country has collaborated with various countries and has been considered as one of the upcoming leaders among the developing countries. India has been the founder of Non-Aligned Movement and was one of the founding members of several international organizations, like the United Nations, the Asian Development Bank, G20 industrial nations. India being a member of SAARC and BIMSTEC has also played a prominent and convincing role in various international organizations like East Asia Summit, World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund (IMF), G8+5 and IBSA Dialogue Forum. India is presently pursuing for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. India has been a part in various UN peacekeeping missions as well.[15]

There are various extending divisions in Pakistan, and it has been considered as an unpredictable country. Pakistan has been viewed as both a key casualty and equally as a promoter of terrorism by the western countries. Then the same western countries have asked for assistance and support from Pakistan to eradicate the terrorism in the world, especially in Afghanistan.[16] This shows the flaws in the fight against war on terror movement. The United States has tried to be a mediator in the India and Pakistan dispute by asking for intervening in the Kashmir issue, yet it is unclear whether the weighing needle is in the middle or takes sides.

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[14] Hasan Askari-Rizvi, "Pakistan: Ideology and foreign policy", *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 1983, pp. 49-60.
[15] Vatsala Shukla, *India's Foreign Policy in the New Millennium*, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, 2005, p. 84.
[16] [16] Duncan McLeod, *India and Pakistan: friends, rivals or enemies?*, p. 115.

According to the title of the thesis, *India and Pakistan's foreign policy since the end of the Cold War: A Comparative Analysis*, the subject under research focuses on the foreign policy between two rival countries i.e., India and Pakistan. The research methods adopted in this study are intended to describe India and Pakistan's foreign policy. India, which is a democratic republic and a secular nation on the other hand Pakistan is an Islamic Republic and is in a transitional phase of democracy. India is economically, politically, and militarily more powerful while as Pakistan is believed to be lacking this potential. However, both India and Pakistan are well equipped with modern weapons and possess nuclear weapons. Both India and Pakistan are believed to be attracting alliances based on their nuclear strength, which is why no country shows an open enmity to either of them. This thesis will highlight upon the foreign policies of India and Pakistan before and after the cold war and will try to analyse several regional issues faced by both India and Pakistan.

1.2. Objectives, Research Questions, Hypothesis, Significance of the Study

The major objectives of the proposed study are to elucidate the notions of ideological foundations and assumptions of foreign policy of India and Pakistan. The study aims to do a comparative analysis of Pakistan and India's Pre- and Post-Cold war orientations and their foreign policy. Furthermore, the study aims to analyse the foreign policy issues of India and Pakistan on how these policies determine their relations in international arena. The study also highlights key features in the foreign policies of India and Pakistan, which have led to a never-ending rivalry between two states. The other objective of the study is to explain leadership decision-making processes in the foreign policies of both India and Pakistan using the foreign policy analysis theories in a comparative manner.

The research questions of the proposed study are "how can we compare the foreign policies of two states?" and "how do we do a comparative analysis of foreign policies of two states with reference to India and its neighbouring state Pakistan?" In addition, the other research question taken into consideration is "how the foreign policy of India and Pakistan altered after the change in bipolar system?"

The foreign policy of India and Pakistan during Pre- and Post-cold war era has been shaped according to the status-quo of their dispute. Kashmir has been one of the issues that influences the decision-making process of the two states. The discussion nowadays has changed in accordance with the war on terror movement, which is missing the whole context of where this whole issue had started. The assumption of Pakistan being a country sponsoring terrorism and India being the largest democracy has to be evaluated in terms of challenging the secular order of India, which has been reported to be flawed. This thesis is going to unfold all these assumptions and analyse the foreign policy from the historical perspective and the shuffle in alliance after they gained their nuclear strength. There are more parties involved than India, Pakistan, and Kashmir, who contribute to this conflict.

The hypothesis and assumptions of the study are that India and Pakistan are regional powers in the South Asian Region with Pakistan; being an Islamic Republic while India a secular country. In addition, both states possess nuclear weapons, and both the countries are facing major security challenges in the form of ethnic and religious violence. In addition, leaders of both countries have played particularly important roles in their respective foreign policies especially the current prime ministers of both states. Furthermore, India has memberships in most significant international organizations while as Pakistan lacks behind in this comparison. Both countries have had strong relations with some major global actors during and after the Cold War.

The sources used in this thesis are mostly based on post-colonial sources, because I could not get an access to the British Library for analysing the role of Britain in the Indo-Pak conflict. Somehow, the resources that I could get my first-hand mostly talk about India, Pakistan and Kashmir's role in this conflict, Britain as an important stakeholder is missing. In addition, China has occupied a part of Kashmir called Aksai Chin, since the whole narrative is shifted on India and Pakistan, the Britain and Chinese literature is found missing from the scholarship.

1.3. Mapping this Research in the Literature

Literature Review is the most imperative feature in any kind of research work. It is a measure expressing the contemporary output on a specific area of research and arranged in an accommodating sequence to fortify the current research procedures. The principle goal of the literature review is to comprehend the research activities that have occurred in a specific discipline in general and in the field of research in particular. Literature Review related to foreign policy of India and Pakistan is attempted in this section. The review covers combinations of both international and national level.

Harcharan S. Josh (1989), considers that India's foreign policy with its foundations laid by Jawaharlal Nehru, has always endeavoured to promote harmony, trust, and a cooperative spirit among nations. The successive Prime Ministers of Jawaharlal Nehru have also believed that good relations among nations are necessary for strengthening the forces of peace, eliminating tensions, and reducing dangers of conflict. Basing their foreign policy on these premises, all the Prime Ministers of the largest democracy in the world, as India is, have one after the other never felt any contradiction in their national interests and the principles of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. In fact, India has always felt that its ideals are never diverse from their practical interests. The discussions in this book are based on the practical logic of foreign diplomacy and give a brief account of how India has conducted its foreign policy in the past, how it is doing today and what course it is going to take in the future.[17]

Vandana Asthana (1999), focused on the strengths and weaknesses of India's neighbourhood policy in general. The study also focused on the US role in south Asia. He considers that the old objective of promoting strategic normalization between New Delhi and Islamabad remains, but the role of the US should restrict to help, create those conditions in which satisfactory solutions to conflicting issues between the two countries (India and Pakistan) can emerge.[18]

[17] Harcharan S. Josh, *India's foreign policy*, New Delhi: Sarjett Publications, 1989, pp. 15- 255.
[18] Vandana Asthana, *India's Foreign Policy and Subcontinental Politics*, New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 1999, pp. 10-19.

Rajesh M. Basrur (2000), examines three levels of analysis widely used i.e., the individual, the state, and the system in international affairs. He also discussed the major theoretical traditions in international theory viz realist, the liberal the Grotian, the Kantian and the Marxian. He also examined the concept of globalization and its theoretical implications. He analysed the international relations based on Systems Theory. The focus is on the intensity-structure relationship. Thus, he examines the structure of the sub-continental system in terms of the distribution of military and economic power. In his opinion, India stands clearly as a dominant power, but he outlined certain limits. He analysed India's role in the global system shows that India's external behaviour is essentially determined by its middle level Structural standing.[19]

Nitesh Jayapalan (2001), makes a comprehensive study of all the major foreign policy events chronologically from the beginning to the end. He tried to present the matter in a simple and lucid manner. He begins with a chapter on the concept of Foreign Policy. He also reviews the origin, basis, determinants, and major principles of Indian foreign policy. He makes a critical and exhaustive evaluation of India's relations with America, Soviet Union and Pakistan, South Asian Neighbours and its role in the United Nations and the Commonwealth. He also assesses India's role in South Asia Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC).[20]

Dhiraj Srivasatava (2007), discussed the political history of India and its neighbours since historical times. Besides, he also outlined India's relations with its neighbours in modern period. The changing options in India's foreign policy in new millennium were also analysed at length. In his opinion India's relations with neighbouring countries is like riding a roller coaster. As such, he felt that formulating of India's foreign policy has always been a tough task for policy makers. He tried to give an answer to various questions related to India's foreign policy and its neighbours. He also briefly discussed the influence of various World Organisations on India's foreign policy like Association of Southeast

[19] Rajesh M. Basrur, *India's External Relations: A Theoretical Analysis*, London: Commonwealth Publications, 2000, pp. 20-31.
[20] Nitesh Jayapalan, *Foreign policy of India*, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers & Dist., 2001, pp. 26-39.

Asian Nations (ASEAN), G-8, G-77, Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC).[21]

From the above literature review, it can be said that little attention has been paid towards a comparative analysis of the foreign policies of India and Pakistan. While looking at the literature regarding the foreign policies of India and Pakistan until today there has not been a comparative analysis of foreign policies of India and Pakistan. Consequently, from the above literature it can be seen that there are theoretical deficiencies when it comes to analysing the foreign policies of India and Pakistan in a comparative manner. Therefore, this thesis seeks to address aforementioned gaps, concepts, theoretical perceptions and does a comparative analysis of India and Pakistan's foreign policy; and this thesis will further contribute to the understanding and importance of India and Pakistan's foreign policy in a comparative manner in order to establish a research agenda for future research. A comparative study of both these regional powers based on their foreign policy dimensions and challenges can make a significant contribution to the literature of the discipline of International Relations.

1.4. Research Methodology and Design

The study will be conducted following analytical methodology. The proposed study will endeavour in examining the issue in question following case study method of qualitative methodology, and comparative methodology. The research materials to be used throughout the study shall include both official and non-official documents, which will be inclusive of primary and secondary resources. Academic writings, scholarly articles, book chapters, newspaper articles and internet sources shall be used while researching this study. For the analysis of foreign policies of India and Pakistan, the cases of India and Pakistan shall be studied in a comparative manner.

[21] Dhiraj Srivastava, *India's foreign policy and its neighbours*, New Delhi: ABD Publishers, 2007, pp. 21-43.

This study is comprised of seven chapters in total each of them brings forth the literature, philosophy, theoretical and practical narratives on the foreign policies and bilateral relations between India and Pakistan starting from the very beginning of the co-existence of both as nations, since Britain's partition. The first chapter starts with a brief introduction to the thesis and elucidates the general aims and significance of the study supported with hypothesis and assumptions on the topic. Also, the literature and the methodology of the research are presented in the first chapter. This Chapter will also focus upon the material foundations of foreign policy between India and Pakistan.

In the second chapter of the study, right after the introduction of the thesis, theoretical and conceptual perspectives to India and Pakistan's foreign policies are explained to create a framework for comprehending the motives and strategies behind their moves in international arena and for the mutual interests of both nations. This chapter also focuses on the internal and external factors that affect the foreign policy of a country and this chapter takes into consideration the approaches and purposes of foreign policy. Furthermore, this chapter will build a conceptual framework of foreign policy analysis in a comparative manner. It will further evaluate different types of leaderships that play a very important role in foreign policy decision making. These changes have been due to social and psychological backgrounds of decision-makers. Thus, in this chapter, reasons and motives behind decisions made by state leaders are examined from social and psychological perspectives regarding national features and personal characteristics in a comparative manner.

The third chapter elucidates the analysis of India and Pakistan from a political and geographical perspectives and their influence on India and Pakistan's mutual relations and foreign policies. This chapter presents a detailed comparative account of economy, demography, forms of government and geography between India and Pakistan in the form of tables.

The fourth chapter of the study starts with demonstrating the historical background of India and Pakistan's foreign policy and relations to prepare a solid base for the general discussion as evaluating the origins of mutual relations of both nations has been assessed

to be the most proper approach for understanding the whole picture and pointing out the missing parts in the puzzle. Accordingly, both British administration period and the confrontations after Britain's partition which emerged during Cold War era putting both the nations in a hostile environment and a never-ending rivalry have been discussed in this chapter. Also, the aftereffects of Britain's failure partition based solely on religion is discussed too. As, Britain's idea of partition seems to be the main source of all disputes between two states extending from border disputes such as Kashmir issue to regional, communal, social, and religious tensions. Likewise, what is thought to be the main reason for general disagreements and conflicts between both nations, Kashmir's accession to India and Kashmir issue is debated in this chapter of the study.

The fifth chapter of the thesis discusses about India and Pakistan's foreign policies during pre- and post-Cold War era. In this chapter, it has been elucidated that Kashmir has been the core problem between India and Pakistan which has ultimately deteriorated the relations between India and Pakistan therefore causing an impact on the foreign policies of both countries. Furthermore, this chapter also throws light on various changes and developments that took place in the foreign policies of India and Pakistan under different leaders and governments during and after Cold War. This chapter will also talk about the impact of internal politics on the foreign policy of India and Pakistan during the post-Cold War period. Moreover, this chapter will shed light on nuclear armaments and war confrontations between the two countries. Furthermore, taking into consideration how energy demands, and abundance and rarity of natural sources influence the foreign policies of both states. For instance, India's attempt to become highly reliant on nuclear energy discarding oil driven energy stations strengthening its sovereignty is explained in this chapter. Also, India and Pakistan's foreign policies are decided by other members in international arena apart from being shaped by each other, having changed in accordance with the current situation and benefits.

In the sixth chapter, contemporary foreign policies of India, under the rule of Narendra Modi, and Pakistan, under the rule of Imran Khan, are discussed regarding the changes in general world politics and considering the transition from Bloc mentality to

global new world order. Also, in this chapter, how foreign policies, and strategic alliances with other major global actors of both nations affect each other's positions in international arena is explained. For instance, India's alliance with Israel under the title of defense against terrorism, especially religious terrorism, labelled Pakistan as a warmongering state. Furthermore, since Israel is not recognized as a state by Pakistan, India-Israel collaboration caused Pakistan's isolation in international politics. This chapter will also briefly discuss the relations of India and Pakistan with other global and regional actors.

The seventh chapter of the thesis will incorporate the several research findings and conclusions, answer the research questions, and prove the assumed hypothesis. Also, in this chapter of the thesis, general statements on the main hypothesis addressed in the study are proposed considering the limitations of the whole research.

Chapter 2

Conceptual and Theoretical Perspectives to India and Pakistan's Foreign Policy

2.1. Introduction

Apart from the historical context of India and Pakistan relations, it is important to understand why India and Pakistan behave the way they do. What shapes their foreign policies? What factors determine their foreign policy? Foreign policy consists of certain designs and infrastructures. It is like a building, that needs an appropriate design, then raw material and accordingly the work force to build it upright. In order to understand why the building looks the way it is, it is important to understand, what design and raw material were used to build it. This chapter will answer the above questions. Foreign policy in its basic definition means the strategies that the state actors use to guide their behaviour in the international arena. The relation of one state with another, be it an alliance or rivalry, is determined by the foreign policy one forms for the other. India and Pakistan since their creation have been in the state of constant cold war with on and off real wars, and this enmity between them can be explained by the foreign policy framed by one for the other and vice-versa. The understanding of foreign policy starts with the evaluation of comprehending the concept and development of foreign policy analysis. This chapter will examine the India and Pakistan foreign policy through the perspective of foreign policy studies. Moreover, this chapter will also journey through the types of foreign policy studies and the factors that motivates the state leaders to design their foreign policies. The psychological and the social environment of the state leaders also influences their decision-making process. Since this thesis revolves around the comparative foreign policies of India and Pakistan, this chapter will also look at their foreign policies through the optics of comparative foreign policy lens. Likewise, Indian, and Pakistani foreign policy is not only shaped by each other but by other actors in the international arena, that makes it important to bring in the foreign policies of their allies and rivals, that add to their design of foreign policy in South Asia. This study details the concept and formation of foreign policy analysis from its initial phase to the final stage when it is implemented

in the international arena. The understanding of India and Pakistan relations is incomplete without going through their foreign policy analysis, pre- and post-cold war. The allies have changed since and so have their priorities. This chapter defines it all.

2.2. Factors affecting the Foreign Policy

Foreign policy analysis investigates who makes foreign policy decisions, why they are made, and how they are made. When making foreign policy decisions, it is widely acknowledged that decision-makers are influenced by both the domestic and international environments. Traditional realists, on the other hand, make a clear distinction between foreign and domestic policy in their understanding of foreign policy, claiming that the domestic political structure varies from the anarchic structure of the international system due to its hierarchical nature. As a result, it is considered that foreign policy decisions are made only contemplating the constraints and opportunities imposed by the international system, which is based on a state's own power.[22]

The international structure, according to Waltz, is the fundamental element that dictates, directs, and limits state conduct. As a result, structural realism, which does not believe it is important to investigate individual state behaviour, rejects the unit-based analytical approach.[23] However, over time, with the diversification of studies on foreign policy analysis, realists have been decoupled from the approach, and with an interdisciplinary understanding, it has been recognized that the decision-making process is acting under the influence of a wide variety of factors. Hence, there are intra-state actors such as bureaucratic institutions, the media, political parties, and pressure groups, as well as non-governmental organizations that are non-state actors. Over the course of time, sociological factors have been added to these criteria. The psychological structure of the leaders has also begun to be investigated in the decision-making process since the adoption of the notion that the decision makers are individuals. For the reason that

[22] Christopher Hill, *The changing politics of foreign policy,* Lodon Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, p. 43.
[23] Christopher Hill, *The changing politics of foreign policy*, p. 49.

academic researchers in this discipline understand that, unlike ideal rationalists, decision-makers have constrained cognitive capacity.[24]

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is no longer the only foreign policy bureaucracy. Other ministries and departments are also included in foreign policy. This structure includes the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Prime Minister's Office, Intelligence, the General Staff, the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Commission, Multinational Corporations, and other state and non-state entities and because of this the multiplicity of actors and subject matter has created a coordination and control issue.[25]

Foreign policy achievement requires the use of state intelligence. Political leaders are informed about intelligence quality; issues such as the leader's aptitude and judgment are particularly significant in foreign policy planning. However, the presence of various intelligence units within the state can cause problems. In foreign policy, advisers play as influential a role as intelligence. Because most of the decisions are made by decision-makers and their advisers. The personality of the leader can influence the issue of how the executive is organized. Sometimes the leader tries to develop a collective understanding by discussing the issue together with the advisers.[26]

While selecting what is more useful for the national interest, decision-makers typically feel the impact of bureaucracy more than they value. For example, when deciding between several foreign policy options or, more particularly, creating a defence program, the relevant decision-making bodies of the government may face a budget constraint. Frequently bureaucratic institutions act as a stumbling obstacle for decision-makers and their advisers.[27] However, it should be noted that bureaucratic institution do play a role in the shaping of foreign policy of a country.

The impact of geographic location on foreign policy is one of the few examples of the state's qualitative and quantitative elements; scholars have primarily chosen to ask the following questions: Who are state’s neighbours? With how many states does a state share

[24] Marijke Breuning, *Foreign policy analysis: A comparative introduction*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p. 167.
[25] Alexander L George, On foreign policy: unfinished business, New York Routledge, 2015, p. 11.
[26] Christopher Hill, *The changing politics of foreign policy*, p. 61.
[27] Joseph Frankel, *The making of foreign policy: An analysis of decision making*, London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1963, p. 24.

its border? Are its borders surrounded by the sea or land? Is the state geographically large? Because if a state is an island state, it can stay away from the influence of global policies or states with large borders should have a prominent level of military capabilities. In states whose borders are drawn without considering ethnic groups, various internal instability may occur because of this.[28]

In terms of economic conditions, a country's economic qualities have an impact on its foreign policy. Economically developed countries, for example, play a more active part in the global political economy.[29] The nature of diplomacy, on the other hand, is considered by some experts to be the most significant, albeit fragile, component of a nation's strength. The raw materials of national power are all the other things that build it up. It does, however, aid in the gathering of information regarding the constraints that governments face. On the other hand, Diplomacy brings all these elements together, directs them, places them, moulds them, and transforms them into an actual force.[30] In brief, national characteristics explain the status of states in the international environment to a lesser extent. These characteristics do not provide enough information to academics about how states will pursue policy. It does, however, aid in the gathering of information regarding the constraints that states face.

Taking internal considerations into account, it is possible to say that, theoretically, there are two different models according to the impact of media: pluralistic and elitist models. Power is distributed across society in the pluralist approach. As a result, no single group or set of interests may have a monopoly on the decision-making process. The media is unaffected by political influences and has the power to put severe restrictions on decision-makers. According to a study, media reports and independent new, can create pressure on decision-makers to act in a certain way during a crisis. Which in fact means that, the media influences the decisions and steps taken in foreign policy to some extent.[31]

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[28] Alex Mintz, Karl DeRouen Jr,*Understanding foreign policy decision making*, New York Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 121-125.
[29] Alex Mintz, Karl DeRouen Jr,*Understanding foreign policy decision making*, p. 130
[30] Christopher Hill, *The changing politics of foreign policy*, p. 70.
[31] Alex Mintz, Karl DeRouen Jr, *Understanding foreign policy decision making*, p. 160.

Political culture refers to the shared ideals, customs, and traditions among citizens that may withstand the test of time. Individuals acquire their ideology and belief framework, as well as their view on the function of their government, their behaviours, and their place in the world system, through shared experiences and selective experiences relayed through their parents' recollections. As a result, political culture can be defined as the fundamental principles, values, and conventions that govern the functioning of a country's political institutions.[32] Different understandings of political culture can be seen at all social levels within the political structure. In other words, not every country has a homogeneous political culture. For example, societies that cannot complete their political socialization processes may produce heterogeneous, incompatible, and fragmented political cultures because they cannot build their own national identities. Thus, diverse groups, political parties, elites, and individuals can defend different viewpoints and proposals. Political culture is a subjective orientation. In other words, the ruling elite can impose its own understanding of political culture on the state administration or interpret political culture according to its own beliefs.

Culture, in a larger sense, refers to all human creations that have emerged in a certain social environment. Despite the fact that researchers agree on the importance of culture on foreign policy, no consensus has been reached on the degree of cultural influence on foreign policy. Researchers do recognize, however, that while examining diverse state behaviours, it is vital to look at these states' cultural values, and that this distinction is beneficial in illustrating changes and transformation in foreign policy behaviour.[33] When examined more concretely, those who have examined the effect of culture on the structure of the decision-making mechanism have concluded that the effect of culture is minimal at this point. Because cultural values, beliefs and behaviour patterns do not directly and visibly affect the institutions and structures in the decision-making process.

Because of globalization, not just states are active in world politics but there are other elements, which are active. In fact, transnational actors have more international

[32] Valerie M. Hudson, Martin W. Sampson III. Culture is more than a static residual: Introduction to the special section on culture and foreign policy." *Political Psychology*, Vol, 20, No.4, 1999, pp. 667-675.
[33] Valerie M. Hudson, Martin W. Sampson III. "Culture is more than a static residual: Introduction to the special section on culture and foreign policy.", p. 670.

relations than states. Transnational relations are mutual interactions, coalitions and contacts that cross the borders of states, while transnational actors are multinational companies, trade associations, political parties, and terrorist groups. These are also considered as non-state actors. Transnational relations cannot be controlled by central governments. Because transnational actors do not need the support and mediation of states to have international relations. However, these actors do not have the power to shape the international environment.[34] Transnational actors can be divided into diverse groups i.e., territorial, ideological, or cultural and economic, terrorist groups, sub-state units like ideological group, political parties, cultural group, media, educators, scientists, environmental groups, human rights associations, multinational companies, sports federations, mafia, and criminal groups can be included in the economic group.[35]

International organizations, on the other hand, which began to appear more in world politics after WW II, began to play an active part in international politics as an active actor in the same way as states did in the post-Cold War period. In particular, increase in problems and issues that exceed the borders and powers of the states has increased the influence of international organizations. Today, states are affected by the actions and decisions of international organizations at various levels and in several ways. However, this effect differs in different matters and in proportion to the powers of the states. While examining the relationship between international organizations and foreign policy, the impact of the organization on the state's foreign policy is determined by a variety of factors, including the state's national characteristics, domestic political system structure, international organization structure, and decision makers' perceptions of the international organization as a foreign policy tool, differences between the problem areas persuasion skills of the representatives of the states, members of the secretariat of the organization and the place of the states in the decision-making processes of the international organization.[36]

[34] Christopher Hill, *The changing politics of foreign policy*, pp. 59-68.
[35] Ibid., pp. 54-60.
[36] Ibid., p. 86.

International organizations provide different mechanisms for multilateral cooperation in different areas. In addition, the organization provides opportunities to different states to exert their influence in different areas. For example, the extensiveness of agendas in United Nations bodies provides opportunities to link different problem areas with each other, which gives states the opportunity to protect their foreign policy interests. Kissinger gives examples of Bureaucratic-Pragmatic leader type as American and European leaders. Such leaders are analytical people, and they approach each problem individually by adopting a pragmatic method.[37] Another type of leader, the ideological leader type, is exemplified by the leaders of Communist or socialist countries, including other Soviet leaders. In such leaders, communist ideology is the most decisive element in the leader's behaviour. Ideology is thought to offer the fundamental standard of behaviour as well as the conditions for its eventual accomplishment.[38]

According to Kissinger, the charismatic-revolutionary leader type is more commonly seen in underdeveloped Third World countries. Such leaders are more interested in the future than the current situation and do not take into consideration the basis of understanding based on the manipulation of the environment, which is the basis of pragmatic thinking, as they are aimed at shaping future events, and ideology that limits behaviour to strict rules. The leaders of the Third World countries fighting for full independence are trying to solve problems with a general and revolutionary approach, rather than dealing with the details of problems, especially economic ones.[39]

Classical realism does not accept the interaction between foreign policy and the international environment. Because, according to theorists who adopt this understanding, states plan their foreign policy decisions by considering their national interests within the possibilities given by their powers. In this process, the decision data considers neither the internal nor the external actors. Contrary to classical realism, Neo-realism advocated by Kenneth Waltz emphasizes that the most essential element that determines the behaviour of states is the distribution of power in the international system. According to this

[37] Henry A. Kissinger, "Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy." Daedalus, Vol. 95, No. 2, 1966, pp. 503–529.
[38] Ibid., p. 510.
[39] Ibid., p. 520.

understanding, states will determine their foreign policies depending on their power in the international system, and even define their national interests according to the distribution of power. From the point of view of neo-realists, it is inevitable that the decision maker who plans the foreign policy will fail without considering the distribution of power in the external environment.[40]

Liberals and academics such as Immanuel Wallerstein, who put forward the World System Theory, accept the influence of the international system on foreign policy, as do Neo-realists. In particular, increasing interdependence and globalization have produced results that strongly support this view. Liberal theory, which supports the idea of international society, gives immense importance to international organizations and international law in this sense. Hierarchical systems, power balancing systems, loose bipolar systems, tight bipolar systems, and multipolar systems are some of the examples. On the other hand, Kaplan has subjected the international political system to a six-fold classification, considering the organization status and their number. The power balance system, loose bipolar system, tight bipolar system, universal system, hierarchical system, and unit veto system are the examples of these systems. Kaplan elaborates on the balance of power and the loose bipolar system among them. According to the author, the systems that have already historically occurred to the present day are these last two systems.[41]

2.3. Approaches and Purpose of Foreign Policy

There are several approaches to foreign policy and one of the significant approaches is the theoretical approach of foreign policy, which explain the proponents of the doctrinal view that believes that the policies of the states and the rest of the world, compared to them, are merely manifestations of prevailing political, social, and religious beliefs. Scholars adopting this approach classify foreign policies into democratic or totalitarian liberal or socialist peaceful or aggressive. This approach mainly accepts foreign relations behaviours or conduct in a psychological way. It further accepts the principles and

[40] Kenneth N. Waltz, "International structure, national force, and the balance of world power," *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1967, pp. 215-231.
[41] Christopher Hill, *The changing politics of foreign policy*, p. 98.

objectives of leaders or governments as an essential element, if not an absolute determinative element of policy. According to this theory, if a democratic government follows a specific foreign policy, an autocratic system adopts a different type of policy. Similarly, a communist government adopts a specific type of policy, while a democratic socialist government follows a different type of policy. This implies that in this theoretical or ideological view, foreign policy is determined according to the beliefs and interests of an active political leader.[42] In case of Indian and Pakistan both being democratic countries, they follow the somewhat same if not different foreign policy.

For the past few years, many scholars have questioned the rationale of the theoretical approach of foreign policy, since then many foreign policy experts have adopted the analytical approach. Proponents of this theory believe that world governments consider national interest paramount in the determination and implementation of foreign policy, and their social and political philosophy, religious outlook and ideological views are secondary because that in international politics, any state there are neither permanent enemies nor permanent friends but there are only national interests. That is, any state protects the national interest at all costs, even if it must violate its declared principles.[43] Let us take the example of India and Pakistan. A major objective of Indian and Pakistan's foreign policy has been world peace and security. Both the sates advocate peaceful coexistence. However ironically both countries have conflicted with each other since their creation. Both the countries tried to improve the relations among each other, however it can be clearly said that both countries have failed to get the desired results.

Another approach is the Descriptive approach, which studies the foreign policy in the traditional way. Thinkers favouring this view believe that scholars should study diplomacy as accurately as possible. They are not interested in international practice adopting a descriptive approach. They shy away from considering current events. They believe in a date-wise description of events in historical perspective. Actually, this approach is incredibly old fashioned and one-sided. The main limitation of this approach

[42] Alex Mintz, Karl DeRouen Jr, *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*, p. 67.
[43] Ibid., p. 75.

is that it underestimates the relationship between political power and foreign policy. For these reasons, the importance of this approach has reduced drastically.[44] However, keeping the foreign policy in view this thesis tries evaluating the foreign policy of India and Pakistan in all the above-mentioned aspects.

The main purpose of foreign policy is that how a state can achieve its national interest by having relations with other states. Foreign policy is the implementation of decisions to stabilize the nature of relations of one state with other states. The relations between states can be considered as the constituents of foreign relations and further diplomacy can be called as the process of implementing foreign policy. In other words, it can be said that foreign policy is a set of efforts of a state to promote its interests with other states. Alden and Amnon are of the view that "foreign policy in its broadest sense is a collective form of the objectives, plans and actions that a state undertakes to conduct its external relations."[45] Foreign policy, according to Hudson and Day, is a set of activities undertaken by a community to influence the behaviour of other states and to adapt its activities to the international environment.[46] Foreign policy, according to Breuning, entails the formulation and application of general principles that influence a state's behaviour when negotiating with other states to safeguard or advance its essential interests.[47]

In the words of Smith, Hadfield, and Dunne, "Foreign policy in its functional form is the specific course of action adopted by one government to another government, one state to another state, or one government to an international union."[48] It is clear from these above explanations that foreign policy is a systematic form of activities of states that are developed by the state based on long-term experience. These aims change the behaviour of other states to suit their interests if possible and if not, and then assessing the

[44] Xavier Guillaume, "Foreign policy and the politics of alterity: a dialogical understanding of international relations", *Millennium,* Vol. 31, No.1, 2002, p. 1-26.
[45] Chris Alden, Amnon Aran, *Foreign policy analysis: new approaches*, London: Routledge, 2016, p. 45.
[46] Valerie Hudson, Benjamin S. Day, *Foreign policy analysis: classic and contemporary theory*, London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019, p. 23.
[47] Marijke Breuning, *Foreign policy analysis: A comparative introduction*, p. 27.
[48] Smith Steve, et.al, *Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases*, London: Oxford University Press, 2016, p. 21.

international situation it is to bring such a change in its behaviour, so that it can be aligned with the behaviour or activities of other states.

2.4. Conceptual Framework of Foreign Policy Analysis

According to Christopher Hill, in international relations foreign policy is the sum of formal foreign relations handled by an independent actor, usually a state.[49] These relationships are formed in the complex atmosphere of the internal and external conditions in which the state resides. It was difficult to distinguish between the effects of internal and external environments on foreign policy due to the changing character of international relations, particularly after World War II.[50] As a result, foreign policy decisions are made in accordance with a comprehensive framework that encompasses national and international levels. Within the context of India and Pakistan, Foreign Policy of both countries changed according to the changing world order. India opted for a Non-Aligned movement meaning they followed a neutral policy, however Pakistan on the other hand decided to align with USA. However, in the contemporary times India has diversified its foreign policy while as Pakistan is still limited to US in the West.

Rosenau compares the foreign policy analyst to a geographer.[51] According to him, for the geographical structure of a country to be completely mapped, it is necessary to prepare a map equal to the natural dimensions of the country and analysing it with all the dimensions of foreign policy is a challenging task. Foreign policy must be understood as multilevel and multidimensional to have a better understanding of these complex sources and nature of foreign policy.[52] When foreign policy behaviours exhibited by states are considered as dependent variables, all factors that have an impact on these behaviours should be accepted as independent variables. Therefore, to make predictions about foreign

[49] Christopher Hill, *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*, p. 37.
[50] Michael Clarke, Brian White, *Understanding Foreign Policy: The Foreign Policy Systems Approach*, New York: Edward Elgar Publishing, 1989, p. 46.
[51] James N. Rosenau, *The scientific study of foreign policy*, New York: Nichols Publishing Company, 1980, p. 39.
[52] Laura Neack, *The New Foreign Policy: U.S. and Comparative Foreign Policy in the 21st Century*, London: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2002, p. 54.

policy behaviours that a particular state can follow under certain circumstances, it is necessary to evaluate the relative impact potentials and effects of these factors.[53] When it comes to India and Pakistan, Kashmir is considered as one of the dependent variables effecting the foreign policy of both countries. Therefore, both India and Pakistan design or implement their foreign policy according to the change in status quo of Kashmir. However, for Pakistan, Kashmir is a focal point of its foreign policy.

Foreign policy decision-makers consider not just national and international pressures, support, and demand, but also their own worldviews, national interests, and perceptions. Decision-makers, the state structure, and the international environment all play a role in the policies that arise. The factors affecting the formation of foreign policy are classified in diverse ways by various individuals. For example, Rosenau classifies individuals, roles, government, society, and the system while as Laura Neack in her analysis, uses individual, state, and system levels.[54] Clarke and White, on the other hand, develop a new model called the Foreign Policy Systems Approach, which incorporates all of these aspects and claims that foreign policy results are shaped by various inputs and processes. Accordingly, demands for foreign policy are shaped in line with the structure of the political and international system, and because of a complex process, they are turned into foreign policy outcomes by decision-makers.[55] A new approach was developed by Valerie M. Hudson developed regarding the factors that influence foreign policy, categorizing them from specific to general: cognitive processes, leadership personality, small group dynamics, institutional processes, bureaucratic policies, culture, internal political conflicts, national characteristics, and the international system.[56] It is difficult to give an exact answer to how much of a role any of these factors will play in the decision to be taken.

The method used to seek answers to this question is generally defined as Foreign Policy Analysis. Unlike macro approaches that analyse international relations only

[53] Ibid., p. 54.
[54] James N. Rosenau, *The scientific study of foreign policy*, p. 59.
[55] Michael Clarke, Brian White, *Understanding Foreign Policy: The Foreign Policy Systems Approach*, pp.48-49.
[56] Valerie Hudson, Benjamin S. Day, *Foreign policy analysis: classic and contemporary theory*, p. 78.

through the international system, Foreign Policy Analysis is a method of explaining international relations at a micro level by focusing on the state's decision-making process and various aspects of the state's relationship with the international system. Foreign Policy Analysis as a scientific method first appeared in the 1950s and became a sub-discipline of the discipline of International Relations in the 1960s. The primary point of the Foreign Policy Analysis is that all international interactions are impacted by decisions made by decision-maker.[57] Therefore, analysing decision-making processes and the behaviour of decision-makers becomes an inevitable requirement. Therefore, in case of India and Pakistan, it can be said that their contemporary foreign policies are shaped by the behaviour of their decision makers.

2.5. Foreign Policy Studies

India and Pakistan have been labelled as realist states because of their historical background. They have been rival states since their Independence and because of this; they are constantly in the state of security dilemma. It is because of this insecurity they have been in the arms race and have built several nuclear weapons. Most of the scholarships on India and Pakistan are based on the realist foreign policy. It is because of the historical background of India and Pakistan that does not leave the scope of applying other theories of International Relations to their foreign policies.

Before the Foreign Policy Analysis approach, approaches based on realism were used to explain why and how foreign policy is shaped. Joseph S. Nye describes these approaches used in the analysis of foreign policy as state-centrist realism.[58] The base of international relations, according to this theory, are states, and the decision-making unit, whether it is a state, a person, or a group, can be addressed as a unitary rational actor. This approach is also called the 'black box' or 'billiards model' of the state.[59] Although Machiavelli is credited with the intellectual origin of realism, or even Thucydides, Hans

[57] Ibid., p. 96.
[58] Joseph S. Nye Jr, "Public diplomacy and soft power", *The annals of the American academy of political and social science*, Vol. 616, No. 1, 2008, pp. 94-109.
[59] Valerie Hudson, Benjamin S. Day, Foreign policy analysis: classic and contemporary theory, p. 97.

J. Morgenthau is regarded as the one who explained International Relations based on political power and developed the most comprehensive theory on the subject.

According to Morgenthau, reaching power is always a primary goal, regardless of the goal of international policy.[60] Morgenthau argues that there is no need to examine the decision-making process closely to understand how decisions are made in foreign policy; those individuals do not mind neglecting their roles, and that it is futile to seek foreign policy-related clues in the motives of political leaders. According to him, all decision-makers are alike.[61] The main reason for this similarity is the assumption that decisions are made using the same rational processes and criteria. This approach is also called the Rational Actor Model.[62] This model envisages starting from the targets and calculations of states while explaining the international events. [63]

According to Rational Actor Model, the decision makers of the state generally perceive the world as 'complete and true' and even if there are some misperceptions, these situations should be considered as unintentional accidents.[64] Therefore, if the objectives and interests of the state are known, it is possible to determine in which direction the decision will be taken. However, here rationality should not be perceived as acting smartly. Rational behaviour is based on the process of consciously calculating the advantages. That is, rational decision-making is the selection of the option that will best benefit the state in terms of security and power, from a variety of options with evident outcomes. In the case of India and Pakistan, any parameter in their foreign policy is enacted or justified according to the security rhetoric.

The most important criticism against realism's assumptions about the understanding of foreign policy and the method of analysis were put forward by Foreign Policy Analysis approach. This approach has two key features. First, by denying the concept of rational

[60] Hans Morgenthau, "A political theory of foreign aid", *American political science review,* Vol. 56, No. 2, 1962, pp. 301-309.
[61] Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace,* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978, p.46.
[62] Alex Mintz, Karl DeRouen Jr, *Understanding foreign policy decision making*, pp.78-83.
[63] Ibid p. 85.
[64] Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976, p.58.

human, trying to understand the human in psychologically and sociologically conditioned form, which is to accept that their rationality is limited. The second characteristic is that it sees foreign policy as a whole of decisions taken by decision-makers. Foreign policy is formed not only in line with foreign inputs but also by the decision-making mechanism within the state.

2.6. Comparative Foreign Policy

India and Pakistan qualify to be analysed through the Comparative analytical approach. Since the creation of India and Pakistan, there has been a constant rivalry between the two states. Every action taken by either of them is to be calculated in a comparative manner. In order to understand the Indo-Pak foreign policy comparative analytical approaches has to be the best among various other approaches. India and Pakistan have been living in the state of trust deficit since their creation that is whatever policies they make or enact; they must keep each other in consideration.

The Comparative Foreign Policy approach, which can be regarded as the most behavioural area among Foreign Policy Analysis studies, was the result of Rosenau's efforts to create an international and multi-level foreign policy theory.[65] This method suggests that it is possible to make inferences by comparing even events such as war, agreement, or an official state visit. The concept of 'event' has been focused on the idea that it is not possible to create a theory that could be valid on different nations and at different times by doing case studies; thus it is possible to gather data on a wide range of explanatory factors and determine the possible effects of these arguments on foreign policy behaviour.[66] In this way, it was thought that a foreign policy theory could be established that could be applied to all nations and times. The Comparative Foreign Policy approach focuses on two fundamental areas of study: Event data and Holistic explanations. The focus of studies in this field in the new era has been the development of innovative methods for establishing usable medium-range theories. Some of the questions

[65] James N. Rosenau, *The scientific study of foreign policy,* p. 103.
[66] Valerie M. Hudson, "The history and evolution of foreign policy analysis", Steve Smith et.al (ed.) *Foreign Policy: theories, actors, cases,* UK: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 11-29.

addressed are: Can event data be re-conceptualized more conveniently? Can Foreign Policy Analysis use methods that simulate the human decision-making process to combine complex and immeasurable data? Can models be created that can use actor-specific data as input? The comparative foreign policy approach has two methodologies.[67]

2.6.1 Event Data

It is aimed to develop early warning systems that can alert decision-makers against crises by gathering event data related to foreign policy from the archives of newspapers, chronologies and other information sources, coding and processing them in accordance with pre-determined coding guidelines. As a result of these studies, various computerized decision-making systems and analysis packages have been developed. It is estimated that approximately US 5$ million was spent by the American government by 1981 for these works.[68]

2.6.2 Holistic Explanations

Comparative Foreign Policy approach is aimed to bring multi-level and holistic explanations to foreign policy analysis. The studies in this direction are independent variables at various levels of analysis and have been matched with various foreign policy behaviours through theoretical assumptions (in some cases, statistical or mathematical equations). Because of these studies, various theories have been developed regarding which independent variable can cause changes on foreign policy. However, Foreign Policy Analysis studies in the following years revealed that the data obtained by the comparative foreign policy approach did not always produce accurate results, and in some cases failed to explain the phenomenon or event of foreign policy. Both the above-mentioned methods have been taken into consideration while analysing the foreign policy of India and Pakistan in a comparative manner.

[67] James N. Rosenau, *The scientific study of foreign policy,* p.110.
[68] Ibid., p. 119.

2.7. Psychological and Social Environment of the Decision Makers

There has been a growth in the number of studies on the 'mentality' of foreign policy decision makers since Sprouts brought attention to the psychological environment of decision makers. These approaches do not indicate that the mentality of the decision maker which is unwritten; Every decision maker's mentality is shaped by their own beliefs, which are shaped by elements such as culture, history, geography, economy, political institutions, ideology, and demographics, attitude, value, experience and feelings; It is also emphasized that each decision-maker perceives themselves and their national identity differently.[69] For example, in Brecher work on Israel's foreign policy, he has revealed that the psycho-cultural environment of the Israeli nation has influence on Israeli foreign policy.[70] However, other studies in this area are not usually based on a holistic view, but rather on psychological and cultural dimensions. According to some scholars, India and Pakistan's foreign policy has a lot to do with their religious ideologies and psyche-cultural environment.

2.7.1 Personal characteristics

Numerous studies have found that personal characteristics are particularly significant for understanding foreign policy decisions, especially under certain conditions such as high stress, high uncertainty, and the prominent leader characteristics of a foreign policy decision-maker. For this reason, various methods of political psychology have been used in order to understand the personal characteristics of decision makers.[71] Although several studies have been conducted on this topic in the past, the "Operational Code" method, which was first introduced by Leites and developed by Alexander George, Ole R. Holsti, and Stephen Walker, has begun to be used systematically to handle the personal characteristics of decision-makers.[72]

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[69] Valerie M. Hudson, "The history and evolution of foreign policy analysis", Steve Smith et.al (ed.) *Foreign Policy: theories, actors, cases*, p. 60.
[70] Michael Brecher, *The Foreign Policy System of Israel Setting, Images, Process*, London: Oxford University Press, 1972, pp. 37-41.
[71] Valerie M. Hudson, "The history and evolution of foreign policy analysis", Steve Smith et.al (ed.) *Foreign Policy: theories, actors, cases*, p. 120.
[72] Ibid., p. 129.

The cognitive scheme or belief system of a decision maker can be embodied utilizing two different components, according to this method. The first one is the decision-makers approach to five issues related to the political universe in which he/her finds himself; the second is his/her response to five questions that enable him/her to define himself/herself in this political universe.[73] Margaret G. Hermann used the operational code framework and the content analysis approach to compare leaders' beliefs and motivations, decision-making styles, and interpersonal communication styles.[74] Hermann used the material she gathered to create an overall image of the leaders' personality traits, dividing them into two upper groups and eight subgroups based on their foreign policy views. These tools and approaches can be used to better understand the decision-making processes of Indian and Pakistani leaders.

During this time, foreign policy perceptions and images formed an important part of the research agenda. The work of Robert Jervis and Richard Cottam in particular has had a considerable influence in this area. The common feature of these two studies is that they try to reveal the possible effects of misperception on foreign policy.[75] Misperceptions can be caused by cognitive, institutional, or emotional problems. Prejudices towards any actor or state, whether one cares more about himself or his own nation than he does, tunnel vision, the quest for consistency and simplicity are some of the several reasons that can lead to misperception. It is inevitable to get help from the science of psychology in order to detect these perceptions.[76] As a result, the role and importance of psychological and cognitive research in foreign policy analysis has grown significantly.

The perception, cognition, and type of information processing of decision makers are all influenced by psychological factors. Therefore, numerous studies and different methods have been developed for the evaluation of these factors. The most crucial point

[73] Stephen G. Walker, "The motivational foundations of political belief systems: A re-analysis of the operational code construct", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 2, 1983, pp.179-202.
[74] Margaret G. Hermann, "Explaining foreign policy behavior using the personal characteristics of political leaders", *International studies quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1980, pp. 27-46.
[75] Richard Cottam, *Foreign Policy Motivation: A General Theory and a Case Study*, London: Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977, pp. 39-49.
[76] Ibid. p. 55.

that should not be neglected when examining the effects of cognitive processes and psychological factors on decision-makers is that it is not possible to make analysis based on these processes and factors directly. These processes and factors only gain an explanatory feature if they are systematically integrated into the political framework that takes into account the structural, economic and cultural conditions surrounding decision makers.[77] While applying this approach to the Narendra Modi and Imran Khan, it can observe that Modi who comes from a very poor background and who is also labelled as extremist Hindu by various scholars can be very individualist and opportunist in grabbing the power. On the other hand, Imran Khan coming from a rich family and already an influencer in sports leaves him less chance to be a corrupt or a selfish leader.

2.7.2 Social and National Features

How the decision-maker perceives their states' role internationally is one of the aspects that began to be investigated during the second term of the traditional Foreign Policy Analysis. These studies emphasize that decision-makers make choices in line with the perception in question when making foreign policy decisions. In this context, Holsti emphasized the relevance of a states' perception of itself and its role in the international arena. He emphasized that these opinions are more relevant in terms of foreign policy than those of other segments of society, particularly when it comes to the elites' perceptions of their national role.[78] Social character, which is a result of the nation's socialization process, has an impact on how the nation's role is perceived. What this means is that different socialization processes can result in different forms of national behaviour.

In addition, the impact of culture as an independent variable has come to the fore in studies in this area and it has been revealed that the cultural heritage and socialization process that one receives from the society in which they grew up can have an impact on the decision-making process. In addition to the effects of culture on the cognitive

[77] James M Goldgeier, Philip E. Tetlock, "Psychology and international relations theory", *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 2001, pp. 67-92.
[78] Ole R. Holsti, "Cognitive Process Approaches to Decision-Making", *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1976, pp. 38-48.

structures of the decision-maker, it has been emphasized that it will also play a role in shaping various social institutions. In the second generation of studies on the effects of social and national characteristics on foreign policy, studies based on the idea that democracies are more peaceful than totalitarian or authoritarian systems have been put forward. According to this approach, called the democratic peace theory, a state that attaches importance to individual rights, political and economic pluralism and cooperation will most likely maintain these values in its relations with other states. Thus, it will respect the rights of other nations, consider international law, and display a compromising, not confrontational, attitude.[79]

Kant, the intellectual father of this approach, states that democracy and a free-market economy are the basic conditions of interstate peace in the meaning of the republican regime, as we understand it today. The reason for this is that citizens in such, states do not want to bear the economic burden of the war and think that the instability caused by the war will harm their economic interests. Furthermore, Kant claims that there is a fundamental difference in foreign policy between republican and monarchical states. The societies which are ruled by the Republic government, the people will oppose the war because of the possible burden and harm of the war itself, and therefore republics will pursue more peaceful foreign policy.[80] Finally, the international system can be viewed as a component of the psychological environment in which foreign policy decision-makers operate. The international system can be considered to have diverse effects on foreign policy depending on the number of Poles in the system, the distribution of power between poles, and the requirements of the order.

According to classical realism, the occurrence of tensions such as war and polarization in the international environment is due to the malevolence of states and political leaders. Neo-realism, on the other hand, acknowledges that all states, even those with the best intentions, facing bad situations can engage in negative actions, that is, the structure of the international environment is the main determining factor in the interaction

[79] Ibid., p. 40.
[80] Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual peace and other essays*, trans. Ted Humphrey, Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1983, pp. 107-115.

of states. The international system, according to Holsti, is made up of separate political entities such as tribes, city-states, empires, and sovereign states. According to Morton Kaplan, the international system is the most complete, while national and supranational systems are sub-systems of the international system.[81] As a result, some researchers have stressed how the international system might influence a states' foreign policy. International political systems have been subjected to various classifications.

Rosecrance does system analysis by dividing European history between 1740 and 1960 into 9 historical periods, and each historical period corresponds to an international system.[82] Holsti has developed five types of international systems that take into account the system's boundary, the boundary of the political units in the system, the relations between the political units in the system, the distribution of power, the basic character of the political units, and the way the rules governing the relations between them work, in addition to historical factors. Whereas Waltz stated that, it is necessary to change the uncertain and variable concepts (environment, situation, context, environment.) used to define the system, and developed a structure definition independent of the characteristics and interactions of the states. The structuralist approach defines the concept of relationship as both the relation of the states and their positions against each other.

As a result, foreign policy will be expected to be influenced by the principle of international system management, the character of nations, and the criteria for power allocation in the system. In short, the international system's structure and features are one of the most important factors influencing states' foreign policy decisions. As a result, when a decision on foreign policy is taken, the decision-making unit will be expected to consider these factors by evaluating the issues related to the international system. All these above-mentioned characteristics can be seen to have affected the foreign policy of India and Pakistan. In addition, it can be said that both India and Pakistan make and shape their foreign policy according to the International System.

[81] Morton A. Kaplan, *System and Process in International Relations*, Essex: ECPR Press, 2005, p.76.
[82] Richard N. Rosecrance, *Action and Reaction in World Politics International Systems in Perspective*, Boston: Little and Brown, 1963, pp.55-62.

2.8. Contemporary Foreign Policy Analysis

Foreign policy analysis in modern times, according to Hudson, includes six prominent features.[83] Two of these that evaluate the foreign policy decision-making process are known as multi-factorial and the other that treats variables simultaneously at multiple levels of analysis is known as multi-level feature. Foreign Policy Analysis scholars use a variety of resources, including explanatory variables that can be obtained at all levels of analysis if they influence the decision-making process. As a result, the primary inputs for analysis are psychology, sociology, organizational behaviour, ethnography, and data acquired from a variety of intellectual disciplines such as economics and other disciplines. In this situation, the Foreign Policy Analysis' third significant feature might be described as multi-disciplinary or multidisciplinary. Foreign Policy Analysis' fourth distinguishing feature is that it is the most integrative of all sub-disciplines of the International Relations discipline, using data from several levels of analysis and spanning multiple scientific disciplines. In addition, it can be stated that its fifth feature describes it as agent-oriented, since it is based on human as the source of events and decisions in international relations. Finally, the sixth key feature of the Foreign Policy Analysis is that it has an actor-specific approach that refuses to ignore the roles of individuals through the decision-making process.

Understanding how people perceive the world around them, how they react it and events happening within it and how decisions shape the world and how the world is shaped is the basic starting point for the discipline of International Relations. All the above-mentioned features can be seen in contemporary foreign policy of both India and Pakistan. Pakistan's foreign policy might have become somewhat stagnant however, on the other India has tried to keep the foreign policy moving with the changing world order.

[83] Valerie M Hudson, "Foreign policy analysis: Actor-specific theory and the ground of international relations", *Foreign policy analysis*, Vol. 1, No.1, 2005, pp. 1-30.

2.9. Types and Assessment of Leadership

Within the scope of foreign policy analysis studies, a wide range of leadership styles has been developed to evaluate leaders. Thomas Preston and Jonathan Keller developed some models.[84] However, it was actually laid out by Hermann and others. Hermann and others have also developed a method that allows leaders to be analysed in accordance with various variables, taking advantage of the results of previous studies in this field.[85] It is feasible to divide leaders into two categories using this strategy. There are two types of leaders: goal-oriented and process-oriented. The distinction between these two types of leaders stems from their perceptions of their position and personalities, which are reflected in their leadership. Leaders who are goal-oriented, that is, ideology, combatant, task-oriented, and guiding, see their environment and position from a framework created by their own beliefs, attitudes, motives, and passions. Because they act selectively when receiving data from their environment, these leaders barely change their attitudes and beliefs. Changes that occur are usually marginal changes. When it comes to choosing the individuals with whom they work, such leaders place a premium on loyalty. They also have no qualms about changing conventions, standards, and institutions in order to attain their personal objectives. Leaders that are goal-oriented take a pre-set approach to foreign policy issues and have certain policy agendas. They re-explain the encountered situations in accordance with their own goals and principles. Thus, from the above it can be easily said both the leaders of India and Pakistan are goal oriented and process-oriented leaders. Both Khan and Modi are trying to bring changes in the internal as well as external politics of Pakistan and India, respectively. Both the leaders are trying to shape the foreign policy of their countries according to their ideologies.

Process-oriented leaders are more pragmatist and opportunistic. Such leaders tend to compare life to a theatre scene in which many roles are played. For this reason, they care more about their relationship and process than their goals, and they are usually

[84] Thomas Preston, *The President and His Inner Circle: Leadership Style and the Advisory Process in Foreign Policy Making*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2001, pp. 63-78
[85] Margaret G. Hermann, "Explaining foreign policy behavior using the personal characteristics of political leaders", p. 42.

conciliatory. They are extremely flexible and open-minded, as they believe that the main task of people is to assume and implement it by finding the identity that best suits the current situation. In short, the perception of such leaders about their own selves is defined in accordance with the expectations and interests of the environment and the situation. They believe that in order for thoughts, attitudes, behaviours, beliefs, motives, and passions to be acceptable, they must be approved and validated by those who are related to the subject. Process-oriented leaders seek to have an extensive information collection network in order to be constantly aware of other people's views and interests and to closely monitor changes in these views and interests. In this case, it can be said that Modi wins the race and is far ahead of Khan.

When it comes to foreign policy decisions, leaders encounter a variety of internal and external impediments and restraints. These impediments can include competing political parties' criticism and opposition, as well as public reaction to a move that affects the interests of particular groups of society. When confronted with these challenges, the leader must overcome impediments in domestic politics as well as mould problems in the international arena in a way that domestic politics deems reasonable. Reconciling the differences between foreign and domestic policy contexts and drawing international interlocutors to the point of consensus in line with domestic political obstacles, as well as shaping foreign policy decisions in a satisfactory way for the debates and reactions in domestic politics are considered as a task that the leader must fulfil. The leaders are responsible for bringing their national and international interlocutors to the point of reconciliation by acting as negotiators. Putnam calls the entire process a 'two-level game'.[86]

In this game, the leader takes on the task of reconciling national and international actors. The leader further serves as an important axis in achieving reconciliation on any points between international and domestic politics conditions. As is frequently the case, more difficult job to shape the international environment, it is a more viable method for a

[86] Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and domestic politics: the logic of two-level games", *International organization*, Vol. 42, No.3, 1988, pp. 427-460.

leader to compromise with government, state, and political opponents, even the public. Studies show that both Khan and Modi show greater will to deal with political obstacles and find solutions to the problems they face faster and are more comfortable overcoming the problem. Leaders with traits like adaptability, political skills, and a desire for consensus are said to be more sensitive to their surroundings, more likely to make judgments based on public opinion, and more willing to haggle and compromise. [87]

According to a study of American presidents' foreign policy decision-making processes, the type of information leader requires while making foreign policy decisions is unrelated to whether or not the leader has a well-defined vision or goals.[88] Leaders with a vision or goals will be expected to collaborate with close advisors and consultants. Such leaders hope to persuade those with opposing viewpoints to accept their own. Leaders who value multiple types of information, on the other hand, identify the problem and adopt an attitude based on what individuals with different points of view think and recommend after carefully studying what people with different points of view think and say. These leaders lay a greater priority on acquiring information and consulting with significant persons, as well as looking for clues as to which individuals and institutions are advocating specific viewpoints. In this case Khan wins the battle over Modi.

Motivation is the process by which leaders consistently and permanently direct themselves. In general, political leaders can be said to be driven by either internal or external causes. Intrinsic motivation can be triggered by a specific problem or cause, an ideology, or a shared interest among a group of people. Extrinsic motivation arises from a need to receive a specific type of input from the people around you. Leaders who understand what must be done to achieve their objectives select the actions and decisions that must be made based on their own personal motives. External variables worsen the actions and decisions of leaders who are motivated by external factors, because they

[87] Margaret G. Hermann, "Explaining foreign policy behavior using the personal characteristics of political leaders", *International studies quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1980, p. 36.
[88] Ibid. p. 39.

frequently seek support from their political circles and even the general public, and they value their opinions.[89]

From the above statements, it can be said that both Modi and Khan possess the qualities to enhance the foreign policy of their respective countries. People of the both the countries have elevated expectations from both Khan and Modi. Khan, who has been new to the office, has tried to change the internal politics of Pakistan, which he believes will ultimately have some good impact on the foreign relation with other countries as well. However, the same cannot be said for Modi who has been in the office for about 7 years. Even though he tried to improve India's relations in comparison to the rest of the world by paying officials visits to about one hundred countries in the past 7 years. He has failed to keep the internal politics of the country in contact. The country has seen rise in economic inflation and unemployment. Further, with the continuous attacks on religious minorities, India is becoming intolerant to other religions, and it can be said the idea of secularism is under banter. Which is ultimately affecting the foreign policy of India.

2.10. Conclusion

Foreign policy analysis is significant study to understand the behaviour of state and state actors. There are factors that motivate state actors to determine that foreign policy. The behaviour of states in the international arena is shaped by their own interests. In the case of India and Pakistan, their rivalry and the Kashmir issue influence their foreign policies not only in their immediate neighbourhood, but also globally. The state's behavior is based on its foreign policy. The supremacy of realism and its portrayal of the state, whether through bilateral or multilateral ties, is at the heart of foreign policy analysis. While keeping up with the realist paradigm, the state is looked at as a rational actor, whose national interest comes first. From the realist perspective, the anarchy in the international order is fundamentally important in guiding to interpret the foreign policy. Furthermore, psychological, and cognitive factors can be used to explain foreign policy decisions. Hence, Indian and Pakistan's foreign policy, which is evaluated through the framework

[89] Margaret G. Hermann, "Explaining foreign policy behavior using the personal characteristics of political leaders", *International studies quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1980, pp. 7-46.

of comparative foreign policy majorly depends on their allies and rivals pre- and post-cold war who influence their decision-making process not only in the neighbourhood but also in the international arena. The other factors that are mentioned in this chapter also adds in deciphering the behaviour of India and Pakistan with each other and others.

Chapter 3

Understanding Pakistan and India's Place in the World

3.1. Introduction

The geographical locations of India and Pakistan is incomprehensible without putting the historical background, theoretical framework, and the inner composition in context. The two-nation doctrine, which partitioned India and Pakistan, has been accused of having more defects than benefits. The partition was arguably based on religion. However, after the partition, India was left with a margin of around three hundred million Muslims, which is more than the total population of Pakistan. The communal tensions have since been escalating. The Muslims in India have been recently suffering more at the hands of *Bhartiya Janata Party*. Muslims are being lynched in the so-called democratic India. The Caste system still prevails in India, which has been preventing the lower caste people from having basic rights of life. Moreover, the theory's central premise was shattered, when in 1971, Bangladesh seceded from Pakistan. Britain's idea of partition was a clear failure, and its example can be seen in the form of disputed Kashmir. India has been accused of killing, and blinding hundreds of thousands of Kashmiris to integrate Kashmir with India. Pakistan on the other side has been accused of manufacturing and sponsoring terrorism not only in India and in Kashmir but outsourcing it to western world as well. Pakistan and India have been since managing the unfinished agenda of Britain in the form of not only Kashmir, but the communal tensions too.

Britain withdrew its role after the split of India and Pakistan. Since the creation of these two states, they have been only involved in a rivalry and Kashmir has become a casualty. The division of natural resources between the two has been also uneven, giving them an opportunity of teasing each other repeatedly. This chapter evaluates the geography of both India and Pakistan and investigate how this geopolitical framework contributes to the status-quo and foreign policy of both states. It analyses the activities of both states in their strategic spaces and its impact in their reputation in the international arena. For instance, Pakistan's intervention in Kashmir is labelled as the Pakistan

sponsored terrorism or infiltration. Similarly, India's activities in Kashmir are considered as apartheid and close to the settler colonialism. This chapter details not only the traditional geopolitical analysis of India and Pakistan, but also its impact in their positions in the international order.

3.2. Political and Geographical Analysis of India and Pakistan

Today, the Indian sub-region is divided into two parts, India in the east and Pakistan in the west, taking the Indus Basin as its centre. Modern Pakistan is located in the Northwest on historical invasion routes, while much of the sub-continent, which resembles a triangle inserted in the east to Bangladesh and Myanmar, remains in modern India, so the study of the region's geography is usually done through present-day India. India has a total area of 3.166,414 km2, a land border length of 15,168 km, and a coast length of 7,516 km. Because of its breadth and its appearance, which is distinctly separate from the Asian continent, India covers nearly the whole of the great Peninsula, which is also referred to as sub-continent, thus this great Peninsula is also called as the Indian sub-continent. India has high plains in the south, Ganges plains in the north, deserts in the west, and Himalayas in the north. In terms of physical structure, India is separated into three regions: the Deccan Plateau, the Ganges plain, and the Himalayan region. Deccan Plateau which is a 600-800 m high is surrounded by the Gat Mountains to the south and east of the Indian subcontinent. Cities with historical events, especially in Delhi, were established on these plains, on or near the banks of the Ganges River.[90]

The Himalayas region in the North is a natural wall that separates India from the Tibetan Plateau and has been a barrier to invasions throughout history. The highest place in the world, Mount Everest (8882 m) is also located here. The Deccan Plateau has an elevation ranging from 400 to 1000 meters. Because it is surrounded by Gat Mountains in the East and west directions, it has no contact with the sea. The Vindiya Mountains, which extend from Kanbey Bay to the north of this plateau, curl to the south in Bihar, surround the Orissa regions from the south, and reach the Bay of Bengal.[91]Although the average

[90] Jyotindra N. Dixit, *India-Pakistan in war and peace*, London: Routledge, 2003, p. 33.
[91] Stanley Wolpert, *An Introduction to India*, New Delhi: Penguin India, 1994, p. 56.

height of this mountain range varies between 1000-1200 meters, it is very steep, it is covered with dense forest and shrubbery, but it can hardly pass at certain points.

India is located in the position of a huge peninsula extending towards the Indian Ocean in the south of Asia. It ranks second after China in terms of population size in the world and sixth in terms of surface area.[92] Hindi and English are the official languages in India, where more than a billion people live, but each state has an official language and a totally of 1652 different languages are spoken in the country. The population of India consists of five distinct ethnic groups. These are Dravidians, Kashmiris, Aryans, Tibetans, and Mongols.[93] In terms of purchasing power, India is the country with the sixth largest Gross National Product (GNP) in the world after the USA, Japan, China, Germany, and France. The economic success of India, which started to attract the attention of the world since the early 2000s, came out because of the reforms it implemented in the 1980s. Economic growth rate reached an average of 6% in the 1990s and 7.5% after 2000, and the growth rate was 6.1% in the last quarter of 2009 in India. It is estimated that the growth rate will continue in this way until 2030. India has achieved economic success by giving importance to the domestic market and the private sector, in contrast to the traditional method of producing cheap goods and selling them to the world, which is labour intensive and applied by other Asian countries. India's successful work in areas such as development in information technologies, nuclear energy, satellites, fighter aircraft, software technology, ocean science has increased its global weight.[94]

With its rich historical accumulation and holy pilgrimage sites, India is the cradle of one of the most advanced civilizations in the world. An important feature of India is that it is the place where Hinduism and Buddhism was born. Although it is not a Muslim country, it is located within the Islamic world with its surrounding Muslim countries and its Muslim population exceeding two hundred million, and in this respect, it is both an

[92] Stephen P. Cohen, *India: emerging power*, Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2001, p. 89.
[93] Francis P. Sempa, *Geopolitics: from the Cold War to the 21st Century*, New York: Routledge, 2002, p. 126.
[94] Akshay J. Sarma, , *New regionalism and India's foreign policy look east policy in the context of northeast India*, Unpublished PhD, Assam: Gauhati University, 2021 p. 129.

Eastern country and an Islamic country. In the country, 80.5% of the population are Hindus, 13% are Muslims, 2.3% are Christians, 1.9% are Sikhs and 1.8% follow different other beliefs.[95] The first constitution and administrative-legal system of India, which is a parliamentary and federal republic adopted on January 26, 1950, is based on the British heritage. The president (who has symbolic and limited powers) is the head of the state, while the principal authority and responsibility lies with the prime minister and the government. Parliament consists of the 250 member States Assembly (*Rajya Sabha*) and the 545 member People's Assembly (*Lok Sabha*).[96]

The 12 members of the Provincial Assembly are appointed by the head of state. The remaining members are elected from states and unions. Each province has a legislative assembly. Representatives to the provincial assembly are elected by this legislative assembly. Provincial assembly elections are indirect; members are elected by the Legislative Assembly of the respective province, but they have immunity from annulment. India consists of 35 regions in terms of administrative structure. Of these, 28 are defined as states and 7 as Union Territories. Despite its ethno-cultural diversity, economic rifts between regions and social classes, and the presence of decoupling institutions such as the caste system, India has been able to maintain its secular and democratic structure as well as succeed in its fight against separatist movements and corruption.[97]

After independence, the Indian military and civilian bureaucracy continued its legacy from the British experience, adhering to the principles of professionalism, merit and non-politics, and the country neither was in a vortex of corruption nor caught in a spiral of military coups. Although the most active parties in the country are, the Congress Party and the Bhartiya Janata Party, there are many other parties and the country presents a system of multi-party parliamentary democracy.[98] India has increased its global weight by including ASEAN (Union of South East Asian Nations), AFTA (ASEAN-Free Trade Zone), ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum), APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation),

[95] Stanley Wolpert, *An Introduction to India*, p. 76.
[96] Shashi Tharoor, *Pax Indica: India and the world of 21st Century*, New Delhi: Allen Lane Penguin group, 2012, p.67.
[97] Ibid., p. 71.
[98] Ibid., p.98.

SAARC (South Asia Regional Cooperation Organization) as well as Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and BRICS group. With positive developments such as functioning democracy, growth success, having a British-based legal system, admission to the nuclear club by the USA, technological development, banking system and capital markets functionality, production and service advantages, improvement in physical infrastructure and development of private property rights gives the impression that India will continue this acceleration.[99]

However, the Post-Pandemic situation is not going to be same. India has been not only going through the economic crisis, but health crisis too. Every day, India is recorded to have three hundred thousand to four hundred thousand cases along with thousands of deaths too. India's level of poverty is too high, and it is also accused of not only COVID-19 deaths, but the deaths have other reasons too. Most of the Indian population do not have access to basic health rights and the pollution level in the country is too high, leading to not only droughts but famine too. Every day, there are deaths in India due to poverty; however, Pakistan is slightly different. Pakistan has a poor government with relatively better living conditions for common people.

3.3. Analysis of India on the Basis of Geography, economy, and politics

The most important rivers of the Indian subcontinent are the Ganges, Brahmaputra, Narbada, Godavari, Krishna, and Indus. The Ganges River is of exceptional value as it is a pilgrimage site considered sacred by Hindus. The presence of Indus, Ganges, and Brahmaputra Rivers, which constitute the main water resources of the region, constitute a strategic advantage for India against their neighbours Pakistan and Bangladesh. India has the opportunity to affect the economy of its neighbours and even use the waters for military purposes with the help of these rivers. India's long coastline has a nutritious effect on its national strength as it facilitates natural economic inputs from the sea and commercial transport. However, this long coastline also makes the country more

[99] Stanley Wolpert, *An Introduction to India*, p. 106.

vulnerable to illegal activities and military operations and creates security vulnerabilities. In addition, this vast geography of India gives India great geopolitical advantage due to its dominant position in the Indian Ocean.[100]

While its large geographical location, diversity of natural resources and its contribution to the multiplicity of agricultural products increase the capacity to feed from equity and provide the country with the possibility of deterrence and strategic defence, the increase of distances within the country leads to the difficulty of reaching harsh geographical areas in remote areas of the central government authority. The broad geographical position also restricts troop connections and reinforcements, with the division of military power and reduced communication, and creates defensive weakness. This would force the army to increase its presence in peacetime, resulting in an increase in the defence budget.[101] While the Himalayan Mountains in the north of the country are difficult to overcome and the Thar Desert, which runs along the Pakistan border in the west, creates a natural border and offers a strategic advantage, it also makes the transition and operation of this region and its own power difficult.

India has serious problems in providing hydrocarbon-derived energy to support its developing industry, and especially in its undeveloped regions, in communication, transport, infrastructure, irrigation, health and education, and these problems create a weakness in the country's power parameter. India is rich in natural resources such as coal, iron, bauxite, limestone, manganese, and mica, while rice, wheat legumes, sugarcane, cotton, cannabis, oilseeds, tea, coffee, tobacco, vegetables, and fruits too are in abundance, it is one of the important producers of many agricultural products and is in a sufficient position in terms of forest products. The rapid population growth of India, which is in an advantageous position in terms of natural resources based on the sea, lakes and rivers, also indicates that there will be problems in the future with its self-sufficient food resources.[102]

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[100] Sanjay Chaturvedi, "Process of othering in the case of India and Pakistan", *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, Vol. 93, No. 2, 2002, pp. 149-159.
[101] Shashi Tharoor, *Pax Indica: India and the world of 21st Century*, p.108.
[102] Stephen P. Cohen, *India: emerging power*, p. 140.

After 20 years, the availability of natural resources is not sufficient; India lost it to its economic growth. There has been an increase unsustainable extraction of groundwater resources leading to the decline in water levels in many states. The country's increasing demand of wood products has resulted in the significant reduction of forest growth. The conversion of agricultural land to meet the needs of urban population has affected the productive capacity of natural resources. The presence of residential areas near the water bodies has polluted them and people do not have access to clean water anymore. The polluted water has been causing water borne diseases in people at a higher rate. India's natural water resources are slowly dying at the cost of growth in economy, which is in turn making people poorer, because India is majorly dependent on agriculture.[103]

India is one of the first countries in the world in terms of increasing energy needs when the annual energy demand and growth rate are considered. About 73% of electricity generation is achieved from coal and oil-derived thermal plants, while 3.6 percent is benefited from nuclear plants.[104] India's continuing industrialisation, according to research by the International Energy Agency (IEA), is becoming a driving force for the global energy economy. In PPP terms, India has accounted for around 10% of global growth in industrial value added over the last three decades. India's net dependence on Oil-driven thermal plants increases to more than ninety percent by 2040.[105] Furthermore, India will require a power grid the size of the European Union to accommodate rising electrical demand over the next two decades. The country, which has insufficient hydrocarbon resources, is working hard to increase the share of nuclear energy in energy production and is trying to increase the diversity of resources.

While India ranks in the top ten in the world in terms of oil consumption, it is dependent on oil and natural gas imports due to its insufficient resources. In this context, India is trying to reduce its dependence on oil and natural gas and considers nuclear energy as an alternative source. In line with its goal of creating an alternative energy source, India

[103] Stephen P. Cohen, *India: emerging power*, p. 143.
[104] Ibid., p. 144.
[105] Sanjeet Kumar., *Indo Pak relations in twenty first century*, Unpublished PhD. Thesis, Haryana: Central University of Haryana, 2014. p. 99.

promotes the use of renewable energies, including biological gas boilers and solar cells that supply electricity to rural workshops, and supports wind power plants. India also faces issues such as an infrastructure system that is unable to fulfil the needs of an expanding economy, a shortage of capacity at ports, a skilled labour force, and a limited transportation network.[106]

Although the caste system, which is the biggest obstacle to social integration, has been abolished by law, it has not been able to overcome the socio-cultural barriers and it has not reached the goal of positive discrimination provided by the law, while the literacy rate is also feebleness for the country. Adding to the social structure of the caste system, the displacement and economic weakness of minorities, and the socio-cultural and socio-economic distance between the social layers, the difficulty of maintaining internal stability draws attention importantly.[107] After the BJP's (*Bhartiya Janata Party*) huge victory in 2014 elections and with Narendra Modi being elected as a Prime Minister, the party openly started discriminating Muslims, Christians, and other religious minorities. India's Dalit community, also called as untouchables, are still being discriminated, although they were the ones who voted for Narendra Modi to come in power. In 1950, India's constitution made caste-based discrimination illegal. However, India's 200 million *Dalits* still do not have rights to access basic water resources and health facilities. They are still not allowed to marry in higher castes or share food with them.[108]

One of India's major problems is separatist terror and instability in seven underdeveloped states in the Northeast. This geography has been on the agenda with separatist movements since independence. The difference in development between this region and the rest of the country is exceedingly high, with the majority of poor people living under harsh geography and climatic conditions, and some of them still ruled by tribal life. This geography, where a quarter of the country's local languages is spoken, has been looked at from a security window, as inherited as a legacy of English colonial rule.

[106] Stephen P. Cohen, *India: emerging power*, p. 150.
[107] Shashi Tharoor, *Pax Indica: India and the world of 21st Century*, p.111.
[108] Ibid., p. 120.

Under this logic, the backwardness that prevails in the region is not seen as a problem unless the opponents revolt against it.[109]

In this context, rebellions of the Christian dominated *Nagas*[110] based on their demands for autonomy were militarily suppressed in the mid-1970s, although the *Naga* problem could not be solved, and Nagaland had not yet been excluded from the State of emergency scope. The *Mizos, Bodos, Meites, Kukis*, and the feudal militants of the Manipur and Tripura region have rebelled time to time and have attacked the security forces as well. These secessionist movements, which live in the remote corners of India, do not attract much international attention, but affect domestic stability.[111]

The Assam United Freedom Front (ULFA) Organization, which aims to establish an independent state in an area that includes six regions, the majority of which are Muslims from Bengal, continues to struggle in Assam. The National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) Organization of *Bodos* living in Assam and Nagaland, which is ideal for establishing a "*Bodoland*" state, has been conducting armed actions from time to time. The Bodo Liberation Tigers Force (BLTF) organization also seeks autonomy within India. In the eastern states of Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal, actions of Maoist also known as "*Naxalites*" from the middle and upper castes towards the territorial aristocracy and security forces are ongoing.[112]

The *Gurkhas* in the Darjeeling region of West Bengal resorted to acts of violence from time to time due to their demands for autonomy and they have entered into negotiations with the central government. It is a known fact that the number of militants of the Maoist Naxalite Movement, which is the strongest separatist organization in the country, is more than 10,000. It works to connect the country to Kerala in the south from the border of the China in the northeast and further receives support from China, while 750 million people live in the villages and poverty. It also seems that it is not easy for the

[109] Stephen P. Cohen, *India: emerging power*, p. 160.
[110] Naga people are the several tribes that are listed as scheduled tribes in six Indian States.
[111] Sidra Tariq, "Problem in Northeast India: a case study of Nagaland", Journal *of the Institute of Regional Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1, 2011, pp. 78-97.
[112] Robert L. Hardgrave Jr, "The Challenge of Ethnic Conflict: India-The Dilemmas of Diversity", Journal *of Democracy*, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1993, pp. 54-68.

Naxalite Movement to lose its power in the country. The problem of this geography is that the separatist movements in the North-eastern and Eastern states, which continue to be a headache for India, are continuing and the relations with neighbouring country China are not favourable at all, and the China claims it right in some areas that have not been clarified.[113]

India entered into a very serious struggle with Sikh separatism in the 1980s.The power of the separatist movement seeking to establish a Sikh state (*Khalistan*) in Punjab increased from 1984 onwards, It extended to the killing of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, as well as many Indian politicians and bureaucrats.[114]After the capture of the Golden Temple, the sacred place of Sikhs in Punjab, by violent clashes between the security forces and the militant Sikhs, public order was somehow restored. Maoist militant movements are still active in Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Assam, and Bihar. While these organisations can take vociferous actions from time to time, they are hard to succeed, and the chances of India falling apart are slim. With its professional army, vast paramilitary structure, police force and experienced intelligence agencies at the hands of India, the state tradition has the capacity to thwart the success of separatist movements in its backward regions.[115]

India, which possesses one of the world's largest militaries, with its 1,303,000 existing professional army, is one of the rare countries that has succeeded in developing space technology while producing 98 advanced technology weapons and equipment.[116] In this context, India has significantly improved its relations with Israel and with the help of Israel; it has managed to apprehend projects for the production of early warning aircrafts, air defence systems, missile systems and armed helicopters. Its purchase of an aircraft

[113] Paul R. Brass, *Language, religion and politics in North India*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 46.
[114] Sajal Nag, *Roots of ethnic conflict: nationality question in North-East India*, New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1990, p. 33.
[115] Paul R. Brass, *Language, religion and politics in North India*, p. 50.
[116] Stephen P. Cohen, *India: emerging power*, p.129

carrier from Russia in the mid-1990s and subsequent supply of cryogenic rocket technology is a remarkable aspect of India's armament.

India has adopted a military structuring goal that will protect its political-economic interests and ensure energy security in the Indian Ocean region and has initiated force transformations in accordance with this structuring it aims to achieve in 2030.[117] It appears that the strengthening of the Navy takes priority in this goal. This is linked to the fact that energy security is provided by military power and that Indian energy security is a result of the imperative to be implemented on the Indian Ocean ground. India's main motivation in arming is its willingness to balance and deter China. India's land-to-land ballistic missile project (*Agni I to Agni V*) has exceeded 5,000 km range and has reached the capacity to hit the China's strategic institutions and structures at depth.[118] India has owned aircraft carriers with Russian support and has achieved success in the *Brahmoscruise* missile project, which can be fired from land-to-air missiles, ship-to-ship and land missiles, above-water ships, and submarines. Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd. Company has carried the progress, it has made in the production of missiles to the summit by sending an unmanned spaceship to Moon on October 22, 2008. The country has also been able to produce radar for warships since 2004.[119]

The arms competition between India and Pakistan has brought both sides a strong inventory of missiles, and these missile systems have shifted from tactical to strategic, reaching the capability of carrying nuclear warheads while taking the deep targets of both countries within range. India's defence spending is about six times greater than Pakistan's, India's ground troops are about twice as large as Pakistan's, armoured troops are about one and a half times larger, the Indian Navy's combat ships are three times greater than Pakistan's, India's fighter jets are twice as large as Pakistan's, and helicopters are five

[117] Hermann Kulke, Dietmar Rothermund, *A History of India*, New York: Routledge, 2004, p. 45.
[118] Raja C. Mohan, *Crossing the Rubicon: The shaping of India's new foreign policy*, New Delhi: Viking Adult, 2003, p. 67.
[119] David M. Malone, *Does the elephant dance? Contemporary Indian foreign policy*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 111-129.

times more than Pakistan's.[120] India's major rivalry with China and Pakistan has been its driving force to increase its military expenditure. In terms of arms imports, India is Israel's second largest importer of arms. Every year, they sign deals worth billions of dollars. However, some reports claim that despite threats from Pakistan and China, India's military expenditure has dropped down in the last six years.[121]

India has a rich world of press and literature, mainly English, and a unique and productive film industry (Bollywood) with thousands of unique historical architectural heritages, such as the Taj Mahal. Cultural concepts such as Indian cuisine, Ayurveda diet, Vedic mathematical method, yoga, Buddhism, Indian fatalism, and astrology were successful in attracting the attention of the world and were written into the surplus of Indian soft power. In addition to this development of the Indian soft power, it is noteworthy that Hindu nationalism, which has increased and exaggerated Indian victory in the last quarter of the 20th century, has risen. Hindu nationalism continues to rise with exaggerated claims such as predisposition of Sanskrit to information technology, superiority in mathematics and authenticity of technological educational achievement with the policy of popularizing Sanskrit Education implemented under the support of the state. This trend is hindering social integration, causing polarization, as well as damaging India's global image.[122]

Most of the Indian coasts have a geography that controls the sea traffic lines between the Strait of Hormuz, Red Sea, along with the Malacca Strait. The economies of countries with coasts on the South China Sea and the Pacific Ocean rely on the stability of maritime transport in this region. In this context, the importance of the operability of this line for states such as United States of America, Japan, China, Australia, Republic of Korea, while providing advantages to India on the one hand, causes these countries to rely on India.

[120] Raja C. Mohan, *Crossing the Rubicon: The shaping of India's new foreign policy*, New Delhi: Viking Adult, 2003, p. 107.
[121] Evan B. Montgomery, "Signals of strength: Capability demonstrations and perceptions of military power", *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 43, No.2, 2020, pp. 309-330.
[122] David M. Malone, *Does the elephant dance? Contemporary Indian foreign policy*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 159.

The fact that seventy-five percent of world trade is carried out on sea routes, and this corresponds to 60 percent in financial terms shows that the Naval Domination Theory is not outdated.[123] In this context, the increasing geopolitical value of the Indian Ocean and the South Asian geography that dominates the straits in the region and the owner of Andaman and Nicobar Islands should not be overlooked.

In 2001, India took a step in this direction by establishing the Southeast Asia Command on the islands of Andaman and Nicobar, which controlled the Straits of Malacca. Although it may be thought that this step of India was put into operation in order to balance the sea surveillance stations deployed by the China in Myanmar, it is surely taken to ensure the safety and control of the sea transportation routes. India, which succeeded in sending the first manned spacecraft to space in 1984[124], continues to be a key factor in the global power struggle. With its advantages such as advances in information and space technology and having a space infrastructure close to the equator line, as well as efforts to utilize the military in the armed field. India is the most powerful country in South Asia and a significant regional power with the ability to counterbalance China. It will be difficult for India to achieve its potential as a global power in the medium term, and India should not be changed into a competitor naval force in the future; instead, India's military growth should be redirected to land power by backing Pakistan. India is a natural ally of the Russian Federation, but the relations to be developed with the China and Japan are more important in terms of Russian interests.[125]

The table below (Fig. 1) provides the details about the geography of India and Pakistan in a comparative manner. The table also gives information about the location, geographic coordinates, land boundaries, coastal area, natural resources that both the countries possess. Further, the table also illustrates the various international environmental agreements that have been signed by both India and Pakistan. The table

[123] Daya Thussu, *Communicating India's soft power: Buddha to Bollywood*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, p. 127.
[124] Raja C. Mohan, *Crossing the Rubicon: The shaping of India's new foreign policy,* p. 118.
[125] Raja C. Mohan, *Crossing the Rubicon: The shaping of India's new foreign policy*, New Delhi: Viking Adult, 2003, p. 115.

clearly depicts that while doing a comparative analysis of India and Pakistan regarding geography and other natural resources, India seems to be way ahead of Pakistan.

Figure. 1 – Geographical Comparison of India and Pakistan.

	India	**Pakistan**
Location	Located between Burma and Pakistan in southern Asia, bordering the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal.	Located in the South Asia, Bordered on the east by India, on the west by Iran and Afghanistan, and on the north by China.
Geographic coordinates	20 00 N, 77 00 E	30 00 N, 70 00 E
Area	Total: 3,287,263 sq. km Land: 2,973,193 sq. km Water: 314,070 sq. km	Total: 796,095 sq. km Land: 770,875 sq. km Water: 25,220 sq. km
Boundaries of Land	Total: 13,888 km Border countries (6): Bangladesh 4142 km, Bhutan 659 km, Burma 1468 km, China 2659 km, Nepal 1770 km, Pakistan 3190 km.	Total: 7,257 km Border countries (4): Afghanistan 2670 km, China 438 km, India 3190 km, Iran 959 km.
Coastal Line	7,000 km	1,046 km
Natural resources	Coal (fourth-largest reserves in the world), antimony, iron ore, lead, manganese, mica, bauxite, rare earth elements, titanium ore, chromite, natural gas, diamonds, petroleum, limestone.	Extensive natural gas reserves, limited petroleum, coal, iron ore, copper, salt, limestone.
Environment International Agreements	Antarctic-Environmental Protocol, Antarctic-Marine Living Resources, Antarctic Treaty, Biodiversity, Climate Change, Climate Change-Kyoto Protocol, Desertification, Endangered Species, Environmental Modification, Hazardous Wastes, Law of the Sea, Ozone Layer Protection, Ship Pollution, Tropical Timber 83, Tropical Timber 94, Wetlands, Whaling.	Biodiversity, Climate Change, Climate Change-Kyoto Protocol, Desertification, Endangered Species, Environmental Modification, Hazardous Wastes, Law of the Sea, Marine Dumping, Ozone Layer Protection, Ship Pollution, Wetlands.

Source: https://www.indexmundi.com (05/06/2020).

3.4. Analysis of Pakistan on the basis of Geography, Economy, and Politics

Pakistan lies in a southwest-northeast direction in South Asia, on the direction of historical progress from Central Asia to the Indian subcontinent. It is bordered on the south by the Arabian Sea, on the west by Iran and Afghanistan, on the northwest by Afghanistan, on the northeast by China, and on the east by India. Unlike India, which bears the historical and geographical heritage of ancient India, Pakistan includes the deserts of Baluchistan in the west. In this context, Pakistan can be geographically divided into six regions; Northern Mountains, the region formed by the plateaus at the foot of these mountains, Indus Plain, Baluchistan Plateau, Western Mountains, and deserts.

Pakistan has a surface area of 803,940 km and its land border with its neighbours is 6774 km. Pakistan is 2430 km from Afghanistan, 523 km from China and 2912 km from India and 909 km from Iran, there is a 1046 km coastline as well. Pakistan, which is bordered by the Himalaya Mountains in the north, also has the second highest point in the world, K2-Auistin (8611m.) peaking the Pakistan controlled Kashmir.[126] The territory of the China constitutes the north of Pakistan. In the west of Pakistan, the altitude of the hills' bordering Afghanistan is low. The province of Baluchistan in the south creates a common border with Iran, while in the East; the states of Rajasthan and Punjab are the common border with India. The Arabian Sea stretches to the south of the country. The Durand Line, which was frequently brought to the agenda by Afghanistan after the border set up by the British Colonial Administration representative Sir Mortimer Durand to the Afghanistan sovereign Abdurrahman Khan, The Durand Line almost stretches about 2430 km long, it forms the Afghanistan border which is shared with Pakistan.[127]

[126] Christophe Jaffrelot, *A History of Pakistan and its Origins*, London: Anthem Press, 2004, p. 84.
[127] Christophe Jaffrelot, *A History of Pakistan and its Origins*, pp. 90-97.

Figure 2. Map showing different provinces of Pakistan and its neighbouring countries. Source: https://www.worldometers.info

The border crossing the steep mountainous land in the north, the deserted and dry Baluchistan land in the south, there are many passages that allow channel between the two countries. The most key area of Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province consists of the 1030-meter Bolan Passage, which provides the opportunity to connect up to Anatolia through the height of Khyber Pass and Kandahar city of Afghanistan, these are the critical points of the two most important directions of progress that have provided the connection to the Indian Subcontinent throughout history. 96.3% of the population of Pakistan is Muslim, 80% of the Muslims are Sunni and 20% are Shia, the majority of which are of Indo-Iranian origin. Pakistan is the country with the most populous Shiite population after Iran. 45 % of the population are Punjabis, 15% are Pashtuns, 14% are Sindhis, 10% are Seraikis, 8% are Muhajirs (Muslims who migrated from India after the establishment of Pakistan), 4% are Balochis and the remaining 4% are other ethnic groups.[128] The official language has been English, while Urdu is preserved as a national language. Languages of ethnic elements are also widely spoken. Although Urdu has a national value, it has gone

[128] Christophe Jaffrelot, *A History of Pakistan and its Origins*, p. 54.

beyond being an elite language spoken in very few parts of the country. Each region speaks its own language, even tribal languages.[129]

The country consists of one capital region, four provinces, one district and the Pakistan-controlled Kashmir region. The provinces are Punjab (capital: Lahore), Sind (capital: Karachi), The North-West Frontier Province (capital: Peshawar), Baluchistan (capital: Quetta). There is also a region known as Federally Administered Tribal region. The capital of Pakistan is Islamabad, and other important cities are Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Hyderabad, Multan, and Peshawar.[130]

According to the constitution adopted in 1973, Pakistan Islamic Republic, governed by a federal system, has a two-chamber structure consisting of the Parliament and the National Assembly. The parliament consists of 100 members. Members of the National Assembly are elected for six years by state legislatures and regional representatives, and elections are held every three years to elect half of the members. There are 342 members in the National Assembly. A total of 272 members are elected by popular vote. There are 60 seats set aside for women and ten seats set out for non-Muslims. The judicial system consists of the Supreme Court, the Regional High Courts, and the lower-level courts that deal with civil rights and crime. The country also has a Federal Judicial Court, consisting of a chief judge appointed by the President and seven separate judges. Three of these judges are elected from "*Ulema*".[131] Besides the original mandate of the Federal Sharia Court, there are also appellate duties. The Federal Sharia Court controls the compliance of the laws in the country with Islam, and in the event of a violation, the regional governors, or the head of State (whoever is in the area of responsibility) must take measures to ensure the compliance of the law with Islam. The Federal Sharia Court also acts as an appellate court in the functioning of social life, in the areas allocated to it.[132]

There is also *Wafaqi Mohtasib* (Investigation and Disposal of Complaints), which is appointed for four years by the head of state in the country. The task of this *Wafaqi*

[129] Iftikhar H. Malik, *The history of Pakistan*, Islamabad: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008, pp. 55-59.
[130] Ibid., p. 76.
[131] James Wynbrandt, *A brief history of Pakistan*, New York: InfoBase Publishing, 2009, pp. 33-41.
[132] Iftikhar H. Malik, *The history of Pakistan*, p. 60.

*Mohtasib*is to ensure the credibility of the administration as a means of compensating for its defects to the citizens. The people of the country first consider themselves Muslim and then explain themselves with ethnic affiliation such as Sindhi, Punjabi, Baluchi, or Pashtun. Among the ethnic groups in terms of activity in the country; Punjabi, Pashtun, Baluchi, Sindhi and Muhajir can be mentioned as in the hierarchical ranking. The consciousness of *Pakistaniyyat* (Pakistanism) has not yet settled.[133] While the word Pakistani does not have much meaning for the people of the country in normal times, it makes people associate with other states. Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashtu, Baluchi, Seraiki, and other vernacular languages are ahead of Urdu and English.

State affiliation is ahead of the consciousness of Pakistanism; the country's citizens remember being Pakistani in a crisis with India. Sind province has more baluchian populations than Baluchistan. The important port city of Karachi is the most heavily ethnic mixed city, where a large number of Baluchi or Pashtun immigrants live. Sind is also the most active state with the largest number of *Muhajir* (Immigrant) population coming from India reside. Even in the Punjab province, which is the source of the dominant military and civilian bureaucracy in the country and gives a homogeneous image, there are regions where other ethnic elements are entrenched. While most of the people of the country view Central Government as the hegemonic instrument of Punjab province, existence of those who express that the British colonial administration continues in the form of Punjab colonial administration cannot be underestimated.[134]

Pakistan's geography, which is critical in many ways and its geopolitical value stands out due to its dominant position on land and sea routes for the transportation of Central Asia and Middle East energy resources, creates a defensive weakness against its powerful neighbour India, which is seen by Pakistan as constant intimidating Country. In addition, India owns the water resources in the region and water control points, increases the sensitivity of Pakistan and with India owning the water resources; it might affect the country in the fields of agriculture. The country's economy suffers from a budget deficit

[133] James Wynbrandt, *A brief history of Pakistan*, p. 51.
[134] Ibid., p. 64.

with prolonged power cuts, recorded increases in food prices and increased foreign trade caused by a severe energy shortage. The basis of Pakistan's economic problems goes back to the foundation period. The main sources and means of the economic infrastructure were seventeen to India and five to Pakistan.[135]

Despite this, Pakistan had to run until 1960 in pursuit of resources it could not get. Economic incompetence has been a fundamental problem that has always remained on the agenda until today with the legacy from the establishment. The problem of landlessness continues in the rural areas of the country. 86 percent of people in Sind province, 78 in Baluchistan province, 74 in Punjab province and 65 in North-western Frontier Province have no land at all.[136] These figures mean that 55% of the country's total population has no land. In agriculture, problems such as erosion, lack of irrigation and evacuation facilities, as well as shortages of crops and yields are also undeniable. The health problem is also a major concern for the poor. While private hospitals offer health care to those with financial means, the poor do not have much to do. Respiratory diseases, tuberculosis and diabetes are common in the country. The housing problem has not been solved except for the military and public personnel. The scarcity of resources allocated to education and inequality of opportunity push the poor family children towards the *madrasahs* (religious schools) where their bellies are fed and dressed.[137] The government has little control over the *madrasah* (religious schools) system. It is claimed that not only religious education is provided in the madrasah determined by the founding institutions of the education program, but also the religious understanding of that denomination or community is given with a strict and intolerant approach to other beliefs and sects. These *madrasahs* have been accused of inflicting terror and hatred among young children against other regions other than Islam.[138]

The Gwadar Port Project, which was started in 2002 on the Makran coast of Baluchistan Province with the help of China financing, is the step to pass the theoretical

[135] Roger D. Long, *A history of Pakistan*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 46-50.
[136] Iftikhar H. Malik, *The history of Pakistan*, Islamabad: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008, p. 87.
[137] Ibid., pp. 90-98
[138] James Wynbrandt, *A brief history of Pakistan*, p. 101.

geopolitical importance of Pakistan's capacity to control the Strait of Hormuz and the Persian Gulf and connect Central Asia to the Indian Ocean through Afghanistan. The port of Gwadar is expected to be the main distribution point for Central Asia's Rich Energy Resources. The port, located only 180 nautical miles from the Strait of Hormuz, would give Pakistan the ability to control an important energy corridor. The Port of Gwadar, which brings an alternative to the maritime trade and energy security problem dependent on the Malacca Strait of the China, has the potential to be a base for the Navy as well as contributing to the development of the Uyghur Autonomous Region, where the China's separatist movements cannot be suppressed.[139]

As part of the CPEC (China Pakistan Economic Corridor) project, China supports the Pakistani economy while building highways, train lines and pipelines from the port to the Xinjiang Autonomous Region. The Chinese Navy, which will be located in this region, has the capacity to change military balances in the nearby geography. In fact, as China increased its investments in Gwadar Port with the CPEC project, it was revealed that military ships would be deployed here, and this development justified concerns on the US-India line. The migrant issue continues to be a headache for the country. Immigrants from India are not fully integrated with the indigenous people during the independence process. Immigrants from India have taken the places emptied by Hindus and Sikhs who migrated from important cities of the country such as Punjab and Karachi; since these people were mostly urban and educated, they quickly filled their jobs in the community. This elite section, the main bearer of the Pakistani cause and the protector of Urdu language, has also taken good places in the economy and bureaucracy.[140] This situation disturbed the poor and rural people in the region. However, in addition to having problems with the local population, the refugees also came into conflict among themselves and some of them were centred on the demand for an autonomous administrative structure. In Sind Province, while the political party of the immigrants operating under the name of the Immigrant

[139] Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and political history of Pakistan*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 66-72.
[140] Brian Cloughley, *A history of the Pakistan Army: Wars and insurrections*, New York: Sky Horse Publishing, 2016, p. 65.

People Movement wants autonomy, the Sindians follow a separatist agenda within the *Sindu Desh* Movement.[141]

Due to economic problems, there is migration from other countries to Pakistan and vice versa. A large number of Pakistani workers work in Arab and Gulf countries, mainly in Saudi Arabia. There are also about one million Pakistanis in England. In addition, there is an intense flow of illegal immigration from Pakistan to European countries. On the other hand, Pakistan continues to be one of the countries that host the most refugees in the world. Because of the USSR's occupation of Afghanistan in 1979 and the ensuing civil war, the number of Afghan refugees living in Pakistan is well over two million.[142] This poses a heavy burden for Pakistan, whose economy is in an unstable condition. Pakistan ranks second in the world after Iran in terms of Shia population and the population of Shia's in Pakistan is more than the Shia population in Iraq. However, the only Muslim country, where the current Sunni and Shia conflict is the most intense, is also Pakistan.

In the city of Karachi, where the country has the largest Shiite population, Shiites are the target of bomb attacks, especially during "*Ashura week*", which is mostly celebrated in February.[143]Attacks against Shiites in the country began in the 1980s because the then-President, General Zia ul Haq, brought Sunni law to the fore in his Islamization policies. While the sense of *jihad* in the struggle against the Russian occupation in Afghanistan has become rooted in Pakistan over time, representatives of Wahhabi Islam have placed Shiites in their countries at the centre of their anger against Iran. One institution that is very often discussed in Pakistan is the military-controlled intelligence agency known as ISI. There are also allegations that ISI's implicit interference in the flow of politics, its uncontrolled funding, and its race with other intelligence agencies have a direct effect on the weakening of the democratic environment in the country.[144] The elected leaders who govern the country are focusing on other civilian intelligence

[141] Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and political history of Pakistan*, pp. 76-82.
[142] Roger D. Long, *A history of Pakistan*, p. 62.
[143] David Gilmartin, "Partition, Pakistan, and South Asian history: In search of a narrative", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 4, 1998, pp. 1068-1095.
[144] Brian Cloughley, *A history of the Pakistan Army: Wars and insurrections, p. 65.*

structures in order to balance the power of ISI. The concept of free media is not sufficiently developed in the country. It is also ironic that the first steps towards the privatization and development of the media in the country were taken under the military rule of General Pervez Musharraf.[145]

While the culture of democracy remains unsettled, corruption remains one of the most important problems. Large landowners and property owners prevent any attempts to breathe into the low-income people, especially land reform, and maintain their weight in every era, no matter who comes to power. The policy is made not to produce services, but to produce profits; it cannot enter into politics without financial means. Politics is a competitive area for people from strong families; everyone participates in this arena according to their power and cannot go beyond the word of the leader. Under military coups, the judicial system has weakened as well pacified. The judicial system works for the strong and wealthy. There is a widespread belief among the public that judges dealing with material cases can be easily bribed.[146]

Due to the security concerns created by the defeats in the past, the military bureaucracy has overtaken the democratic institutions and no “separation of forces” or "control mechanism over the powers” has been established in the country.[147] It is not expected that an improvement towards overcoming the ailments in this context will be brought to the agenda in the short term. The people of the country are struggling with the sense of insecurity and Indian paranoia that have settled in the foundation of their soul due to the losses that took place in the past against India. India can be a source of problems that sits behind all kinds of negativity, the main structural problems in the country can be covered by Indian paranoia, and a massive portion of the budget is devoted to defence because of the fear of India. Separatist movements in Pakistan are also candidates for the problem.

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[145] Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and political history of Pakistan*, p. 96.
[146] James Wynbrandt, *A brief history of Pakistan*, p. 112.
[147] Brian Cloughley, *A history of the Pakistan Army: Wars and insurrections*. New York: Sky Horse Publishing, 2016, p. 75.

During the establishment phase, problems in the integration of Baluchistan, whose accession to the country was completed in 1948 with the contribution of military operations, still exists.[148] The municipalities revolted after their leaders' arrest in 1958, which resisted the pushing of their ethnic identities into the background and made four rebellion attempts that failed until 2003.[149] Each of these revolts was suppressed using force. The support of the Shah of Iran with armed helicopters has been significant, as the Pakistani Army has had serious problems in quelling the four-year insurgency that began in 1973 and is wary of the possibility of a Marxist-Leninist Baluchian movement affecting his country.[150] The municipalities rebelled against the administration on the grounds that the provinces that contributed to the country in terms of natural gas received little share from the investments, the water decreased due to the dams built in other states, thus affecting the regional agriculture, and the people of the region were not employed in the Gwadar Port investments. Although the ongoing events have decreased in the Baluchistan, due the killing of the Bugti tribal leader Nawab Akbar Bugti by security forces in August 2006, Baluchistan has the potential to lead to developments that would endanger the integrity of the country.[151]

Because Pakistan has managed to develop nuclear weapons, India and Israel united against Pakistan on a common front. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, in a special interview a few months before her assassination; explained that Israeli officials offered to destroy Pakistan's nuclear facilities in a raid-style air attack in exchange for permission to use an Indian Air Base, and that she rejected this offer of Israel. Pakistan's nuclear weapons have been also troubling the United States. General Musharraf stated that reason for the pressure they were under from the United States after the September 11, 2001, attacks was their nuclear program, that the United States was seriously concerned about the possibility of a religious extremist administration coming to power in Pakistan and the protection of nuclear weapons. It is also believed that the founding father of the Pakistan nuclear

[148] Roger D. Long, *A history of Pakistan*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2015, p. 83.
[149] Ibid., p. 95.
[150] Iftikhar H. Malik, *The history of Pakistan*, Islamabad: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008, p. 98.
[151] Roger D. Long, *A history of Pakistan*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2015, p. 103.

programme, Qadir Khan allegedly transferred uranium enrichment technology to Iran and North Korea.[152]

The below table (Fig. 3) shows the comparative analysis of Indian and Pakistan based on their demographics. The table shows the numbers are high for Indian as compared to Pakistan in terms of population, birth rate, death date, migration rate, life expectancy, number of ethnic groups, and number of languages spoken, number of religions followed, literacy rate, educational expenditure, and number of major cities, mortality rate and the urbanization process. Therefore, it can said that demographically India wins the race in every aspect.

Figure. 3. Comparison of India and Pakistan based on Demographics is shown in the table below.

	India	**Pakistan**
Population	1,326,093,247 (2020)	233,500,636 (2020)
Rate of Population Growth	1.1% (2020)	2.07% (2020)
Rate of Births	18.2 Births/1,000 Population (2020)	27.4 Births/1,000 Population (2020)
Rate of Deaths	7.3 Deaths/1,000 Population (2020)	6.2 Deaths/1,000 Population (2020)
Rate of Migration	0 Migrant(s)/1,000 Population (2020)	0.9 Migrant(s)/1,000 Population (2020)
Expectancy of life at Birth	Total Population: 69.7 years Males: 68.4 Years Females: 71.2 Years (2020)	Total Population: 69.2 years Males: 67.2 Years Females: 71.3 Years (2020)
Ethnic Groups	Indo-Aryan (72%), Dravidian (25%), Mongoloid (3%), and other (3%).	Punjabis (44.7%),, Pashtuns (15.4%), Sindhis (14.1%), Saraiki (8.4%), Muhajirs (7.6%), Baloch (3.6%), and others (6.3%).

[152] Roger D. Long, *A history of Pakistan*, p. 115.

Spoken Languages	Hindi 43.6%, Bengali 8%, Marathi 6.9%, Telugu 6.7%, Tamil 5.7%, Gujarati 4.6%, Urdu 4.2%, Kannada 3.6%, Odia 3.1%, Malayalam 2.9%, Punjabi 2.7%, Assamese 1.3%, Maithili 1.1%, other 5.6%	Punjabi 48%, Sindhi 12%, Saraiki (a Punjabi variant) 10%, Pashto (alternate name, Pashtu) 8%, Urdu (official) 8%, Balochi 3%, Hindko 2%, Brahui 1%, Burushaski, and other 8%
Religions	Hindu 79.8%, Muslim 14.2%, Christian 2.3%, Sikh 1.7%, other and unspecified 2%	Muslim (official) 96.4% (Sunni 85-90%, Shia 10-15%), other (includes Christian and Hindu) 3.6%
Literacy	Total Population: 74.4% Male: 82.4% Female: 65.8%	Total Population: 59.1% Male: 71.1% Female: 46.5%
Expenditures on Education	5% of GDP (2020)	3.1% of GDP (2020)
Major Cities and their Population	30.291 million New Delhi (Capital), 20.411 million Mumbai, 14.850 million Kolkata, 1.237 million Bangalore, 10.971 million Chennai, 10.004 million Hyderabad (2020)	16.094 million Karachi, 12.642 million Lahore, 3.462 million Faisalabad, 2.237 million Rawalpindi, 2.229 million Gujranwala, 1.129 million Islamabad (capital) (2020)
Rate of Maternal Mortality	175 deaths/100,000 live births (2021)	150 deaths/100,000 live births (2021)
Urbanization	Urban Population: 34.9% Rate of urbanization: 2.37% (2020)	Urban Population: 37.2% Rate of urbanization: 2.53% (2020)

Source: https://www.indexmundi.com(12/01/2021)

https://www.india.gov.in/(29/12/2021)

The below table (Fig. 4) demonstrates the comparison of Indian and Pakistan based on their forms of governments. The table further elucidates comparison of India and Pakistan in terms of types of Government, their capitals, their administrative divisions, dates of their independence, constitutions, legal systems, adult suffrage, executive

branches, judicial branches, legislative branches, International Organization participations, international law participations and their political party systems.

Figure. 4. Comparison of India and Pakistan based on their governments shown in the below table.

	India	**Pakistan**
Country name	Republic of India/Bharatiya Ganarajya (Hindi) is the official name of the country.)	Pakistan's official name is the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Jamhuryati Islami Pakistan is the local name for Pakistan (Urdu) Previously it was named as West Pakistan
Type of Government	Federal Parliamentary Republic	Federal Parliamentary Republic
Capital	New Delhi	Islamabad
Administrative Divisions	28 States and 8 Union Territories	There are 4 provinces, 2 Pakistan Administered Areas, and 1 Capital Territory in Pakistan.
Independence	15th August 1947 (from British India)	14th August 1947 (from British India)
Constitution	Latest Draft completed 4th November 1949, Adopted on 26th November 1949, Effective on 26th January 1950.	Latest Endorsed on 12th April 1973, Passed on 19th April 1973, Effective 14th August 1973.
Judicial System	Judicial Review of Legislative Acts; Common Law system based on the English model; diverse personal law codes apply to Muslims, Christians, and Hindus.	Islamic Law Influenced Common Law System
Suffrage	18 years	18 years

Executive Branch	Chief of State: President Ram Nath Kovind (since 25 July 2017). Head of Government: Prime Minister Narendra Modi (since 26 May 2014). Cabinet: The President appoints the Union Council of Ministers, which is suggested by the Prime Minister.	Chief of State: President Arif Alvi (since 9 September 2018). Head of Government: Prime Minister Imran Khan (since 18 August 2018). Cabinet:The President appoints the Cabinet on the Prime Minister's advice.
Legislative Branch	The Rajya Sabha (Council of States) is one of the two chambers of the Bicameral Legislature (245 seats; 233 members indirectly elected by State and Territorial Assemblies by proportional representation vote and 12 members appointed by the President; members serve 6-year term). The People's Assembly (Lok Sabha) is the legislative branch of the Indian government (545 seats; 543 members directly elected in single-seat constituencies by simple majority vote and 2 appointed by the President; members serve 5-year term),	Senate (104 seats; members indirectly elected by the 4 provincial assemblies and the territories' representatives by proportional representation vote; members serve a 6-year term with one-half of the membership renewed every three years. National Assembly (342 seats; 272 members directly elected in single-seat constituencies by simple majority vote and 70 members, 60 women and 10 non-Muslims directly elected by proportional representation vote; all members serve 5 year term).
Judicial Branch	Highest Courts: Supreme Court (consists of 28 judges, including the chief justice) Subordinate Courts: High Courts; District Courts; Labour Court.	Highest Courts: Supreme Court of Pakistan (consists of the chief justice and 16 judges) Subordinate Courts: High Courts; Federal Shariat Court; Provincial and District civil and criminal courts; specialized courts for issues, such as taxation, banking, and customs.

International Organization Participation	ADB, AfDB (non-regional member), Arctic Council (observer), ARF, ASEAN (dialogue partner), BIMSTEC, BIS, BRICS, C, CD, CERN (observer), CICA, CP, EAS, FAO, FATF, G-15, G-20, G-24, G-5, G-77, IAEA, IBRD, ICAO, ICC (national committees), ICRM, IDA, IFAD, IFC, IFRCS, IHO, ILO, IMF, IMO, IMSO, Interpol, IOC, IOM, IPU, ISO, ITSO, ITU, ITUC (NGOs), LAS (observer), MIGA, MINURSO, MONUSCO, NAM, OAS (observer), OECD, OPCW, Pacific Alliance (observer), PCA, PIF (partner), SAARC, SACEP, SCO (observer), UN, UNCTAD, UNDOF, UNESCO, UNHCR, UNIDO, UNIFIL, UNISFA, UNITAR, UNMISS, UNOCI, UNWTO, UPU, WCO, WFTU (NGOs), WHO, WIPO, WMO, WTO.	ADB, ARF, ASEAN (dialogue partner), C, CICA, CP, D-8, ECO, FAO, G-11, G-24, G-77, IAEA, IBRD, ICAO, ICC (national committees), ICRM, IDA, IDB, IFAD, IFC, IFRCS, IHO, ILO, IMF, IMO, IMSO, Interpol, IOC, IOM, IPU, ISO, ITSO, ITU, ITUC (NGOs), MIGA, MINURSO, MONUSCO, NAM, OAS (observer), OIC, OPCW, PCA, SAARC, SACEP, SCO (observer), UN, UNAMID, UNCTAD, UNESCO, UNHCR, UNIDO, UNMIL, UNOCI, UNWTO, UPU, WCO, WFTU (NGOs), WHO, WIPO, WMO, WTO.
International Law Organization Participation	Accepts compulsory ICJ jurisdiction.	Accepts compulsory ICJ jurisdiction.
Political Parties System	Multi-party System	Multi-party System

Source: https://www.indexmundi.com (18/01/2021)

The below table (Fig. 5) demonstrates the comparison of Indian and Pakistan based on their economy and finances. The table depicts comparison of India and Pakistan in terms of GDP (purchasing rate, growth rate, per capita), population below poverty line, inflation rate, budget, exports, export partners, imports, import partners, debts, taxes and other revenues. The table clearly demonstrates that Indian is way ahead of Pakistan in terms of economy and finances. In order to compete with India, Pakistan needs to improve

in the field of economy and finances. There is no doubt that Pakistan has the potential to challenge India but Pakistan needs to do a lot of work at the grassroots level.

Figure. 5. Comparison of India and Pakistan based on Economy is shown in the below table.

	India	**Pakistan**
GDP (Purchasing Power Parity)	$9.693 trillion (2021)	$1.096 trillion (2021)
GDP Real Growth Rate	5.49% (2021)	5.2% (2021)
GDP Per Capita (PPP)	$7,500 (2020)	$5,400 (2021)
Population below Poverty Line	27.6% (2021)	36.4% (2021)
GDP Composition by Sector	Agriculture: 18.3% (2021) Industry: 29% (2021) Services: 69.3% (2021)	Agriculture: 28.2% (2021) Industry: 21.9% (2021) Services: 59.9% (2021)
Inflation Rate	3.9% (2021)	4.8% (2021)
Budget	Revenues: 241.3 billion (2021) Expenditures: 338 billion (2021)	Revenues: 49.11 billion (2021) Expenditures: 65.84 billion (2021)
Exports	$309.8 billion (2021)	$25.88 billion (2021)
Exports Partners	US 16.9%, UAE 11.1%, Hong Kong 5.1%, China 4.9% (2021)	US 16.3%, UK 7.1%, China 9%, Germany 5.7%, Afghanistan 5.9%, UAE 4.8%, Spain 4.0% (2021)
Imports	$598.7 billion (2021)	$56.380 billion (2021)
Imports Partners	China 15.1%, US 6.9%, UAE 6.1%, Saudi Arabia 5.2%, Switzerland 4.9% (2021)	China 29.1%, UAE 14.9%, US 5.6%,

		Indonesia 5.1%, Saudi Arabia 5.8% (2021)
Debt External	$522.9 billion (2021)	$91.19 billion (2021)
GDP (Official Exchange Rate)	$2.949 trillion (2021)	$314 billion (2021)
Taxes and other Revenues	9.9% (of GDP) (2021)	16.1% (of GDP) (2021)

Source: Annual Analytical Report on External Trade Statistics of Pakistan FY 2020-21

https://data.oecd.org/india.htm /(30/12/2021)

International Monetary Fund (30/12/2021)

https://www.indiabudget.gov.in/ (29/12/2021)

The below table (Fig. 6) demonstrates the comparison of Indian and Pakistan based on their military strength. The table depicts comparison of India and Pakistan in terms of military budget, nuclear warheads, army troops, navy troops, air force troops, main battle tanks, army helicopters, artillery, armoured personnel carrier, aircraft carrier, submarines, frigates, patrol/costal combat vessels, combat aircraft, air force helicopters. The table clearly demonstrates that Indian is way ahead of Pakistan in terms of military strength. In order to compete with India, Pakistan needs to improve in the field of military strength. There is no doubt that Pakistan has the potential to challenge India, but Pakistan needs to do a lot of work at the grassroots level.

Figure. 6. Comparison of India and Pakistan based on Military strength is shown in the below table.

	India	**Pakistan**
Military Budget	58 billion $	11.2 billion $
Nuclear Warheads	140	150
Army	1.2 billion troops	560,000 troops
Navy	67, 700 troops	23,800 troops
Air force	127, 200 troops	70,000 troops
Main Battle Tanks	3,565	2,501
Army Helicopters	305	130
Artillery	10, 719	5,472
Armoured Personnel Carrier	436	2, 102
Aircraft Carrier	2	1
Submarines	18	10
Frigates	15	11
Patrol/Costal Combat Vessels	110	21
Combat Aircraft	852	479
Airforce Helicopters	398	25

Source: Stockholm International Peace research Institute/ International Institute for Strategic Studies Military Balance 2021

https://www.indiabudget.gov.in/ (29/12/2021)

https://www.mod.gov.in/documents/annual report/ (29/12/2021)

http://www.defence.pk/pakistan-army (29/12/2021)

3.5. Conclusion

Many scholars have considered Pakistan as a country, which is unpredictable and full of surprises because of its complex heritage and extending divisions within the country. Pakistan has been considered by the West as both the major sponsor of terrorism and the victim of terrorism as well. The assassination of Benazir Bhutto and large-scale radical activities has further degraded the image of Pakistan in the contemporary world. In 1980's Pakistan was accused of supporting Osama Bin Laden and the Afghani Taliban to overcome Soviets. In the 1990s, Pakistan's government was accused of aiding the Taliban's ascent in Afghanistan in the hopes of establishing a favourable administration in Kabul.

Recently the people of Pakistan and the entire world were shocked to know that some radical groups occupied the some of the tribal areas of Pakistan including the semi-autonomous regions along the Afghan border. It has also been claimed that in recent years, many new radical groups have emerged in Pakistan, as well as several existing groups reorganizing themselves, and a new wave of militant groups has taken control in Pakistan, arguably more violent and less supportive of political resolutions than their predecessors. The accusation that driving force of Pakistan's pursuit of these relationships with the radical groups is the fear of India. Even though the Pakistani government has stated that in the last 10 years, they have banned some 26 terror organisations and radical religious groups. However, the irony is that Pakistan is still silent over various radical out fits that are presently working in Pakistan and are conducting various their terrorist activities with smooth and ease. The main accused mastermind of Mumbai terror attacks Hafiz Saeed is roaming freely on the streets of Pakistan because of lack of evidence. Pakistan has been also accused of playing its role in maintaining the instability currently prevailing in Kashmir.

The politics of Pakistan has been found of complex nature. The United States of America has accused Pakistan of being an ungrateful recipient of almost 40 billion dollars, which were given by United States to Pakistan as economic and military assistance. In the last decade or so, the US had aided Pakistan with a sum of 23 billion dollars to fight

terrorism. However, the claims are that Pakistan still developed nuclear weapons along with supporting Islamic militant groups. These claims clearly show America as an innocent ally and Pakistan a traitor. That is an American reality. There are equal accusations on United States as well. United States is claimed to have created the Taliban and funded as well. Moreover, US is also accused to be the one who provided nuclear arms to Pakistan. United States has been never clear in South Asia. It was United States, which asked Pakistan to help them in Afghanistan and the former President, Donald Trump after talking to Imran Khan, offered to help Pakistan and India in resolving the Kashmir conflict. United States has been a little unclear in its foreign policy in India and Pakistan, because of having interests in both states.

Furthermore, the advent of radical and militant Hindu organizations has put the secular nature of India at risk. The minorities of India especially the Muslims and Sikhs have suffered a lot. The radical and militant Hindu outfits consider all Indian Muslims as intruders, and they believe that only Hindus have the right to live in India. In order to achieve their goal, they try to lynch Muslims. They also oppose the marriages between Hindu and Muslims. These Hindu radical groups are spreading hatred in the name of so-called nationalism, by looking at the actions and tactics of these Hindu radicals' groups, it will not be wrong to label them as terrorist organizations.

The concept of confederation was promoted in both nations by some politicians and academicians as a tool to resolve the conflicts while promoting common cultural bonds, economic growth and solidarity in significant issues including a ceremonial head of the state and some important post that were supposed to be held alternately by both Indians and Pakistan. According to those people who follow this concept, perceive that the two-nation theory has actually been a failure because this theory has been unable to solve the issues and conflicts between Muslims and Hindus. The followers of the confederation theory believe that the best possible solution to these issues and conflicts is that a closer bond should prevail between the two nations. Some other have envisioned a much bigger confederation between the members of the SAARC countries i.e., India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan a look like of European Union. This

confederation is supposed to resolve conflicts and issues like the Kashmir Issues and other conflicts among the federation counties and set up strong ties with the World Powers like US, Russia, and China. However, the irony is that these SAARC Countries have failed to work exactly as it was supposed to be. There has been mutual distrust among various nations especially between Indian and Pakistan.

New Delhi and Washington both joined hands, it also imitated a major convergence of interest because of the Afghanistan and Pakistan policy, and both New Delhi and Washington wanted to see a stable and democratic form of government in both Pakistan and Afghanistan. Due to the colonial links of India, the Indian elites had an indispensable orientation towards the West. Until 1970s, Pakistan was less developed region economically and the Southeast Asia was not an attractive trading and economic partner. The policies of India were limited and isolationist.

India and the Southeast Asian region were on opposing sides during the Cold War. The collapse of the USSR, which was India's valued economic and strategic partner, led to the overlapping of economic and monetary crisis. Thus, these enlargements compelled India to make a fresh start in foreign policy. In the early 1990's, it was the then prime minster of India P.V Narasimha Rao, whose strategic vision rapidly grabbed the changes in the economic and strategic paradigms of International Relations. The world order had changed now with the collapse of USSR, it is no longer divided into two blocs and the idea of South Asia and Southeast Asia being a threat is ruled out. Despite these concerns and problems, India and Pakistan have persisted to make a name for themselves on the international stage. In order to maintain the balance of power, both countries are attempting to create relationships with other countries throughout the world.

Chapter 4

Historical Background of India and Pakistan's Foreign Policy

4.1. Introduction

Both India and Pakistan have been at odds for more than seven decades, owing mostly to the United Kingdom's unfulfilled mission in Kashmir. Most of the scholarships focus on India and Pakistan, in relation to tracing origin of their dispute, while as Britain's role in triggering this conflict goes unnoticed. Britain left India and Pakistan Independent in 1947, but it was in the same year when both these states entered in a never-ending conflict. The partition, that is arguably claimed to have happened on religious grounds, gave rise to the communal violence. It is still unclear, how Britain mapped the borders between these two states, because while a Muslim Majority Pakistan was formed, India was left with more Muslims than Pakistan. The event of partition left millions of people dead, women raped, and families disintegrated. The relations between India and Pakistan never got any better and Kashmir has been since used as a proxy for the status-quo.

There are multiple frames of references used to analyse the relations of India and Pakistan. Some scholars use Kashmir as the reason for the dispute between the states, while as it is only few who take the Britain as the angle for analysing this dispute. The Question of who started it is particularly important. These things did not occur expectedly, and these two states did not start fighting independently, there was a stage set for the dispute. Kashmir was out of British hands in 1846, when it was sold to the Hindu Dogras. The issue of Kashmir does not start in 1947; it starts back in 1846. These controversial origins also make the scholars delve deeper in the history, where absence of history is a missing link.

This chapter walks through the Britain's administrative period in Indian subcontinent, followed by the partition and the Independence of India and Pakistan. It also outlines the trends of India and Pakistan's foreign policies post-Independence. Both the states looked out for different allies, because of falling into the security dilemma. The superpowers pre-cold war, while looking for proxy countries in South Asia, had no better

option than India and Pakistan. United States used Pakistan, and Russia became allies with India. In addition, amid the Superpowers fight, Afghanistan conflict was born too. In the contemporary era or what is called as the post-cold war era, shapes the India and Pakistan's foreign policy according to their international allies. India and Pakistan's foreign policy is not only shaped based on Kashmir, but also their allies in the west and Middle East. This chapter carries a detailed analysis of Historical background of India and Pakistan's relations and foreign policy during their creation, the emergence of dispute and the post-partition relations, keeping both Britain, Kashmir, and international actors in perspective.

The goal of this research is to look at the contentious relationship between India and Pakistan in light of the above-mentioned factors and to uncover the causes behind it, as well as its expansions, via a thorough examination of their foreign policies.The elements of the foreign policies developed by the two countries against each other will be described as the longest conflict in this century. In this way, the relations of the two countries will be examined at the micro level and the impact of the international system on these relations will be revealed. In addition, the transformation of a subject that appears to have originated from the Cold War and block policies in which the environment developed was different will be examined in the context of its reflections on the repercussion of the Cold War.

In this respect, the path followed in this study is primarily to examine the establishment process of India and Pakistan, the developments in this process and the emergence of problems in the historical process. The relationship between the two countries will then be evaluated in relation to its fundamental problem, its interaction with the international system after the Cold War and its reproduction of the relations in a unique way. Thus, the motives of the relations between the two countries and their effects are tried to be revealed. The study is also aimed at making an assessment within the framework of the Kashmir problem, in which the efforts to determine the political orientation between the two countries and the emerging orientations against each other will be discussed. The consequences of repercussion of the Cold War era on India and Pakistan will be discussed and evaluated together with the legacy of the Cold War. The

problems, embodied by the independence of India and Pakistan, transformed by the effects of the Cold War, eventually became increasingly complex and unsolved, have long been a reality for a billions people living in the region.[153] I believe that the aim of this thesis is to propose solutions for the problems in this geography, for which violence is an acceptance, but within the limits of a doctorate thesis, to define the relations and orientations of the two countries can be a meaningful beginning to understand the problems of the region.

4.2. Analysis of India and Pakistan's Relations from Historical Perspective

South Asia is a geography with the longest running and conflicting problems in the contemporary world. Following Britain's division of the Indian subcontinent into India and Pakistan, the two countries became embroiled in a major struggle over Kashmir. The partition itself witnessed communal violence, resulting in millions of deaths from both sides. After India and Pakistan's independence, the task of Britain in triggering this dispute went unnoticed. Britain leaving India and Pakistan kept it in the records of international actors. The dispute has been completely analysed through the perspective of India and Pakistan. Either India is shown as a culprit in the game or Pakistan is completely victimized, but the spotlight is barely shifted to Britain who started this whole thing.

India and Pakistan have been the decisive actors of these problems and it has had a serious impact on their regional as well as foreign policies. The conflict between the two countries continues from the date they gained their independence. This conflicted relationship has spread in many areas and has ultimately led to the escalation of tension and pressure between the two neighbouring countries. While it can easily be argued that it poses a threat to world peace, the conflict, and the humanitarian problem that this conflict has created are believed to be due to its continuity and prolonged war like situations between the two countries. However, many of the elements formed during this process have become unique latest problems and have led to global influences, such as terrorism, nuclear weapons, and fundamentalism. Therefore, the conflict between the two

[153] Dinshaw Mistry, "India in World Affairs: Towards the 21st Century", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 1, 2000, p. 131.

countries that has been going on for more than seventy years cannot only be perceived as a regional problem, but it can also be read as a global problem, especially in the contemporary era. In order to comprehend this political conflict between the two countries it is necessary to make a deep study about the foreign policies of both India and Pakistan in a comparative manner.[154]

The foreign policy of India and Pakistan has a direct relationship with the conflict between them. The conflicted relationship between India and Pakistan began in 1947. After both the countries gained independence from the British colonizers. It was actually an English agenda to divide India and Pakistan into two countries. Muhammad Ali Jinnah laid the foundation of Pakistan. He strongly believed that the Muslim of India should make their own nation. In this sense, 1947 is a benchmark during which the evolution of the Indian subcontinent took place that has evolved since the British sovereignty was established, which ultimately reveals the elements of the conflictual relationship between the two countries.

The new borders of the two countries, which Sir Radcliffe drew up in a few months, have brought together problems that could lead to war, such as political instability between the two countries, migrations, bordering waters and accession of princely states including Kashmir conflict.[155] In addition, these borders were constructed as the new homeland for those who lived or were forced to live within them, as if they were freed from all the historical ties of the other geographies of the sub-region. Therefore, these were found more on religious ideological bases.

The social conflicts that took place during the secession in 1947 and the war that took place between the two countries due to the Kashmir problem shortly afterwards proved that the relations between the two countries were not born in peace. The traumatic effect of separation gave new meaning to the concept of borders, apart from separating the two countries. The border between the two countries became somewhat holy in nature

[154] Hermann Kulke, Dietmar Rothermund, *A History of India*, New York: Routledge, 2004, p. 41.
[155] Shashi Tharoor, *Pax Indica: India and the world of 21st Century*, New Delhi: Allen Lane Penguin group, 2012, p. 29.

and the struggle for the territorial integrity of countries and the preservation of that integrity became part of the National Honour.[156]

Apart from the border issue, the conflict between the two countries gained new dimensions with the participation of new factors in the process. This has been largely under the compulsion of the international system. It was a necessity that Cold War policies should be taken into consideration for both countries, and their response blended the regional problem of South Asia with the global problem. According to sources, the ongoing issues between India and Pakistan since their independence are not Cold War issues. However, these problems had taken different forms within the Cold War strategies. The politics of the two countries during the Cold War and the methods they determined to internationalize the problems between them and produce solutions had turned the conflicting issues into a Cold War problem. They had thus undergone transformation and been redefined within the new world system.

The conflicting issues, supported by the domestic policy developments and discourses of the two countries, have become more complex with their latest content. Kashmir Issue and the cross-border water problems are not the only concerns between these two countries. However, the mutual rivalry of the two countries has also derived contemporary issues of conflict between them. These countries emerged in the Cold War atmosphere and started developing nuclear weapons in competition with each other. Even though India was the founding member of Non-Alignment Movement, secretly India was working on its Nuclear Policy, as was Pakistan.[157] The problems were conducted after the Cold War as well, in an unambiguous contrast to the nuclear disarmament discussions, with a strong bearing on the possibility of a possible Pakistan-India conflict turning into a nuclear war. Similarly, the fact that the fundamentalist movements that started in the 1970s and the jihadist tradition that emerged with the Afghanistan intervention increased the influence of Pakistan's policy that had undermined the efforts to reconcile the differences between the two countries by strengthening the emphasis on religion.

[156] Ross Babbage, *India's Strategic Future: Regional State or Global Power,* UK: Oxford University Press, 1992, p. 72.
[157] Kalu Subrahmanyam, "Nuclear India in Global Politics," *World Affairs*, Vol. 2, No.3, 1998, p. 26-28.

Knowledge of asymmetric warfare gained from the experience of Afghanistan had been articulated in the relationship between the two countries with religious terror and uncontrollable violence. Therefore, there has been a more complicated competition between the two countries than the one that had started during 1947.[158]

The Cold War process was a principal factor in determining the relations not only with the impact of the international system in transforming political problems, but also with the effects of countries on socio-economic policies. This was in fact tied to the global economy's development and disasters, irrespective of the Cold War and its domestic political consequences. However, the Cold War was effective within the framework of the use of foreign aid and resources determined in the direction of threat perceptions and foreign policy orientations of the two countries. Therefore, it had become one of the factors determining the economic-social development of the two countries and their political consequences. This is a principal factor in this geography, where domestic policy and foreign policy are heavily influenced by each other, and their crises are highly reflected to each other. By the end of the Cold War, South Asia turned out to be independent in regard with the bloc politics. However, this peace was not carried into this geography, only in the post-Cold War order; the conflict between them was re-established with new discourses. The Neoliberal period of the Cold War was in conflict with reciprocal discourses and military manoeuvres. It has also prevented the India-Pakistan rapprochement by increasing the political influence of the Congregationalist groups. As a result, the issues of conflict that emerged as a decolonization problem and seen in many former colonial countries in the post-colonial period were the discourses that the two countries created during the nation building process. The problems developed by the effects of the Cold War and the new world order after the Cold War adversely affected the India-Pakistan convergence.[159]

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[158] Paul R Brass, *The Politics of India since Independence*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 61.
[159] Sumit Ganguly, *Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions since 1947*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2001, p. 38-49.

4.3. British Administration Period

In 1758, after Clive ensured the permanent engagement of Britain on the subcontinent, the British sovereignty and the means of that sovereignty became increasingly visible from 1785 onwards. Social structures, political relations, understanding of law, everything changed with elements of British capitalism. Britain's annexation of the princely states within the framework of the first term policy of expansion into India, the quickness in the downfall of the institutions of the old order brought with it some discontent. The Indian Mutiny, which took place in 1857, was the first serious opposition of the disturbed masses to British rule.[160] The main significance of this uprising was that it had led to the establishment of a new governance structure and political understanding that lasted until India's independence. Another crucial point about the insurrection was that it represented an organized and powerful opposition against the British in Indian history. This movement, which began in the army and spread to North India and is served as an example for the subsequent nationalist generations and is regarded as the 'First War of Indian Independence'.[161]

The 1857 movement can be referred to as a 'reactionary 'event that resisted the capitalist mode of production. It was an act that was conducted by displaced Princes, feudal lords and the most important group of the defunct Mughal Empire, the Muslim soldiers, aimed at restoring the old order that the British were destroying. Benjamin Disraeli, the then opposition leader, spoke in the House of Commons about the rebellion. In my opinion, 'I will list the reasons leading to a general dislike among all the classes of that country against our administration under three headings: the first is that we subverted Indigenous authority by force, the second is that we disrupted the property order, and the third is that we played with the religion of society'.[162] The subsequent addition of the nationalist character to the 1857 uprising stemmed from the only point that united the

[160] Vincent A. Smith, *The early history of India*, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers, 1999, p. 52-58.
[161] Paul R Brass, *The Politics of India since Independence,* p. 72.
[162] Om Prakash, *Cultural history of India*, New Delhi: New Age International, 2005, p. 71.

rebels and the nationalists of the 20th century: the desire to make the colonists leave India by opposing British rule. The below map shows the area under British rule.

Figure.7. Map showing Area under British Rule

Source: https://www.worldometers.info

Although the uprising hurt Britain's press, it did not spread throughout India. The Sikhs and some Hindu princes did not participate in the uprising and even supported the British in suppressing the uprising. This different structure in Indian society and the order that confronted Muslims and Hindus was not created by the British, it was due to Mughal rule; but in the light of events and subsequent developments, it had facilitated the British's handling of Indian politics based on the policy of "Divide and Rule" and thus strengthened

its own existence.[163] It had brought the Hindus closer to the British, whose confidence in Muslims had diminished and failed to make significant progress under the Mughal administration.

The major change that the British made after the uprising in the sub-continent was the abolition of the East India Company, which had ruled India until 1858, and after the failed rebellion, the country came under the direct control of the British Crown. Thus, with great enthusiasm, Queen Victoria of England became Queen of India. In India, the company's effectiveness ended with its relatively poor management, and the administration of the shifted to the Ministry of India, which was in charge of the Parliament in London. In return for this organization in India was the Governor and his subordinate Council. There were also governors of the states and affiliated State Councils, and officials from these institutions were appointed from England.[164]

Britain's organizational structure in India remained the same for a long time, but with constitutional reforms, the weight of the British in the administration increased over time. Britain also changed its expansion policy after the 1857 movement. When British first arrived in the subcontinent, they acted in cooperation with the existing governments, seized the lands of Princely states after the victory of Battle of Plessey in 1758 and went straight to establish their own government.[165] However, the Indian Rebellion Uprising of 1857 had shown that reconciliation with traditional leaders is necessary and that this agreement will make it easier to spread throughout the rest of India. Therefore, after 1857, the approach of not directly interfering with the old order was adopted, the autonomy of the princely states was respected, and the annexed Mysore Sultanate was re-recognized in 1881. Because of this, Britain chose to use the disintegration of the country to strengthen its power in India: Princes, religious groups, castes were supported, and divisions between them were exploited. This policy had created a complex structure in administrative organization. In foreign policy, transport, communication, taxes, an administrative structure was established with the princely states, which depended on the British

[163] Peter Robb, *A history of India*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, p. 170.
[164] Vincent A. Smith, "*The early history of India"*, p. 83.
[165] Ibid. p. 117.

government but maintained their sovereignty in their domestic affairs, as well as the provinces directly governed by Britain. India, which was divided between more than five hundred princely states, was united by railways, communication system, education, economy, and the British Crown.[166]

The direct connection of India to Britain in 1858 was welcomed by those who thought that it would easily get rid of the old system of production and that its development would accelerate. Developments in this direction were also experienced; a number of small businesses were established; some even reached the size of the factory especially in the field of railways and wagon production. However, the role that Britain had played in India was a source of raw materials and it was creating a market for British textile and industrial goods. In the 20th century, the Indian nationalists criticized the British administration and stated that the British administration had prevented the normal development of India and due to this reason that the establishment of industry could not be attained.[167] They also criticised the British for supporting conservative groups and feudal lords in their policy of divide and rule, in order to keep India as a traditional society and to prevent it from any kind of social development.[168]

The British administration, through its means, education, and legal system, had actually developed elements to unite India and bring independence to it. While building its own system, the means, and tools it used created the common values of the country. Because of the needs of the British capitalism, the country had turned into a trade market. However, the development of social life and consciousness had also created environments in which the idea of independence prevailed. However, the social distinctions that divide and rule politics had aggravated, and the clash of unequal development between distinct groups in economic terms had brought about a conflict and a problematic feeling of independence and separation. India's development under British rule also had a

[166] Vincent A. Smith, *The early history of India*, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers, 1999, p. 64.
[167] Maya Chadda, *Building Democracy in South Asia: India, Nepal, Pakistan*, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000, p. 24-30
[168] Sanjeet Kumar., Indo Pak relations in twenty first century, Unpublished PhD. Thesis, Haryana: Central University of Haryana, 2014, pp. 21-47.

considerable influence in determining the orientations and ideologies of both India and Pakistan.[169]

4.3.1 Economic and Social Developments

India was an area divided by small princely states formed by agricultural village communities. The existing empire never expressed a central government and was more like a weakly centred Federation of princely states. British rule changed the entire production structure of India and the social structure built on it. In particular, the education system created new classes and a British type of law in India. The transformation in India first manifested itself in the territorial system. There was no understanding of land ownership in India, production was conducted at village scale and tax was taken from the collected product. Thus, a closed life was common outside some major cities engaged in trade. The system completely changed in the 18th and 19th centuries with the new administrative structure that Britain had created in the area of tax collection.[170] British used old tax collectors for tax collection but in contrast, these people were granted the right to ownership. This group, called *Zamindars* (Landlords), which were limited in number, first grew in quantity, then developed economically and became an urban class. Because it was an urban class, new intermediaries had emerged that would communicate with the people who would collect taxes and do the tax collection work in the project. As a result, the tax relationship between the peasant and the administration has become a system of many intermediaries, complicated and turned into an economic pressure on the peasants. In addition to *Zamindars*, the British changed the uniformity of taxes in some places and made them monetary. In a way of life in which monetary economics was not quite common, rapid monetary easing had given effectiveness to institutions such as moneylending.[171] As a result, the peasants became the most oppressed class of the capitalist system, lost ownership of the means of production over time, some of them taking their place in the city under the influence of landlessness. A bourgeoisie group was

[169] Vincent A. Smith, *The early history of India*, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers, 1999, p. 81.
[170] Romila Thapar, *A history of India*, London: Penguin, 1990, p. 193.
[171] Dietmar Rothermund, *An economic history of India*, London: Routledge, 2002, p. 76.

formed which established control over the lands which the peasants had lost by disenfranchising and thus provided the accumulation of capital. Another essential element in the transformation of the economic and social structure in India was the articulation to the international market. Subsistence and need-oriented production had now become production for the international market, leaving the population of India to produce the product it did not need for the world market. This new production orientation, in addition to the problems caused by climatic famine from time to time, also brought the world market crises and price fluctuations to the sub-continent.

Social mobility and economic crises caused by migration from village to city lead to strikes and riots, with religious repercussions increasing discontent, especially in the 20th century, it helped the nationalists reach out to the masses with ease and to cut ties with Britain. The main factor in this process was the railways, which was considered to be an important technical development in communicative and social mobility and was the most important investment of the new Indian market. The establishment of the Railways network begins with Lord Dalhousie's report on Railways in 1853.[172] Since then, a comprehensive railway construction program had been implemented in India, and in 1940 the average length of the railways reached forty-three thousand miles. With completely economic incentives, the construction of railways, which was planned to serve as a link between agricultural centres and ports, had a different, uncalculated effect. It had provided political, economic, and administrative unity to facilitate social mobility and communication. Thus, not only goods, but also new laws, principles and ideas of independence were carried along with people.[173]

The impact of British rule added new aspects to the relationship between religious communities, which shaped India's social structure by harmonizing the capitalist economy's classes with religious castes. There were basically four religious' groups in India: Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and Christians. For a long time, Muslims were in a

[172] Ibid., 97.
[173] Paul R. Brass, *The New Cambridge History of India: The Politics of India since Independence*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 83.

privileged position as the ruling class. As British rule replaced the rule of this Muslim ruling class, Muslims lost their positions in power and were seen as an unreliable, threatening group by the 1857 uprising.[174] Therefore, Muslims had closed themselves to new developments for a long time. Their long rejection of economic relations and new legislation strengthened the Hindus with the British and led to the late development of the Muslim middle class. Hindus, on the other hand, more easily adapted to the new economic and political system. They were a major force against other groups, especially in trade cities such as Bengal and Madras. This new struggle for power gradually increased the distinction between Hindus and Muslims, and the political implications of this situation manifested themselves in relation to power.[175]

The main reason for the increasing distinction between religious groups was education. Since the beginning of the 19th century, the British education system, which had to be effective programmatically, had not received much attention among the peasants and Muslim groups because the Muslims and peasants were not interested in this English education system. However, especially in cities such as Kolkata and Mumbai, there was more participation in the new education whose main purpose was to raise civil servants for the Indian state service. Hindus were very much interested in this new English education system. Thus, British values and life became increasingly central to the urban Hindus, and a new class was created among the Indians in terms of their tastes, views, and values. Although the British created a class like themselves in which they could work together in India, they did not accept these new Indians as British.[176] Although the number of the administration increased gradually, the proportion of the Indian population in the administration to the British did not exceed to even one third and they were also not able to take part in high posts.[177]

In Indian society, where British education was transformed, religion had become the most essential element to ensure compliance with the new process of production, which

[174] Ibid., p. 93.
[175] Hermann Kulke, Dietmar Rothermund, *A History of India*, New York: Routledge, 2004, p. 65.
[176] Shashi Tharoor, *Pax Indica: India and the world of 21st Century*, New Delhi: Allen Lane Penguin group, 2012, p. 47.
[177] Ibid. p. 53.

would lead to the emergence of the middle class in India in the Western sense. Ram Mohan Roy's *Brahmo Samaj* movement, which became more prevalent in the upper caste of Hinduism, was the first religious reform movement in the early 19th century that included social and political elements.[178] Although he tried to combine some elements of Hinduism with Western thought, he became ineffective against the forces of modernism by the end of the 19th century, and in 1875 he was replaced by the Swami Dayananda Sarasvati's *Arya Samaj* movement. *Arya Samaj* was once again based on Hinduism but offered a stronger nationalist outlook. It was successful in addressing the Hindu masses. It exemplified the golden age of the Hindu empire, which ruled much of India in the 4th and 3rd centuries. *Arya Samaj* refused to accept non-Hinduism beliefs, insisted on some rituals, and undermined the possibility of reconciliation with Muslims by presenting the caste system to which the members of other religions were excluded. It increased the existing discontent between Hindus and Muslims. Although the *Arya Samaj* movement was effective, it was highly indigenous and exclusive, and its missionary activities remained local and there was reactive activity and discontent against the Western lifestyle.[179]

At the end of the 19th century, the Indian middle class consisted of Indians who seemed to be British in every sense, mostly educated in England. In Bengal, the first to adopt the values of capitalism were the younger generations of this new class that emerged in the early 19th century.[180] Their discourse, with their science and technique, looked at the influence of Western society on the material development and modernization of India, but they sought to localize Western civilization and harmonize it with Indian culture. This tendency continued to reflect the religious character of the country and to preserve it in its discourse blended with Western civilization. Tagore represents an important example of this generation. He belonged to the higher castes and was a well-educated member of the Indo bourgeoisie. He combined Western thinking with the metaphysical spirituality of the East; his conception of nationalism refers to the way India had differed from the West.[181]

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[178] Hermann Kulke, Dietmar Rothermund, *A History of India*, p. 163.
[179] Vincent A. Smith, *The early history of India*, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers, 1999, p. 44.
[180] Ibid. p., 92.
[181] Vincent A. Smith, *The early history of India*, p. 201.

Although Tagore's thinking included an entire India, the spiritual side he added to it was rooted in Hinduism. Therefore, although his nationalist understanding provides a path for development for the whole East, it cannot be unifying for other religious groups, especially Muslims, with reference to Hinduism.

Similar to Tagore, Gandhi's path of nationalist resistance takes its spiritual foundations from Hinduism. Gandhi put forward his idea of India's independence in 1909 in South Africa in his '*India Sawraj'* declaration. The path he chose for this was *Satyagraha* (passive resistance). *Satyagraha* was a religious expression and symbolized a sense of non-harm. Unlike other nationalist elites, Gandhi was able to reach the masses easily through the influence of religious identity; the essence of his actions was the use of political forces in a religious way. However, it was not possible to bring together the reluctant Muslim and Hindu communities within the framework of nationalism determined by religious motives and to create a united India.[182]

The result of the rising Hindu influence was the awakening of the Muslim middle classes who did not want to stay under this influence. In the second half of the 19th century, Muslims' efforts to break this influence began on religious foundations. This orientation was especially developed in the framework of protecting their interests, while the resistance was oriented towards Hindu formations. Muslims were mostly engaged in agriculture and did not take part in the new business areas formed by capitalism because some of the money-related jobs, such as bank interest, were subject to religious prohibition. The re-organization of the Muslim community in the modern way of thinking took place in 1875 with the establishment of Aligarh Anglo-Muhammeden Oriental College which was founded by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.[183] This school symbolized the participation of Muslim intellectuals in modernised India. It was founded on a Modernist understanding, and although Islamic attribution was mentioned, it was based on progressive understanding. The school laid out the ideological foundations of nationalism with Islamic elements. The founders of Pakistan and some of the rulers of Pakistan

[182] Peter Robb, *A history of India*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, p. 90.
[183] Ibid., p. 97.

(Liaquat Ali Khan) had graduated from this school.[184] The aim was to train cadres who would take part in the Indian administration and participate in government service, to realize what the Hindu community had done about fifty years ago.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was the founder of Aligarh Muslim University, for the first time in India the existence of two separate nations with distinct cultures and civilizations as Hindus and exponents in India, would later find a political field of action in the discourse of Iqbal and Jinnah. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's approach was similar to Roy's efforts. Modernist ideas were embedded in religious and cultural themes, and there was also a thought of loyalty towards England. Ahmad Khan referred to the establishment of the Aligarh school as raising useful Muslims connected to the Crown. The Muslims no longer wanted to be rebels of the uprisings, but loyal officers of Britain.[185]

The religious-themed nationalism that the Muslim community maintained with loyalty to Britain brought with it a discourse of resistance and secession in the 1930s, in keeping with the conjuncture. Muhammad Iqbal is the most important representative of this notion. As the founder of the idea of independent Pakistan, Iqbal, who influenced especially the Muslim middle class through his resistance poems and writings, was also breaking down the notion of loyalty to the traditional Britain. Iqbal's main challenge was against the Hindus. According to Iqbal, Islam distinguishes Muslims and Hindus, it has a social order created by itself, forms a separate identity, a separate law, and therefore it is not possible to establish a unified India where power is shared with Hindu politicians. Iqbal's idea of the state of the Muslims of India to be established under secular rules based on Islamic values is the basis of Jinnah's "two nation's theory",[186] which was the founding ideology of Pakistan. Jinnah argued that Indian Muslims were not only religious but different from Hindus in all areas, saying that "India has never been a true nation". The only thing Muslims share with Hindus is slavery under the British rule.[187]

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[184] Om Prakash, *Cultural history of India*, New Delhi: New Age International, 2005, p. 81.
[185] Paul R. Brass, *The New Cambridge History of India: The Politics of India since Independence*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 93.
[186] Paul R. Brass, *The New Cambridge History of India: The Politics of India since Independence*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 94.
[187] Ibid., p. 96.

The nationalistic discourse with religious motives led the communities into a struggle not only against England, but against each other as well. Nationalism developed against each other and spread inter-communal conflict; the war took on a form of independence, both against Britain and against each other. The non-religious, anti-imperialist Indian nationalism discourse that Nehru put forward could not provide a unifying formula. In line with the Marxist-Leninist approach, Nehru acted with the basic assumptions of socialist theory. He approached nationalism with independence. India's nationalism meant independence, and independence was not just a fight against Britain, but a struggle against all the imperialist values it represented.[188] Therefore, the struggle between the Muslim and Hindu communities, the product of British sovereignty, was an artificial activity adorned with feudal elements; the important thing was the integrity of India, with all its differences. But even though this idea of anti-imperialism based Indian nationalism was an opening in the fight for independence, it failed to form a united India. As a result, there was a sociologically divided India, but to say that the British created this fragmentation is to ignore the fact that the social order in India, the relations of religion and religious groups with others, was formed on the basis of disengagement. Although this was initially a coincidental orientation, it had become a policy since the second half of the 19th century. Even though social segregation first manifested itself as being involved in the service of the state, the struggle for power was reflected in nationalist discourses and was effective in the political organization in which these discourses were expressed. The result was two states formed by a problematic split, with periodic massacres, and the hostilities that continue to this day.[189]

[188] Hermann Kulke, Dietmar Rothermund, *A History of India*, New York: Routledge, 2004, p. 41.
[189] Hermann Kulke, Dietmar Rothermund, *A History of India*, p. 88.

4.3.2 Political Developments

The history of political organizations in India dates back to 1857. These first organizations were limited structures intended to protect the interests of the land aristocracy. The most prominent features were to create a union between those who shared similar interests and to make demands to protect their interests from the administration and to ensure that administrative arrangements were made in line with these demands. The *Zamindary* Association of Bengal in 1837 and the Bengal British India Society in 1843 were some of the organizations that were created to protect the interests of the land aristocracy and did not make any distinction between their members except landowners.[190] Thus, these first organizations created a political tradition in India by forming an organized movement for the elimination of discontent, uniting those with interests and collaborating with the British. They were the driving force behind the formation of the Indian National Congress (Congress Party) in 1885, which provided the groundwork for liberal, pro-independence policies.

The Indian National Congress, which convened in 1885, is the most remarkable of the political developments in India. Although it claimed to represent all of India, it was actually a result of the fact that after a protracted process, the maturing Indian middle class, the elites, ought to take part in the political sphere. The Indian National Congress was founded by Allan Octavian Hume in order to create a channel where social and political reforms could be discussed and middle class demands and reactions could reach the government.[191] Thus, a negotiation area was created where problems that could arise could be solved without much growth. Although its participation at the first meeting was low (only 72 members attended), the Congress made rapid progress and achieved its target audience. In 1887 the number of members increased to 627. The Congress was not successful in representing India's Muslim communities, on the contrary, it was one of the areas where Muslim-Hindu discord was reflected. Muslims viewed the Congress as a Hindu dominated community, and members of the Aligarh School, in particular, tried to

[190] Peter Robb, *A history of India*, p. 121.
[191] Bipan Chandra, *India after independence: 1947-2000*, UK: Penguin, 2000, p. 36.

prevent participation in the Congress. In 1905, only 17 out of 758 members were Muslims. The negative attitude of Muslims to Congress was further revealed by the division of Bengal in 1905. Lord Curzon envisioned the separation of East and West Bengal in order to facilitate the rule of Bengal.[192] This distinction promised a separate state to the Muslims of Bengal, while inflaming the Hindu-Muslim conflict. With the partition of Bengal, three important groups became prominent in India: the first two emerged through the schism within the Congress: the moderates and the extremists. While the moderates sought constitutional solutions, the extremists had taken a stand for direct action; but within a brief time, the extremists lost their power. The third group was the Muslim League, which sought to alleviate the growing Hindu influence against the British and emerged to safeguard the interests of Muslims.

The Muslim League was founded in 1906 under the leadership of Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk to encourage Muslim loyalty to the British government and to safeguard Indian Muslims' political rights and interests.[193] Muslims did not pay much attention to the Union, which emphasized loyalty to the Britain and did not have many demands and members within it. As discontent with Britain's stance grew, the Muslim League began to lose its loyalty to the British government.[194] For Britain, however, the Muslim League was the most appropriate tool in balancing the power of Congress. With the Morley-Minto reforms in 1909, separate electoral systems and seats were provided for Muslims in the provincial legislatures in order to eliminate Muslims' discontent and balance in contrast to the Congress. This discontent ensured a compromise between Congress and the Muslim League during the First World War. In the realization of this agreement, the indoctrination of names such as Jinnah within the Congress party on the way that autonomy can only be achieved if they act together with Muslims has had an important effect. In 1916, the Lucknow Pact was signed as a document of reconciliation between the two groups. Thus, the two groups recognized each other's interests, the Constitution of India, the separate

[192] Bipan Chandra, *India after independence: 1947-2000*, UK: Penguin, 2000, p. 141.
[193] Ibid., p 148.
[194] Peter Robb, *A history of India*, p. 152.

electoral system, and the separation of seats for Muslims was the first and last agreement on the proportion of these seats.[195]

With the economic problems caused by rising prices at the end of World War I, discontent rose in India. Both social movements against the government were developing and demands for autonomy within the Union and Congress were increasing. Even the 1919 arrangement of Montagu and Chelmsford, which loosened the administrative structure and gave the Indians greater say in the administration, could not bring things to a standstill. In fact, this reform package was far from responding to the growing desire for independence from Wilson's 'fourteen principles and the impact of Lenin's discourse on self-determination.

The British Government increased the pressure to prevent the incidents of freedom uprisings and these incidents and freedom was gradually abolished by the decision of the Rowlatt Commission. [196] With the concussion caused by the Rowlatt Commission decision, the discomfort of the massacre conducted by General Dyer in Amritsar on the civilian population spread throughout the country. In addition to the domestic developments, some Muslims (*the Khilafat movement*) were also not happy with Britain's policy in Turkey with a Pan-Islamism mentality. All unharmed groups, Hindus and Muslims united in Gandhi's civil disobedience. The action included the rejection of everything the British offered (school, election, title), but this passive resistance action ended in 1922 after some violent demonstrations. The Khilafat movement, however, lost its goal with the abolition of the caliphate. In this way, after the First World War, the combined action of rising activism lost its effect by leaving itself to local, singular movements.[197]

The 1920s was a period in which Hinduism was awakened in the political sphere. A national solidarity union was established in 1925 with an understanding that disavowed Muslims and other religious groups and accepted India as the Holy Land. In 1928, this

[195] Bipan Chandra, *India after independence: 1947-2000*, UK: Penguin, 2000, p. 46.
[196] Ibid., p. 48.
[197] Peter Robb, *A history of India*, p. 165.

party would revert to Hindu nationalist party known as the Hindu *Mahasabha*.[198] In addition, the Justice Party, which saw the Congress as a monopoly of the Brahmans, was established by the non-Brahmans in response to the Congress in Madras, and it also appeared on the political stage as the new party of the period, which united the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs on the basis of developing the design and creating local autonomy. Socialists, who were not happy with the actions of the Congress Party and the Muslim League, also appeared during this period. Nehru and Bose were the leaders of this generation. The Socialists, who were basically opposed to British rule, envisioned an anti-imperialist war and feeling of independence.[199]

When Nehru was elected president in 1929 with the influence of Gandhi, the reactions of the young generation in the Congress disappeared, and a balance between the attitude of the Congress and Nehru's political orientation was achieved. Despite the increasingly diverse political spectrum in India, the Muslim League and Congress had clear determinants. However, as the struggle between the two groups to have a say in the administrative and political sphere continued, a consensus like the Lucknow Pact could not be achieved and the dual, fragmented outlook continued.

In India, the struggle to gain more place in the administrative structure, to gain more authority in the administration and to gain an autonomous status was directed towards the objective of full independence in accordance with the decision taken at the Lahore meeting of the Congress on 1st January 1930. This decision came to the agenda for the first time at Gandhi's Madras meeting in December 1927, and with the 1930 resolution[200], it was agreed that relations with Britain and the Muslim League would be conducted on the basis of an independent Indian demand. On 26th January 1930, with the oath of independence in Congress, this decision became increasingly concrete.[201]

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[198] Om Prakash, *Cultural history of India*, p. 119.
[199] Binay Bhattacharya, *India's Freedom Movement: Legacy of Bipin Chandra Pal*, New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 2007, p. 56.
[200] Peter Robb, *A history of India*, p. 196.
[201] Binay Bhattacharya, *India's Freedom Movement: Legacy of Bipin Chandra Pal*, New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 2007, p. 66-70.

Under the influence of the global economic crisis, high taxes that gradually showed themselves, and the need for independence, Gandhi began his second civil disobedience campaign in 1930. This time, the Muslim Union did not cooperate with the Congress, but participated in the Round Table meetings organized by the British Government to create a new constitution in India with the participation of representatives from all segments of society. After the civil disobedience that ended in 1931 with an agreement between Gandhi and Lord Irwin, Congress took its place in the Round Table.[202] The most interesting aspect of the Round Table was that it was open to all groups; Princes, Muslims, Sikhs, Hindus, and even unconcerned representatives of the untouchables who were considered downcast.

Nehru's offer to grant Dominion Status to India was rejected at the meetings, and discussions focused on minority rights and the new constitutional formation. As a result, despite all the objections of Congress, the India Act of 1935 came into being. One of the issues that Congress objected was the granting of separate constituencies to Muslims. In the constitutional structure to be formed, Muslims were given minority status and seats were reserved for them in the areas where they mostly lived. Iqbal remarked during a Muslim League gathering in 1930 that Muslims are a different nation that must exist as a separate state. However, the Union did not object to minority status because it thought that it was not yet possible to establish a separate state on the grounds that Muslims were a separate state. Indeed, in 1933, when Rahmat Ali presented Jinnah with the idea of a separate state, which he formulated as Pakistan, Jinnah considered this idea cold and unrealistic.[203]

The Congress perceived the 1935 Constitution, which was formed as a result of the round table meetings, as an element of Britain's divide-and-rule policy. Congress represented all of India, so it was pointless to establish separate constituencies in congress party's opinion. Moreover, the granting of autonomy to the princes and the identification of India in a federal structure in this context was also troubling. In fact, the order created

[202] Peter Robb, *A history of India*, p. 199.
[203] Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India 1885–1947*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1989, p. 82.

in the 1935 law did not satisfy the Muslims either, but they were more willing to accept it than Congress, because this new system could weaken the growing power of Congress.

The Muslim League's predictions did not come true. In the first elections held in 1936, the victory belonged to the Congress Party. The Muslim League, on the other hand, had few seats reserved for Muslims. With the 1936 elections, the policy of the Muslim Union had changed completely.[204] Jinnah began to make speeches that emphasized on Islamic values even more, and even though he did not explain the idea of a separate state, but he turned to a discourse that Muslims were a nation of different values. In July 1938, he declared that the Muslim League represented all Muslims in India, and Jinnah was now known as the '*Qaeda-al-Azam'* meaning the Great Leader. However, it was the practice of discrimination against Muslims that brought the Muslim League to the masses during the practices conducted by the state governments which were established by the Congress on certain issues. Jinnah could now reach out to all the Muslims of India, saying that Islam was in danger.[205]

With the commencement of World War II., an important transformation took place in India. Shortly after the war began, Lord Linlithgow announced that India had entered the war without consulting any political group. The Congress asked Linlithgow to answer the question, whether the war was an anti-Fascist or an anti-Nazi or an imperialist war; when he could not answer the question, the third campaign of civil disobedience began in 1940.[206] In this respect, the Congress party withdrew from its positions in the provincial assemblies and was replaced by British rulers. Thus, the Muslim League, which did not participate in civil disobedience, had the opportunity to form a coalition with the British. During the war, the Muslim League maintained its alliance with the British, gaining political power, and it was able to increase its effectiveness by making its political power

[204] Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India 1885–1947*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1989, p. 96-99.
[205] Sailendra N. Sen, *History of the freedom movement in India (1857-1947)*, New Delhi: New Age International, 1997, p. 32.
[206] Peter Robb, *A history of India*, p. 209.

permanent as a result of the Congress's failure to cooperate with the British during the World War II.[207]

Jinnah, although not noticeably clear, presented the proposal, which described the Muslims as a separate nation, defined the Northwest Frontier Province and the eastern provinces as independent states and was denoted to as the 'Pakistan Resolution', at the Lahore meeting of the Muslim League in March 1940.[208] It is not obvious that if this proposal aimed for a real separation. Jinnah then negotiated solutions that did not involve secession and did not openly present secession as the primary goal of his policy until 1946.

For 1940, very few people believed that this was indeed a demand for separation. The main reason for the demand for secession can be regarded as the fact that the new political power created a goal for itself and the effort to strengthen its existence by transforming it into a political goal. Considering the Japanese threat, the United Kingdom had had made many attempts to reach agreement between the parties through various commissions and to solve the problems in India.[209] These proposals, including the dominion status, had been rejected by the Congress. By assessing the position of Britain in the war, the solution proposals were seen as a check of a bank that was sinking.

In August 1942, under the leadership of Gandhi, the campaign to Quit India was launched and all ties with the British administration were broken.[210] The declaration of the Congress party as law in 1942, along with the stalemate of relations with Britain, initiated the process that would cause the Muslim League to move the Pakistani demand from a political manoeuvre into reality, enabling the Union to gradually fill the areas vacated by the Congress. With the Labour Party winning the elections in 1945, it became clear that Britain's dominance in the subcontinent was ending. The new administration demanded that India have elections, and the 1946 polls confirmed the Muslim League's expanding influence. The union had nearly all the seats reserved for Muslims, but still did

[207] Sailendra N. Sen, *History of the freedom movement in India (1857-1947)*, New Delhi: New Age International, 1997, p. 32.
[208] Ibid., p., 38.
[209] Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India 1885–1947*, p. 121.
[210] Peter Robb, *A history of India*, p. 210.

not hesitate to negotiate the proposals put forward by Britain. As a result of the increasing political power and lack of reconciliation with the Congress, on 16th August 1946, the Muslim Union gave up its policy towards cooperation and put forward a demand for a separate and independent state. Jinnah declared 16th August 1946 as a direct Day of action in order to demonstrate the influence of the Muslim population. Massacres took place various parts of India like, Kolkata, East Bengal, Bihar, and Punjab. The result was that the Muslim League became closer and closer to Pakistan, and this became increasingly irresistible for the parties. Indeed, exactly one year later, on 14th August 1947, Pakistan would declare its existence as an independent state.[211]

4.4. Britain's Partition Dilemma

India which, was considered as the jewel of the British Crown now started to become burden for Britain due to the impact of World War II, especially Britain's increasing debts to India. Having a large army and administrative organization in India was a luxury for the deteriorated Britain, and the best that could be done was to put an end to nearly two hundred years of sovereignty as a Commonwealth member without breaking its ties with the subcontinent. Churchill's Conservative government could not have taken such a step, but Atlee was in favour of it happening as soon as possible.[212]

In February 1947, Lord Mountbatten was appointed as regent to replace Wavell, who tried to solve the problems on the constitutional ground but failed to reconcile the Congress and the Muslim League. Mountbatten's mission, unlike the other viceroys, was to ensure India's independence without any problems. In this regard, on 20th February 1947, the British government stated that the country would leave India in June 1948.[213] In this case, the main problem was not how to gain independence, but what kind of India would be left behind when the British left in 1948. Although Mountbatten had met with the leaders of the two sides many times since his arrival in India, no solution had emerged to keep the country as a whole. Britain's request from Mountbatten was to succeed in

[211] Bipan Chandra, *India after independence: 1947-2000*, UK: Penguin, 2000, p. 77.
[212] Sailendra N. Sen, *History of the freedom movement in India (1857-1947)*, p. 152.
[213] Hermann Kulke, Dietmar Rothermund, *A History of India*, New York: Routledge, 2004, p. 61.

transferring the British sovereignty to the independent commonwealth member India before June 1948. If Muslims insisted on establishing a separate state, the provision of a two-state federation was expressed. This was exceedingly difficult to achieve; Hindus and Muslims had to be convinced of a solution. In addition, there were more than five hundred princely states in India, and this group, which was highly conservative in their sovereignty, had to agree to the solution.

The Muslims showed that they could be effective with the direct day of action on 16th August. They were determined about Pakistan. Jinnah stated that if the Hindus wanted a war, the Muslim Indians would accept it without hesitation, either to support the division of India or to destroy it. 20th February statement strengthened the position of Muslims. Jinnah was determined to have a separate nation for Muslims and put forward the famous two-nation theory. The Congress was totally opposed to any division. Nehru criticized the theory of two nations, the founding ideology of the Pakistani idea, and stated that it was not possible to define a nation on a religious basis; with this theory, it was assumed that two different religious groups in India formed two separate nations.[214]

In this sense, there were many different religious groups in India, not just Hindus and Muslims, and all could be considered separate nations with this approach. Nehru stated that these two groups, even though they were often found in some states, had no borders to separate them.[215] Therefore, the nation put forward by this theory was exceedingly difficult to describe and such a religious-based nationalism could be a different form of medieval theory. It was not a problem for the Congress that Muslims, Sikhs, or Christians should legislate together, it was a problem for minorities that would be expressed in a separatist nationalism. There were religious minorities in India, and the way to preserve religious, cultural, and linguistic differences would be possible within the constitutional order on the basis of human rights. Despite the request of the Congress for a united India, the uncompromising attitude of the Muslim League and the urgency to solve the problem imposed the necessity of secession on the parties.

[214] Bipan Chandra, *India after independence: 1947-2000,* p. 180.
[215] Ibid., 192

On April 19th, 1947, the Congress agreed to divide the sub-continent into Pakistan and India. In fact, the main reason Congress leaders accepted the decision was that they did not want further delays in independence.[216] The February 20th decision symbolized the success of the struggle since the date of the decision on India's independence.[217] Therefore, it was more important to be independent as quickly as possible, than to wait until an uncertain date in which the problems would be solved. Another reason was the idea that if a solution were to be achieved by giving the Muslim side too much of a say in the administration, the government would cause political fragmentation due to the attitude of the parties and prevent the establishment of a strong central government. Moreover, the Congress was dominated by the idea that Pakistan, which would be created by seceding from India, would not live long, and would re-join India. Weak Pakistan would not be able to sustain its existence for long in the face of world developments, so the divided parts would be reunited for a true unity.[218]

Mountbatten explained the general arrangements for secession in his plan of June 3rd, 1947, which he created after receiving the approval of Congress and the Muslim League.[219] With this plan, on August 15th, 1947, two independent states emerged. The initial plan gave the states the right to choose their future. However, in the face of the threat that the exercise of this right could result in independence and, therefore, India could be divided into many smaller parts, it was re-organized in a way that only some Muslim densely populated states would apply to a referendum to join Pakistan or India. Punjab and Bengal, according to the plan, would be divided into east-west.

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[216] Bipan Chandra, *India after independence: 1947-2000*, p. 30.
[217] Paul R. Brass, *The Politics of India since Independence*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 71.
[218] Ibid., p., 77.
[219] Sailendra N. Sen, *History of the freedom movement in India (1857-1947)*, p. 163.

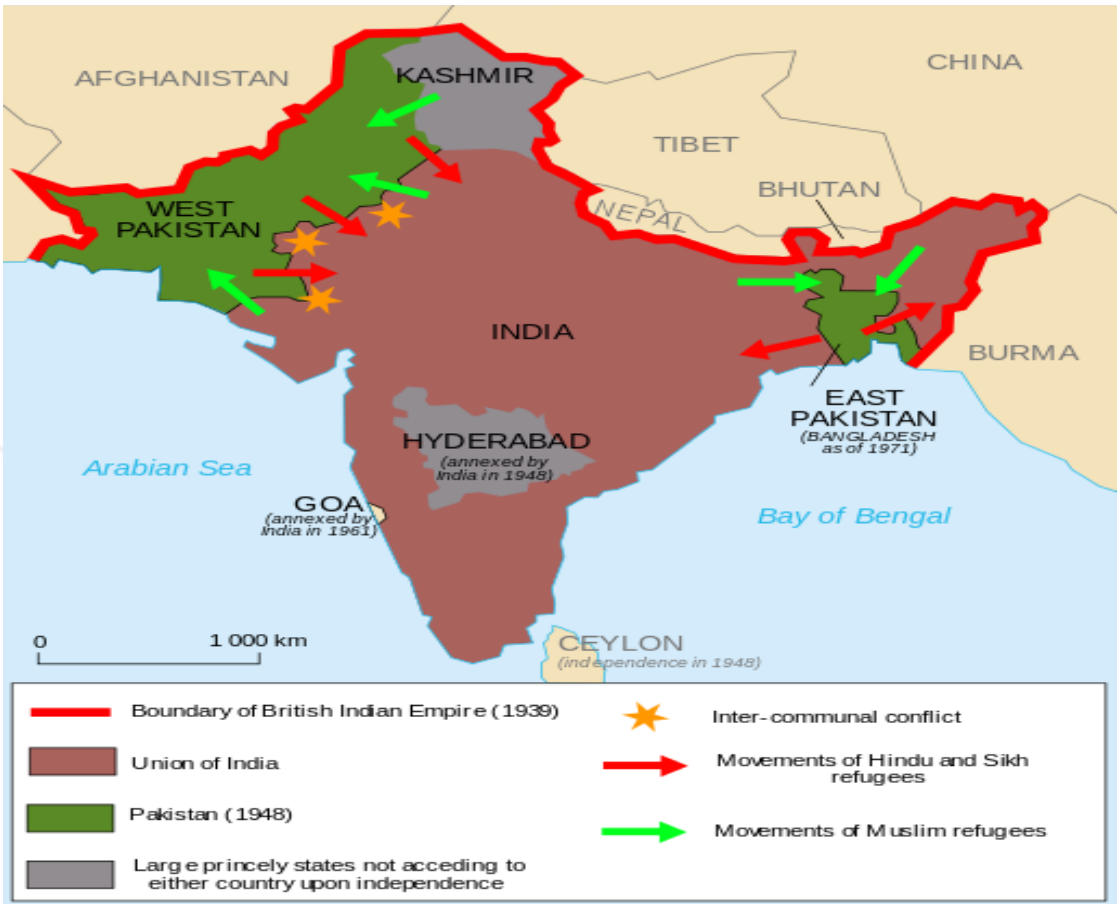

Figure .8. Map showing the Migration of People after Partition.

Source: https://www.worldometers.info

The map depicts the post-partition frontiers of India and Pakistan, as well as the migration of Hindus and Sikhs from Pakistan to India and the flow of Muslims from India to Pakistan. It also shows the places where the inter-communal conflicts took place.

On August 15, 1947, India and Pakistan gained their independence as two separate states. However, the day of independence caused uprisings and serious humanitarian problems in both countries. In the events that lasted until 1948, approximately two million people were killed and ten million became refugees.[220] Both states were born in political and economic difficulties. In both countries, the priority process had been nation-building. This was to solve the existing problems within the countries of the independent states and

[220] Peter Robb, *A history of India*, p. 211.

to establish the concept of patriotism. For Pakistan, the unifying ideology was religious. However, Jinnah, who stated that Pakistan was not a theocratic state, tried to unite people by Islam with a democratic legal system by imposing a universal sense of value within this framework. Similarly, to Nehru, Jinnah envisioned Pakistani patriotism as a country that would not be subjected to religious pressure for its citizens, to live freely, to respect human rights, and to unite elements that demanded secession, and autonomy.[221] It should be noted, however, that since the historicity of this patriotism was not in question, the only unifying element was religion. For India, this process was much easier to consider the mature discourse of historical accumulation. At the outset, Nehru expressed his views on the division of India on a religious basis and set out to create a secular, human rights-respectful, democratic state.[222]

On July 19th, 1947, the plan was also adopted in Britain; the only thing that convinced the opposition about the sovereignty in India was that these countries would join the commonwealth. Since July, there had been a complete separation under the supervision of monitoring commissions established in India. Regarding succession, 17.5 percent was determined; accordingly, debts, assets and goods were subject to share in line with this ratio. A commission was established under the presidency of Judge Sir Cyril Radcliffe for the determination of borders. However, due to the disagreement of the commissioners, the initiative was left to Radcliff, and the resulting limits did not satisfy either side.[223]

Finally, it is worth mentioning an important question about the separation of India and Pakistan: Was division the choice and imposition of England? The general view of the Congress Party was that the British administration created artificial differences in order to prevent the formation of any power in India within the framework of divide and rule policy by supporting different communities, feudal forces in the country.[224] Therefore, according to some authors, in order not to leave a strong state behind when the

[221] Bipan Chandra, *India after independence: 1947-2000*, UK: Penguin, 2000, p. 176.
[222] Tinker Hugh, *India and Pakistan: A Political Analysis*, New York: Praeger, 1965, p. 43.
[223] Ibid., p. 52.
[224] Paul R. Brass, *The Politics of India since Independence*, p. 102.

British sovereignty was to be transferred, Pakistan easily accepted the demand and divided India.

Britain has used its divide and rule policy effectively in India; this was the best way in India to create a balance between princes, between different religious communities, among Congress and the Muslim League, and to prevent over-strengthening of one side. The divide and rule policy had deepened and even deepened the fragmentation in India, and it can be said that Pakistan was an outcome of this policy. In contrast to the uncompromising attitude and opposition of both communities, it had not been possible to integrate India in its entirety. Although Britain implemented the divide and rule policy after World War II, its expectations from its former colony, when fully-fledged, was that it would be located within the commonwealth, which was the most important means of maintaining its effectiveness either as a whole or with Pakistan.[225]

4.5. Kashmir's Accession to India

After the June 3rd Plan was announced, the problem of Kashmir became increasingly complex. Prince Hari Singh of Kashmir did not respond to Lord Mountbatten's offer and acted in the hope of preserving his independence. But Muslim Conference did not like the idea of Hari Singh and believed that Kashmir has every right to be a part of Pakistan, geographically and culturally as well. For Hari Singh, Union with Pakistan was unacceptable, so he insisted more on independence. In Kashmir since 1946, inter-community conflicts had been ongoing, and these actions have had increasingly reached the dimension of an internal war.[226] The prince did not act according to the partition principles, where he had to hold the referendum and choose either India or Pakistan based on the votes of Kashmiri people. The plebiscite never happened, and the prince acceded to India without the consent of Kashmiri people. This accession is still considered illegal and the international organizations like United Nations still call for the Kashmiris right to self-determination. The below map shows the disputed are of Kashmir region.

[225] Bipan Chandra, *India after independence: 1947-2000,* p. 293.
[226] Tinker Hugh, *India and Pakistan: A Political Analysis,* p. 105.

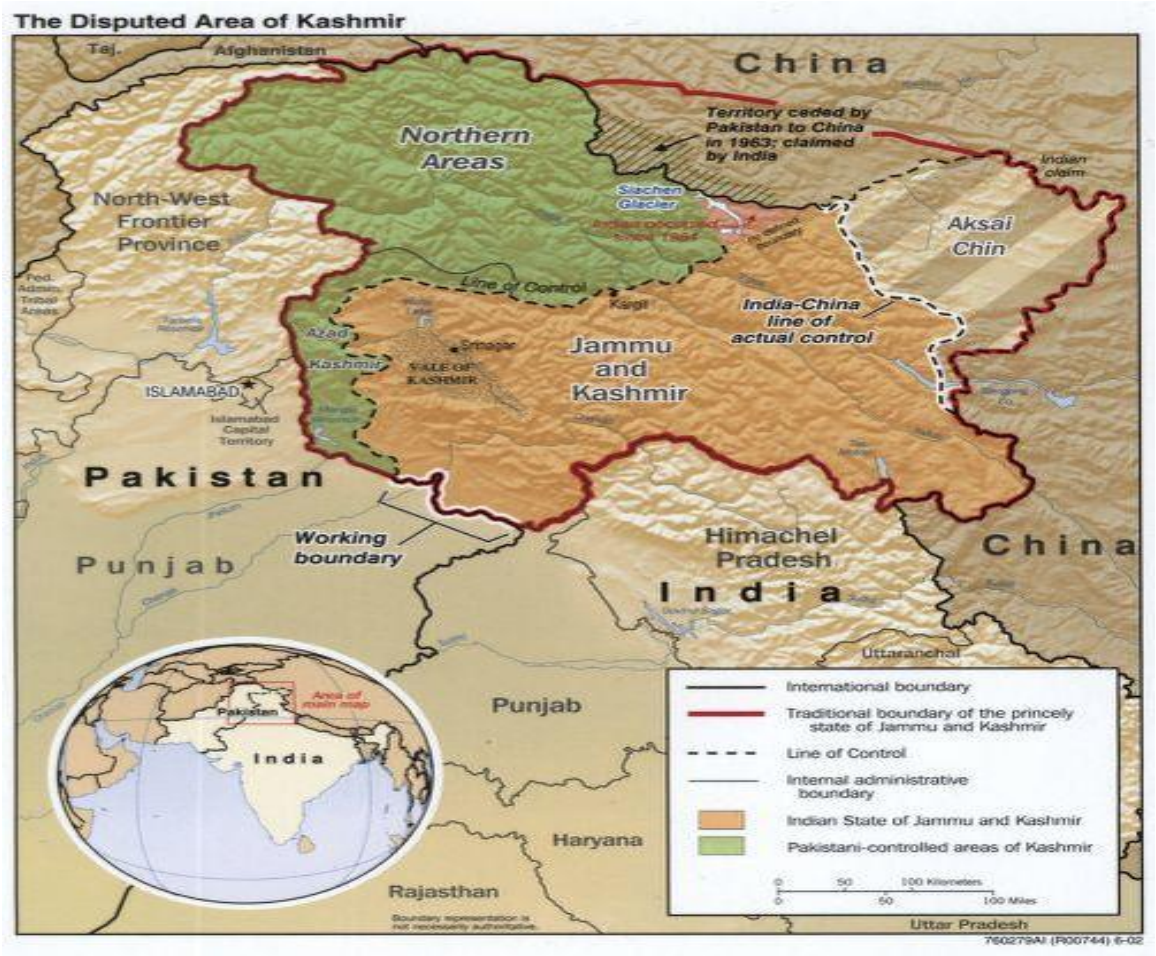

Figure. 9. Map of the Disputed Territory of Kashmir.

Source: https://www.worldometers.info

On 24th October 1947, the Government of Azad (free) Jammu and Kashmir was established under the presidency of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, covering the area of Gilgit and Baltistan under the influence of the Pashto tribes who came from the North-western Frontier Province and were involved in the conflicts in Kashmir.[227] The prince of Kashmir, on the other hand, requested help from India to prevent this new formation and the actions of the Pashto tribes. Accepting the conditions of signing the Treaty of accession put forward by India, the prince of Kashmir established the accession of

[227] Bipan Chandra, *India after independence: 1947-2000,* p. 271.

Kashmir to India on 26th October 1947.[228] With prince's acceptance of the Treaty of Accession, the Indian army entered Kashmir on 27th October.[229] Jinnah then demanded that the Pakistani army commander General Douglas Gracey be sent to the region, but at that time the commanding positions of the Indian and Pakistani army had not yet been separated and both armies were commanded by the British. When General Gracey said he could not make the offer, considering that the soldiers sent from India to Kashmir were under British protection, Jinnah had to withdraw his request. Therefore, the battle in Kashmir was fought between the irregular forces and the Indian Army. As a result, the first armed war between Pakistan and India began in 1948 over the Kashmir dispute.[230]

The reason for the escalation of the Kashmir problem between Pakistan and India to lead to armed conflict can be sought in the effect of the partition of the two countries. With the establishment of Pakistan, India had made a great compromise on the model of United India. In this regard, the position of Kashmir for India was the same as that of Pakistan, thinking of it as a part separated from the main body. Therefore, Kashmir's strategic importance as a route to the north of India into Asia, as well as different spiritual importance related to the prestige of the country. For Pakistan, the importance of Kashmir is more conclusive: the Indus River basin that feeds West Pakistan derives from Kashmir; in addition to its geographical structure, Kashmir is considered as a part of Pakistan's geographical region. In addition, the turbulences of the succession of Junagarh and Hyderabad to India continued in Pakistan. It was improbable that Kashmir, whose majority of the population was Muslim, would join India.[231]

For Pakistan, the unlawfulness of India's action in Kashmir were evident and disturbing, especially considering that it would be very likely to join Pakistan in case of a plebiscite.[232]Although both Nehru and Lord Mountbatten, the Governor-General of India,

[228] Paul R. Brass, *The Politics of India since Independence*, p. 131.
[229] Tinker Hugh, *India and Pakistan: A Political Analysis*, p. 202.
[230] Anand Mohan, "The historical roots of the Kashmir conflict", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol.15, No. 4, 1992, pp. 283-308.
[231] Ibid., p. 290.
[232] Aabid M. Sheikh, *Hürriyet Partisinin Keşmir Siyasal Hareketindeki Rolü: Hindistan ve Pakistan Arasındaki Bir Anlaşmazlık Bölgesi*, Unpublished Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, 2016, pp. 110-121.

had assured that a plebiscite would be held in Kashmir when the fighting stopped after the accession treaty was signed, these statements were perceived by Pakistan as efforts to bring about the annexation of Kashmir. Until today no plebiscite or referendum has taken place in Kashmir and neither has been the Indian army withdrawn from Kashmir territory even though both these things were promised to Kashmiri people during the time of signing of the Treaty of Accession.[233]

The issue of Kashmir gained an international character on 1st January 1948, when India applied to the United Nations for the first time, based on the article 35 of the United Nations Charter. India accused Pakistan of threatening peace in Kashmir through Pashto tribes. The UN put the issue on the agenda, and at a session on January 6th, Pakistan laid accusations against India. Pakistan asserted that India's actions in Kashmir and Junagarh were unlawful and intended for mass massacre. In fact, India's aim in applying to the UN was to demonstrate Pakistan's aggression in the international arena, and in doing so, to ensure that the UN confirmed that Kashmir was a part of India. Because Pakistan refused to sign the Accession Treaty, it promoted the notion that the Indian Army's presence in Kashmir was for the purpose of mass slaughter of Kashmirs.[234]

On January 20th, 1948, the UN Security Council formed the UN Commission for India and Pakistan. On 21st April 1948, the UN Commission, which had called for a ceasefire on both sides, decided to hold a free and general plebiscite in Kashmir, unlike the one intended in India's UN application.[235] The Commission adopted two resolutions, which would form the basis for further sessions and discussions. The resolution of 13th August 1948 stipulated that, after the parties had been invited to the convention, a ceasefire agreement would be made and a plebiscite would be conducted under the consultation of the Commission,[236] which was adopted by the parties. A military observer group (UNMOGIP) was also asked to be assigned to the area. On January 1st, 1949, under

[233] Ibid., pp. 121-130.
[234] Anand Mohan, "*The historical roots of the Kashmir conflict"*, p., 301.
[235] Tinker Hugh, *India and Pakistan: A Political Analysis,* p., 232.
[236] Anand Mohan, "*The historical roots of the Kashmir conflict"*, p., 302.

the agreement of the parties, a ceasefire took place, and the Karachi Treaty established the ceasefire line between India and Pakistan on July 27, 1949.[237] This line of ceasefire maintains its existence with minor change even today. Furthermore, in its decision of 5th January 1949, the Commission laid down the necessity and principles of a free and general plebiscite for the accession of Kashmir to India or Pakistan.[238]

The Kashmir issue is still unresolved despite the many commissions, observers and plebiscite administrators that were appointed by the UN. The real issue is shaped around whether the plebiscite will be held or not. Although both sides accepted the plebiscite decision, but neither of them called for the plebiscite nor did they withdraw its troops from Kashmir. Moreover, under the influence of the cold war bloc policies and the alliances created, it was impossible to decide on Kashmir due to the veto mechanism of the Security Council. With the general division of Kashmir on 1st January 1949, no progress has been made. The unresolved problem and the intense spirituality have always kept both sides ready for a new war in Kashmir. In fact, the parties have met four times in the battlefield over Kashmir.[239]

Apart from the Kashmir problem, another issue that caused extended discussions during the first years of independence between India and Pakistan is the waters of the Indus River Basin. Indus River enters Western Pakistan from the Indian-controlled part of Kashmir and is the main source of the world's largest irrigation system in Punjab. After gaining its independence, India, which controls the waters of the Indus Basin, has decided to use this resource for the purpose of regional development. For Pakistan, however, this is a vital issue because the basic production of those living in West Pakistan is agricultural and is provided from the Indus Basin. To this end, Pakistan has offered India a treaty on the regime of waters. India cut off the waters of the Indus basin for three months in 1948,

[237] Gautam Navlakha, "Kashmir: Elusive Solution", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, No. 46, 2004, pp. 4961-4964.
[238] Ibid., p. 4962.
[239] Khalid Iqbal, "Kashmir in the Centre Stage", *Defence Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 4, 2015, p. 60.

which led to production in Pakistan with low efficiency, brought economic problems and presented the urgency of the issue.[240]

Even if Pakistan had proposed to go to the International Court of Justice to resolve this matter, India was not willing to resolve it. The problem of the Indus Basin ended in 1954 after a series of negotiations with World Bank President Eugene Black, who functioned as a mediator.[241] With this agreement, which regulates the use of the Indus basin rivers and which India has agreed to provide certain amounts of water flow to Pakistan, Pakistan's concerns have somewhat been resolved. However, since India has a water control system in the Indus basin, it would not be fair to say that Pakistan's concerns on this issue have disappeared.

Irrigation systems have been the most essential element of the geography where rainfall irregularities have caused significant shortages. Therefore, although it is seen as possible and solvable between the two countries, this problem, along with other problems, is a factor that increases insecurity. The unresolved problem of the Kashmir conflict, the problems arising from the Indus River basin, and the discussions on refugees and minorities have increased the discontent between Pakistan and India since the day they were established. Since both sides perceive threats from each other, a security problem has emerged, and different political orientations have been developed in order to solve this security problem.[242]

[240] Paul R. Brass, *The Politics of India since Independence,* p. 200.
[241] Sumit Ganguly, *Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions since 1947,* New York: Columbia University Press, 2001, p .62.
[242] Ibid., p. 67.

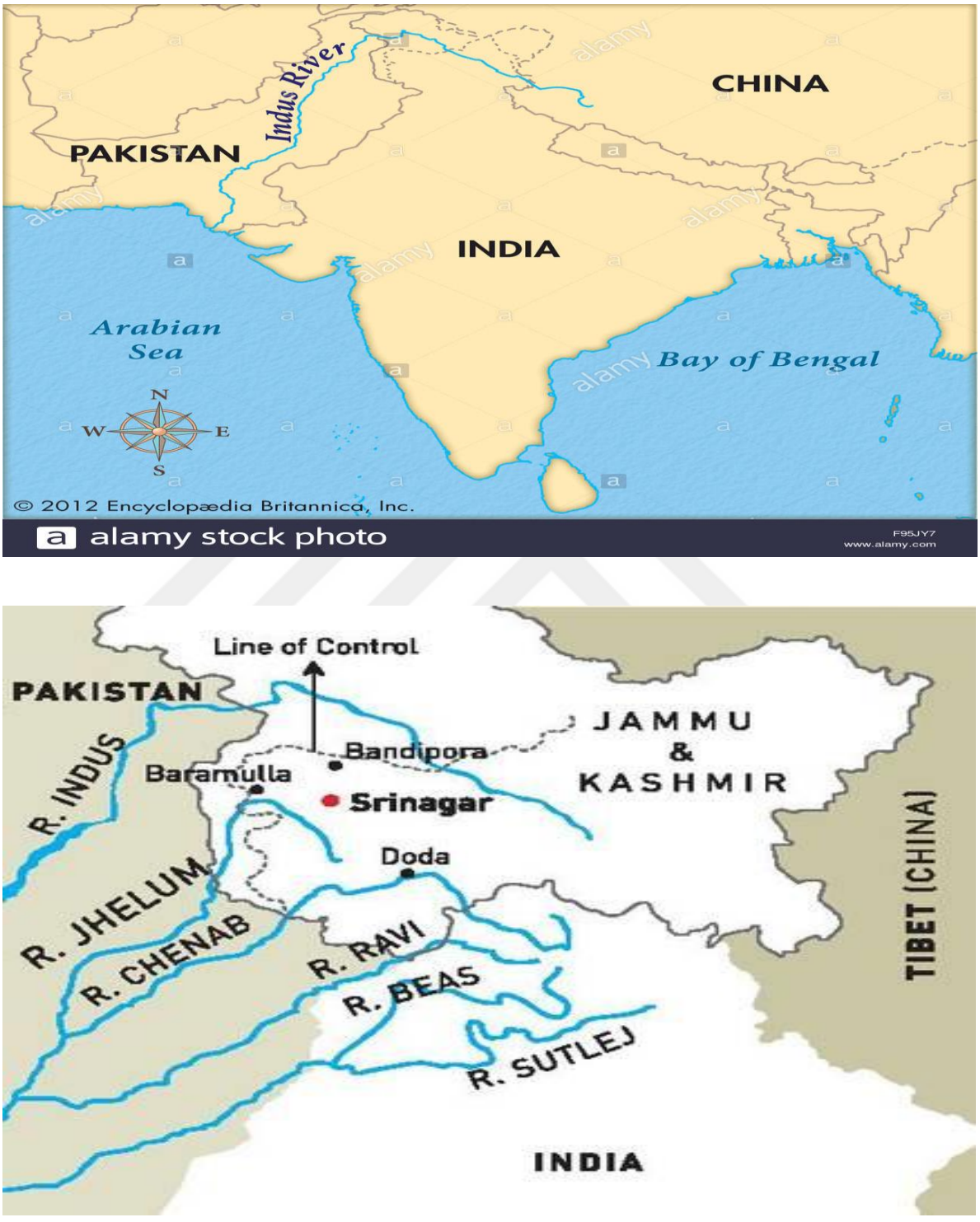

Figure.10. Maps of Indus River Water.

Source: https://www.worldometers.info

4.6. Conclusion

The British Colonialial history in India and the inappropriate partition proposal left a huge stain on the security and the stability of both these countries. Britain entered the subcontinent with the narrative of civilizing them, but they are believed to have left with leaving both nations in absolute poverty. It is reported that Britain took the assets worth 43 trillion dollars from the subcontinent and then west categorized India and Pakistan later as third world countries. The creation of Commonwealth Commission is believed to be another way of keeping Britain's formal colonies. India, Pakistan, and Kashmir are still suffering from the legacy left by the Britain in the form of poverty and unfinished agenda like Kashmir and Muslim issue by dividing the nations randomly.

Understanding the foreign policies of nation states, particularly those arising out of decolonization, requires a solid historical background.Their foreign policy structure depends a lot on their historical backgrounds. Since the creation of these two states, they never witnessed peace. Wars after wars, the dispute between them increased and the escalation could be mostly seen in Kashmir. In the pre-cold war era, their foreign policies were mostly same, but post-cold war witnessed a shift, because of the changing world order. Now their foreign policies are shaped according to the shifts in the international political order. United States has been trying to ally with both, by claiming to play the role of mediator in Kashmir conflict. China, which is arguably trying to become the world hegemon, is trying to become the closest ally with Pakistan, while being a rival to India. Therefore, the Indian and Pakistani Foreign policy is not only about each other in the present time but depends on the actions and interests of their allies. Although, the foreign policies of India and Pakistan mean to be contextual, but their interests have moved beyond Kashmir now, because of their friends in the world. And Pakistan and India being the nuclear powers, makes them the important states too in terms of security. In order to understand the Indian and Pakistani relations in detail, there is a need to analyse the foreign policy of Indian and Pakistan during the pre-and post-cold war period and that is what the next chapter explains.

Chapter 5

Foreign Policy of India and Pakistan during and after Cold War

5.1. Introduction

In general, the operating principles of the foreign policy decision making mechanism in Pakistan and India, as in many other countries, are based on the protection and promotion of countries' own national interests. In this context, it is important for India and Pakistan to analyse all the data presented by India and Pakistan's past and current relations with each other during the foreign policy making stages. Thanks to inferences obtained from data, future oriented political activities can be exhibited in India and Pakistan within the options appropriate to the needs in the field of foreign policy. Furthermore, as in many other countries, foreign policy in India and Pakistan has some bases like political, economic, and social bases. For India and Pakistan, the success of foreign policy depends on preserving and enriching India and Pakistan's national interests, power and status while duly harming the national interests, power, and status of each other. For example, India is a country that has adopted the principle of avoiding conflicts in terms of its political and social existence. It is observed that when India fails to manage this, it tries to minimize the possible damage.

The functioning of foreign policy decision-making mechanisms has gotten more complex than in the past for a variety of reasons. The fact that many moral issues such as human rights, democracy, and disarmament have come to the fore which has made these issues an important political element of foreign policy at the decision-making stage. The attention paid to some economic and environmental factors, which are not very political, have also influenced the decision-making mechanism in foreign policy in some places. The increasing effectiveness of some non-governmental organizations in the field of foreign policy, which are not the primary actors in international arena, are among some factors that complicate the functioning of decision-making mechanisms of foreign policy.

This chapter will elucidate the pre- and post-Cold War foreign policy period of India and Pakistan. A detailed analysis of changes and developments in the foreign policy of

India and Pakistan during Cold War is also elaborated. Furthermore, this chapter will clarify the primary issue between India and Pakistan, namely Kashmir, and explain why Kashmir is a source of contention between the two countries. Furthermore, the impact of internal politics on India's and Pakistan's foreign policies throughout the post-Cold War period will be examined in this chapter. The chapter will also look into pre- and post-Cold War encounters between the two countries, as well as analyse insights on nuclear weapons.

5.2. Kashmir the cause of disagreement between India and Pakistan

After August 1947, the main issue for both the states was to be free from the negative effects of independence and focus on subsequent developments. The new world order of Cold War did not yet represent a compelling element for India and Pakistan. Both states had tried to solve their problems through bilateral relations or before the United Nations. However, by the 1950s, the new international system would be effective on the subcontinent, and both states would have to evaluate their problems within the framework of bloc policies and articulate themselves to the Cold War.

After India and Pakistan gained their independence, they experienced a difficult separation and this separation led to many problems between the two states which could not be solved until now. In fact, both countries had to pursue a peaceful policy in order to ensure internal order and economic development. However, the main problems between them caused them to use a radical, intimidating style in their relations with each other, even though they took a peaceful political stance against other countries.

The issue is mostly felt in Kashmir, where the India-Pakistan conflict is still ongoing, and which has led to four wars between the two states.[243] The Kashmir problem embodies the basic elements of the division and is related to the princely governed state's problem. When Lord Mountbatten announced his plan on 3rd June, the princely governed states were not offered the choice to remain independent states. Therefore, the viceroy met

[243] Vatsala Shukla, *India's Foreign Policy in the New Millennium*, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, 2005, p. 72.

with the princes and tried to persuade them to join India or Pakistan, considering the ethnic structure, geographical position, and the desire of the people. Thus over five hundred princely governed states made a choice between India and Pakistan, signing the accession treaty before 15th August 1947.Only three princely governed states, viz., Junagarh, Hyderabad and Kashmir did not sign this treaty.[244] Junagarh's situation was different from the other two princely governed states; although it was a coastal area, it was surrounded by Indian Territory and had no boundaries with Pakistan, so there was no way to connect to Pakistan geographically. Despite this, Junagarh Nawab III, Muhammad Mehabet Khan announced that he was joining Pakistan on August 15, 1947. Hyderabad was located in the Deccan region of India, and after the June 3rd declaration, Nizam Osman Ali Khan announced that it would become an independent country from 15th August. Khan requested dominion status from Lord Mountbatten in the form awarded to India and Pakistan.

By November, the Nizam had still not given up on the idea but had agreed to a deal with India to maintain the current situation.[245]Although India demanded a referendum to be valid for the decisions taken in these two princely governed states whose rulers were Muslim, but the majority of the people were Hindu, this request was not accepted. After a referendum by force of India, which confiscated the rule of both princely governed states by military operation, these princely governed states joined India. Pakistan, which was forced to accept India's action and participation, had stated in the United Nations on several occasions that the conditions of accession have not been fully met.

The participation of Hyderabad and Junagarh in India has been quite distressing for Pakistan. In the immediate aftermath of a controversial secession, India's insistence on protecting its territorial integrity by using force and ensuring a geographical independence has worried Pakistan, whose borders were not recognized by some parts of India. Furthermore, the rejection of Junagarh's decision to join Pakistan due to its Hindu

[244] Vatsala Shukla, *India's Foreign Policy in the New Millennium*, p. 82.
[245] Sumit Ganguly, *Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions since 1947*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2001, p. 62.

population had raised more concern for Kashmir to join Pakistan. For Pakistan, geographic proximity and the majority of its population being Muslim, made Kashmir, an area of war that Pakistan could not afford lose.[246] The Kashmir problem had been a subject of competition for both countries with the effect of the events in Hyderabad and Junagarh and the problem regarding the future of Kashmir had reached to different dimensions and had become an international problem that has been going on until today.

The British sovereignty in Kashmir was established according to the Treaty of Amritsar in 1846, and the British left the administration of Kashmir to Gulab Singh and his family in return for a certain amount of tax each year. Thus, Kashmir having a population of about 80 percent Muslims was ruled by a Hindu King. The administration of the Hindu conquests caused discontent among the people and led to riots from time to time. By the 20th century, there were similar developments in Kashmir as well as in India, and pro-freedom activism had gradually increased. In this context, the first large-scale revolt took place in 1927. The first massacre that India is blamed for conducting in Kashmir was on July 13, 1931. Some scholars call it is a beginning of resistance movement in Kashmir. Moreover, this event also contains a context of beginning of Islamophobia in Kashmir. The Dogra rulers stopped a Friday prayer, where the Imam was giving the religious sermon on Pharaoh and Moses.

The demand that the Muslim majority tried to put forward with these revolts was to take part in administrative duties and government. Sheikh Abdullah, who became the leader of the people with the rebellions and was awarded the title of 'Lion of Kashmir', founded the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference in 1932. Then in 1934, the first elections were held in Kashmir. Abdullah was later influenced by Nehru's ideas and established the National Conference with a secular line, opposing feudalism. The National Conference differed from the Muslim Conference in terms of its ideological basis. It referred Kashmiri nationalism as a reflection of Indian nationalism. However, it is not possible to say that the new formation was remarkably successful in Kashmir. It did not diminish the power of Islamic influence, so it could not prevent the Muslim Conference

[246] Sumit Ganguly, *Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions since 1947*, p. 63.

from increasing its influence. The National Conference in 1946 raised the Slogan of 'Quit Kashmir 'in the same way the slogans were raised by the Indians against the actions of British rule in India in 1942, and this led to the arrest of many National Conference leaders. Furthermore, the National Conference was met with antipathy among the Hindus because the movement targeted the king, who was a Hindu by religion. Thus, with the victory of the 1947 elections, the Muslim Conference became the sole representative of the Kashmiri Muslims.[247] As a result, it is particularly crucial to grasp the Kashmir Issue in order to comprehend India's and Pakistan's foreign policies, because both India and Pakistan shape their foreign policies in response to the Kashmir issue.

5. 3. Changes and Developments of India and Pakistan's Foreign Policy during Cold War

For reasons resulting from the issues brought by the period of independence, India and Pakistan have pursued distinct paths. In fact, both had the same primary problem: ensuring the political and economic development of their new state and thus establishing their legitimacy. Their actions were therefore intended to create an external space where this goal could be achieved. India, an independent state under Nehru's leadership, had implemented the policy put forward by the Congress party's rhetoric for nearly two decades. This policy can be summarized as secular, respectful of human rights, establishing a democratic state and ensuring planned economic development within the country.

The external reflection of domestic policy is to be a peaceful, independent, and effective as an international actor. Nehru stated that, 'Today, our great concern and desire is to build India and solve the problems that we face, we are residing in the heart of Asia, and we need to cooperate with other countries in the United Nations. Whether we like it or not, we are aware that we cannot exist in isolation'.[248]

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[247] Surapati Pramanik, Tapan K. Roy, "Neutrosophic game theoretic approach to Indo-Pak conflict over Jammu-Kashmir", *Neutrosophic Sets and Systems*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2014, pp. 82-101.
[248] Rajpal Budania, *India's national security dilemma: the Pakistan factor and India's policy response*, New Delhi: Indus Publishing, 2001, p. 47.

The Congress Party put forward its foreign policy in the 1920s and the main article of this policy was anti-imperialism. The main objective was to develop mutual cooperation with the free nations and, in particular, to develop peaceful relations with neighbouring states, excluding political and economic imperialism. This foreign policy, however, set forth as a mandatory goal to be an effective international actor, not an isolated one. Because of its anti-imperialist identity, it pursued a politics close to the Soviet Union, while Britain was heavily criticized for its imperialist attitude. Likewise, since the Congress Party refused to take part in an imperialist war, a new civil disobedience campaign was launched with the announcement of India's participation in the World War II.

The Asian Relations Conference, held in New Delhi in March 1947, was the initial active area of India's peaceful, cooperative foreign policy.[249] The aim of the conference was primarily to ensure solidarity in Asia. Although issues such as defence and security didn't show up on the agenda of the conference and the foundation did not become a continuous organization, Nehru's statement was that India could achieve this and that is why the conference was convened. The conference was an important experience of India's approach to peace building through international cooperation. With this conference, India has made considerable progress towards its goal of being active in Asia.[250]

Nehru refers to India's position in Asia in many of his speeches and statements that its importance cannot be ignored. Nehru also stated that India's activity should be interpreted in the logic of cooperation; the aim is not to become a leader in Asia, but to take the initiative when necessary. Nehru's basic approach to the foreign policy of sovereign India was non-alignment. The tenets of this policy were laid out in the 1954 treaty with China regarding Tibet, which is also known as the *Panchsheel* treaty.[251] This approach then turned into an international movement with the Bandung Conference of

[249] Rajpal Budania, *India's national security dilemma: the Pakistan factor and India's policy response*, p. 76.
[250] Ibid., p. 80.
[251] Surapati Pramanik, Tapan K. Roy, "Neutrosophic game theoretic approach to Indo-Pak conflict over Jammu-Kashmir", p. 90.

1955. In Nehru's words, India's unbound foreign policy aims to remain free and independent of all blocs and to co-operate with all countries.[252] The non- alignment policy does not offer an isolated system in which relations with the blocs are not established. So much so that India had entered into economic relations with both the US and the Soviet Union in order to ensure its economic development. This situation cannot be interpreted as compromising or abandoning the non-alignment policy. The main factor that matters is the form of the relationships that are established; in this connection, establishing relationships for military purposes or joining alliances contradicts the non-alignment policy.[253] An essential element of Indian foreign policy has been to build friendly neighbourhood relations. This goal, however, would not be easy to attain. As a vast country, India has had to prioritize the protection of its territorial integrity and the development of defence systems to counter external threats. It is clear that this necessity has historical reasons as well as the insecure relationship with Pakistan that has developed after the separation.

For India, by establishing peace and goodwill-based relations with neighbouring states, the issue of territorial integrity can also be solved on its own. The problematic element of India's foreign policy has been its relations with Pakistan. When these two countries gained independence as two separate states, they posed a threat to each other in parallel. For India, the threat is Pakistan itself. There is a lack of confidence in Pakistan as it was established by dividing India. In addition, border disputes, the problem of princely governed states, immigration and confusion have increased the discontent. However, the Kashmir problem embodied all these discontents, and the 1948 war reproduced mistrust over aggression and threat to territorial integrity. Although India refers to its relations with Pakistan as good peaceful neighbourly relations, the two countries were not able to establish long term friendly relations.[254]

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[252] Sankar Ghose, *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography*, New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1993, p. 29.
[253] Vatsala Shukla, *India's Foreign Policy in the New Millennium*, p. 91.
[254] Raj B. Nayar, Paul T. Varkey, *India in the world order: searching for major-power status*, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 36-42.

The most negative consequence of unscrupulous relations between Pakistan and India was the violence against minorities in both countries. However, in India, the oppression against religious minorities like Muslims and Sikhs, is extreme compared to Pakistan. Even if governments were making efforts to protect minorities, they could not prevent the minorities from the atrocities. On 29th August 1947, the Lahore conference on minorities was held, and although both states intended to provide constitutional protection, the tension between them intensified inter-communal conflicts in areas where minorities were present.[255]

It is not possible to talk about a permanent or sustainable foreign policy for Pakistan. When Pakistan was founded within the framework of Jinnah's two-nation theory, it did not have the political approach that the Congress Party began to form in the 1920s. Mostly, it maintained and benefited from its links with the Islamic countries of the Middle East. Pakistan, on the other hand, attempted to strengthen connections with Western countries following its independence, although it was not as successful as India.[256]

With Pakistan gaining independence, its major problems also started to appear. One of the exclusions that could be created in the international arena was the establishment of a religious ideology. In order to avoid this rejection, Jinnah had to state on various occasions that Pakistan was a Democratic state, not just theocratic in nature. While the Islamic ideology created fear of disengagement from the Western world, it also had a unifying characteristic in the face of the economic and political challenges of national unity and the new nation-building process. Jinnah used Islam as a glue to be rising demands for separation and autonomy among states and tribes in Pakistan: He stated that 'We are not from Bengal, Sindhi, or Punjab, we are Muslims. No matter what we are, we are Muslims. We belong to a single nation'.[257]

Pakistan consisted of two parts, more than a thousand miles apart, and the only thing culturally connecting these two parts was religion. But for the Pashto tribes in the North-

[255] Sumit Ganguly, *Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions since 1947*, p. 104.
[256] Rajpal Budania, *India's national security dilemma: the Pakistan factor and India's policy response*, p. 82.
[257] ibid., p. 88.

western Frontier Province, even the tie-up of this had to be discussed. Pakistan faced the threat of disintegration as soon as it was established. While under British rule, the majority were Muslims, but under the leadership of the Congress Party, the North-western Frontier Province had taken an anti-separation stance. Abdul Gaffer Khan, the ruler of the region, did not participate in the referendum on joining Pakistan, stating that its region had the right to remain independent or autonomous if a division was to take place. Khan's idea was ideal for the creation of *Pashtonistan*, the land of PashtoTribes .[258]

The British did not accept this request and as a result of the referendum, the state joined Pakistan. Prior to Pakistan's application to become a member of the UN, in September 1947, Afghanistan declared that Pakistan did not recognize its right to control the North-Western Border Province, exacerbating the problem internationally and increasing Pakistan's concerns about border security and fragmentation.[259] Pakistan, despite its lack of resources, had the priority of creating an army like India. In Kashmir, Pakistan waged war with India forces through irregular forces, the effort to keep a two-part state together with unfriendly neighbours became an expensive requirement for Pakistan to build a well-equipped army.[260] The central element of Pakistan's perception of military weakness or security problems is its relations with India. Pakistan sees India as a threat to itself. Pakistan believes that India is a power that ruled the sub-continent economically and politically. Some circles in India have declared that Pakistan will soon lose its existence and join India as a separate state, increasing Pakistan's insecurity from India.[261] India has its own insecurities too.

India sees Pakistan's interference in Kashmir as a means to disunite India. Also, this perception has gained its concrete foundations for Pakistanis with claims that Kashmir cannot join India. In fact, it is difficult to say that India has the idea of eliminating Pakistan within the scope of its policy of developing peaceful relations. However, The Hindu

[258] Stephen P. Cohen, *The idea of Pakistan*, Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2004, p.82.
[259] Sumit Ganguly, *Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions since 1947*, p. 116.
[260] Ibid., p. 118.
[261] Ahmad T. Karim, "Pakistan: Stalking Armageddon", *Contemporary South Asia*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2001, p. 136.

Mahasaba party, especially the conservative Hindus, did not accept the existence of Pakistan as a separate state. In this respect, their explanations were not very peaceful.[262] In their view, India is one and unbreakable and the separated areas will not have peace without joining and becoming part of the Indian Union again. The perception of threats between Pakistan and India against each other gradually increased during the Cold War period. The fact that both sides pursued different paths within the Cold War's bloc policies further fuelled the distrust among each other.[263]

Pakistan aims to preserve and confirm the territorial integrity by means of diplomatic means. It is protected by the United Nations Treaty because it is a member of the UN. It has used the UN as a platform for discussion to solve its problems and can be said to have succeeded in this. When India applied to the UN on 1st January 1948, its aim was to condemn Pakistan's activities in Kashmir and to confirm that Kashmir was an integral part of India. But this goal had not been achieved by India. The UN Security Council did not approve this participation in its resolution and instructed for the plebiscite process in Kashmir. Thus, even if Pakistan did not win a victory over Kashmir, it was able to prevent Kashmir from becoming a part of India internationally. Another organisation in which Pakistan sought international support was the Commonwealth.[264]

Commonwealth membership, which is presented as a front-runner for independence, has not bothered Pakistan unlike India. Pakistan's expectation from the Commonwealth was that it would mediate and take an active role in solving the problems between Pakistan and India. But members of the Commonwealth have refused to take sides on this issue and take it on their agenda. Pakistan has attached importance to its relations with Muslim countries in order to strengthen its position as an international actor. It has gained the support of Middle Eastern countries in particular. In 1949, the first Islamic International Economic Conference was held in Karachi, which ensured the continuity of this relationship, which later turned into a World Muslim Conference.

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[262] Ahmad T. Karim, "Pakistan: Stalking Armageddon", p. 140.
[263] Stephen P. Cohen, *The idea of Pakistan*, p.142.
[264] Scott D. Sagan, "The Perils of Proliferation in South Asia," *Asian Survey,* Vol. 21, No. 6, 2001, p. 1077.

Pakistan's foreign policy is in fact not vastly different from the one that is adopted by India, because of their mutual insecurities. Jinnah also emphasized on peace and good relations with states while describing Pakistan's foreign policy. However, the chaos in domestic affairs and the inability to maintain continuity in Pakistan have also shown its effects internationally. Jinnah was killed in 1948 and Liaquat Ali Khan was killed in 1951. After an abbreviated period of administration, martial law was applied in 1953, and the governments established thereafter were not long-term.[265] In this case, the foreign policy of Pakistan did not gain continuity and showed characteristics that are more reactive and was shaped by the effect of internal developments. The main problem of Pakistan in foreign policy is the security crisis. Since it could not provide economic development, it was impossible for it to establish the military structure that would put the security crisis over.

The differences between Pakistan and India manifested itself at this point, and Pakistan tried to find answers to the security problem within the bloc policies and military alliances of the Cold War, as opposed to India's non-alignment policy. In this respect, Pakistan accepted J.F Dulles' offer under the containment policy of the United States and signed a technical and economic assistance agreement with the United States on December 27th, 1953.[266] Later Pakistan also signed the Baghdad Pact and SEATO and took the form of military alliances. In this way, Pakistan formed military alliances with the Western Bloc, while India followed the policy of non-alignment, the Cold War was brought into the sub-continent in diverse ways, and both the countries re-determined their foreign policies according to this new situation.

5.4. Impact of Internal politics on the foreign policy of India and Pakistan

With the conclusion of the Cold War, new influences emerged in India during the 1980s, which clearly revealed themselves. Democracy, secularism, state-driven economy, and socialist ideals expressed by Nehru in India took on new forms in the world of the

[265] Scott D. Sagan, "The Perils of Proliferation in South Asia," p. 1078.
[266] Muhammad K. Akbar, *Pakistan from Jinnah to Sharif*, New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1997, pp. 34-40.

90s. India also had to compromise on its non-Alignment as a foreign policy within the post-Cold War structure. In unipolar world, the third world has lost its political effectiveness, an Economic forum, and a majority in the United Nations General Assembly, both because it is very diverse in itself and because of the lack of another hegemonic power centre that ensures its existence and freedom to make policy.[267] India's conflicted relations with Pakistan remain unchanged within its security perceptions. Despite the Cold War purging itself from the bloc's policies, the mutual distrust with Pakistan from the day they gained independence continues through a new and more problematic discourse.[268] The political transformation in India has led it to interpret Pakistan's problems more essentially, in terms of its identity. Thus, there was a growing network of problems with the experience of the past.

The political transformation in India originally began with Indira Gandhi's second government in 1980. Nehru started by breaking away from politics and gradually renouncing democracy. Gandhi's centralization mission, the Afghanistan war, the Sikh movement, the Tamil problem, and the Kashmir problem had increased disgruntled masses within the country.[269] However, the institutions in which these groups can express their problems have been ineffective. The economic and ideological crisis has led India to change its current understanding within the new world order. The economic transformation had been accomplished by articulating the world capitalist system with liberalizations, deregulations, and privatization policies. Its economic transformation was followed by populist compulsions and communist discourses.

In 1984, when Rajiv Gandhi became Prime Minister of India, the state-led economic approach began to undergo a cautious transformation.[270] This transformation was gradual until 1991, and the economic orientation of the Congress party led to differences in the

[267] Sumit Ganguly, *Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions since 1947*, p. 134.
[268] Raj B. Nayar, Paul T. Varkey, *India in the world order: searching for major-power status*, p. 81.
[269] James Chiriyankandath, "Realigning India: Indian foreign policy after the cold war", *The Round Table*, Vol. 93, No. 374, 2004, pp. 199-211.
[270] Vatsala Shukla, *India's Foreign Policy in the New Millennium*, p. 152.

class union in which it was in the alliance.[271] In fact, this slow-moving process is a period of time in which actors and opponents of the post-1990 order were evident. Neo-liberal transformation gained momentum in 1991. During the period of gradual development, the growth rate of 3.5 percent, referred to as the "Hindu growth rate" in India, rose to 5.6 percent, creating a period of prosperity. However, the Gulf War prompted a quick rise in oil prices, and poor export performance resulted in a large balance of payments imbalance. In 1991, a loan from the International Monetary Fund was used to try to cover the current account deficit, and a quick transformation was necessary in accordance with IMF standards. Under Narasimha Rao, the government had to rapidly transform the economic structure. Also, the rupee had to be devalued. This meant that India's deficit in the balance of payments became permanent.[272]

There was little room for governments to integrate with the international economic system and implement structural transformation policies. However, this new economic order also undercut the social balances in India: in 1989-90 and 1992-1993, the poverty rate increased from 34 percent to 41 percent, corresponding to about 355 million people. In parallel with the increase in the poverty rate, the rapid increase in prices reduced the quality of life of a considerable proportion of the population.[273]

Neo-liberal policies separated the urban middle class from the peasants and those living in poor states. The Congress Party's weakening in the face of the economic problems and the shifting of the electoral mass to the *Bharatiya Janata Party* (BJP), which stands out with nationalist rhetoric, carried the political life in India to a sensitive point. The difficulties caused by centralization and the economic crisis since the 1980s led to communitarian rhetoric, which manifested itself in the 1993 elections. The Hindu nationalist discourse included in the party manifesto by the BJP's opposition provoked its

[271] Abhijit Mazumdar, "US national interests and framing India in the US press during and after Cold War", The *Journal of International Communication*, Vol. 26, No. 1, 2020, 92-108.
[272] Ibid., 92-108
[273] Paul S. Kapur, "India and Pakistan's unstable peace: Why nuclear South Asia is not like cold war Europe", *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 2, 2005, pp. 127-152.

success with a significant vote rate by mobilizing the poor masses, which took BJP to power in 1998 as well.[274]

The first conflict was produced by the dissolution of the *Babri* Mosque on 6th December 1992, in Ayodhya, and new threat perceptions in India were structured by *Rashtriya Swayam sevak Sangh* (RSS), *Vishwa Hindu Parishad* (VHP) and *Bajrang Dal*[275], these organisations were of the view that the place where the *Babri* Mosque in *Ayodhya* was actually the birthplace of the Hindu god Ram. BJP did not participate directly, but it was obvious that all the communal riots that took place in various places throughout India where somewhat motivated by ideology of the BJP. The *Babri* Mosque incident increased the religious conflicts that led to the deaths of many Hindus and Muslims in 1992 and 1993, and the conflict strengthened religious nationalism and the perception of enemies based on religion; as a result, violent social fragmentation emerged. Muslims were murdered openly on streets, their houses, places of work and places of worship were burned by the Hindu mobs and their women were raped as well.[276]

Hindu nationalism, introduced by the *Hindutva*, or BJP, has been a crucial element of this transformation. This is not only a kind of Hinduism; it is a thought that has cultural, social, and political implications. In addition to Hinduism, a social unanimity idea is embodied in it. A union that removes class status and distinctions related to castes reveals a perception of homogeneity, and of course the political response of this social-cultural Union is reflected as protecting the Union of India against internal or external enemies.

The Congress party also contributed significantly to the spread of this approach: although it did not use this language directly, it supported this discourse, and limited penalties were imposed on Hindu nationalists in the events of 1992 and 1993.[277] Congress Party avoided using a secular language. The difficulties that congregational organizations in India such as RSS faced due to the strong secular structure are untenable. The political

[274] Paul S. Kapur, "India and Pakistan's unstable peace: Why nuclear South Asia is not like cold war Europe", p. 132.
[275] The above mentioned groups are right wing Hindu nationalist groups.
[276] Shashi Tharoor, *Pax Indica: India and the world of 21st Century*, p. 189
[277] Stephen P. Cohen, *India: emerging power*, p. 178.

situation in India, based on a religious discourse, combined with the developments in Kashmir and the problem with Pakistan, reinforced the perception of the threat of disintegration in the country, which is alleged to be caused by minorities, especially Muslims. Therefore, the Kashmir problem, the Pakistani conflict and the half of the armaments carried out with or within this country, the perception of the Muslims in India as the agents of their neighbours especially Pakistan and Bangladesh, whom they cannot trust, and the hostility that has developed, are actually the branches of the same tree.[278]

Nuclear Tests and the constant high tension in Kashmir are the result of using these issues by creating a nationalist discourse in domestic politics or excluding political failures.[279] This transformation in India has made it difficult to establish a close and conciliatory dialogue that has survived the shadow of military alliances with Pakistan after the Cold War. The new situation does not offer much choice in both countries, except to fuel violence against each other.

5.5. India's Post-Cold War Foreign Policy

The international system after the Cold War did not make it possible to conduct the foreign policy approach that India had developed since its independence. The new system did not divide the world by the threat of two hegemonic powers, but rather the world was saved from the encampment. Micro-nationalism, radical religious movements and terrorist groups were incorporated into the system with their international influence. Therefore, a more uncontrolled and violent order was emerging. In addition, the economy, democracy, and Human Rights, which had previously been approached as secondary elements, became important topics of international relations. All these new elements can easily be found in South Asia. The problem between India and Pakistan, despite the Cold War balances and the global peace rhetoric of the post-Cold War, harboured the conflict. Moreover, the Kashmir issue, as it harbours so called radical movements and humanitarian issues, leaves the two countries with nuclear power against each other, thus posing the

[278] Hermann Kulke, Dietmar Rothermund, *A History of India*, New York: Routledge, 2004, p. 135.
[279] Vatsala Shukla, *India's Foreign Policy in the New Millennium*, p. 185.

possibility of a war that could have global implications.[280] Therefore, decision makers in India had to re-evaluate their current problems, the threat perception and security approaches generally originating from Pakistan, within the network of new factors and relationships.

Economic development, development of diplomatic relations, improvement of relations with regional countries and foreign countries, weakening existing threat perceptions and increasing military capacity to provide deterrence, modernization have been elements of India's foreign policy after the cold war in order to adapt to the new world order.[281] The first crisis, in which the foreign policies of India and Pakistan were forced to respond within the new world order, emerged with the invasion of Kuwait and Iraq. India was adapting to the new world order; however, this crisis was very new and was of particular importance to India due to its political and economic ties with Iraq. The Gulf was India's key energy source, and the consequences of the oil price surge were catastrophic for the economy it was prudently trying to transform. Indian workers who, worked in the Gulf region and were forced to return to their countries because of the war and their economic burden were a separate source of problems.[282] India was also a member of the Iraqi independence movement, and India was not comfortable supporting an operation against Iraq. India had taken an attitude that supports the United Nations resolutions during the Iraq crisis but had emphasized the necessity of implementing other sanctions rather than military intervention at every opportunity. The most important inference of this crisis was that it was difficult to conduct the non-alignment movement as an effective policy even for the countries that supported it. The crisis also meant the acceptance of the hegemonic power of the United States by India and ensured the realization of the India-US rapprochement.[283]

The United States-India rapprochement continued to increase, especially in the field of economy, but more importantly, the problems that the United States of America had

[280] Nitin Pai, *The Paradox of Proximity: India's Approach to Fragility in the Neighbourhood*, New York: University of New York, 2011, p. 106.
[281] Shashi Tharoor, *Pax Indica: India and the world of 21st Century*, p. 139
[282] Vatsala Shukla, *India's Foreign Policy in the New Millennium*, p. 198.
[283] Shashi Tharoor, *Pax Indica: India and the world of 21st Century*, p. 149

with Pakistan and the desire to pursue the South Asian policy through India instead of Pakistan both triumphed India against Pakistan and it gave an opportunity to India to be an active actor in the international arena. The United States-India rapprochement was enhanced by 2004's acceptance of the "other steps in Strategic Partnership" Programme in the press. In addition, Delhi hoped that it will be able to secure Washington support for permanent membership in the Security Council.[284]

Since the mid-1990s, India created the military industrial complex and has been developing medium and long-range *Agni* and *Prithvi*[285] missile programs. The missile programmes have made a significant contribution to India's defence approach. It has increased India's ability to defend itself from both land and sea. It also made the discourse of nuclear deterrence realistic. Military development enabled India to have a wider security perspective and helped to develop a global language rather than regional, with the inclusion of the economic dimension and relations with other states. It is difficult for India to talk about the existence of a realistic foreign threat in the post-Cold War order, so this perception of security is a result of the global outlook. There was no chance of a fresh border war with China; the only country that could be threatened was Pakistan. This thought was behind the rhetoric of national unity and territorial integrity within India, but this thought, and perception of threat can be said to be fictional when India's position in front of Pakistan is considered.[286]

The Gujral Doctrine was one of the policies that India pursued in foreign policy after the cold war in order to improve its relations with its neighbours. Inder Kumar Gujral undertook the post of Prime Minister of India from 21st April 1997 to 19th March 1998.The Gujral Doctrine is similar to the Indira Doctrine and involves developing political and economic relations with India's neighbours, thereby avoiding isolation within its region,

[284] Ibid., p. 160.
[285] *Agni* and *Prithvi* are ballistic missiles that follow a ballistic trajectory to deliver one or more warheads on a predetermined target.
[286] Amitabh Matoo, *India's Nuclear Deterrent: Pokhran II and Beyond*, New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 1999, p. 56.

and preventing foreign interventions as much as possible.[287] The Gujral approach avoided having hegemonic elements, thus creating a suitable basis for relations with the neighbouring states. Using the global language made it necessary to increase its regional effectiveness. SAARC was part of it and was to create free trade zones in South Asia that would improve economic relations. This approach also met in Pakistan during the second Nawaz Serif government and there was a general improvement in relations between the two countries. However, the nuclear tests in 1998 and the subsequent Kashmir crisis had shown that the problems of the region, especially Pakistan, cannot be solved only from a perspective based on economic and social developments.[288]

In addition to improving its relations with neighbouring countries, India has also made considerable progress in its relations with China, where the perception of threats had intensified during the Cold War. After the signing of the agreement between the two countries that envisages border trade, the development of diplomatic relations and the exchange of science and technology took place. Two more agreements were signed in 1993 and 1996 in the disputed area, including Line of Actual Control and confidence building measures so that the relations between the two countries will improve and the security problem could be overcome. [289] Both countries have experienced similar difficulties in adapting to the post-Cold War system.

Developing economic relations and harmonizing them with the existing system, developing regional relations, solving the problems encountered within the country by considering the humanitarian elements and creating a peaceful and stable external environment while realizing all these were the factors that came to the forefront in this transformation process of the two countries.[290] This partnership forced the elimination of the threat element in their relationship. After establishing good relations with China, India

[287] James Chiriyankandath, "Realigning India: Indian foreign policy after the cold war", The *Round Table*, Vol. 93, No. 374, 2004, pp.199-211.
[288] James Chiriyankandath, "Realigning India: Indian foreign policy after the cold war", The *Round Table*, Vol. 93, No. 374, 2004, p. 201.
[289] Amitabh Matoo, *India's Nuclear Deterrent: Pokhran II and Beyond*, p. 102.
[290] Harsh V. Pant, *Indian foreign policy: An overview*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017, p. 84.

gained a stronger position on Kashmir. China had moved away from Pakistan's approach to Kashmir and had reached the point where the issue can be resolved by establishing a dialogue between the two countries.[291]

India's rapprochement with the United States, its acceptance of its hegemonic influence, and its exposure to violence from so called radical groups had led it to improve its relations with Israel. Although India saw Israel as a part of the United States hegemony and became a party to the Palestinian problem, it did not develop its diplomatic relations with this country even though it recognized Israel in 1950. The press of the 1990s created a suitable ground for the development of relations with Israel. In addition to the Gulf crisis and its economic and political impact Israel's eager stance on regional peace and the Arab Israeli rapprochement at the Madrid talks in 1991 supported this positive mood.[292]

In addition, the rise of Hindu nationalism in India has had an impact preventing Muslim minority's concerns over Israel. The point that united India and Israel was the so called radical religious movements and these movements were supported by countries such as Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. The two countries are transferring information on their wars against so called terrorism, and they are also conducting joint training and operational works. In addition, Israel became an important military technology centre for India after the fall of the Soviet Union.[293] They cooperated in arms trade, education, and modernization. The development of cooperation between India and Israel leads to the development of relations between India and the USA and to strengthen the US-based South Asian policy.[294] Apart from China, India had taken great care to develop its relations with Iran and the Central Asian states. While the energy policies and the relationships established in the economic framework remove obstacles to India's economic growth, they increase its regional effectiveness and strengthen its global demands.[295]

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[291] Ibid., pp. 90-98.
[292] Harsh V. Pant, *Indian foreign policy: An overview*, p. 98.
[293] James Chiriyankandath, "Realigning India: Indian foreign policy after the cold war", p. 208.
[294] Raja C. Mohan, "Foreign Policy after 1990: Transformation through Incremental Adaptation", David M. Malone, Srinath Raghavan (eds.), The Oxford Hand Book of Foreign Policy, UK: Oxford University Press, 2015, Pp. 131- 140.
[295] Shashi Tharoor, *Pax Indica: India and the world of 21st Century*, p. 137.

In contrast to India's increasing regional efficiency after the Cold War, Pakistan has been the biggest obstacle to the effort to create a safe and stable environment. Their inability to create a suitable ground for solving their problems with Pakistan, the nuclear tests conducted in response, the constant state of conflict in Kashmir, the crisis of mutual trust and threat perception of the two countries are the biggest obstacles to India's peaceful and stable South Asia.

The end of the Cold War signalled the beginning that India has blended the transformation it has experienced in itself with the security concerns and threat perception that have changed in its policy towards Pakistan and reproduced the problem with its neighbour at a higher stage. When Pakistan's defence spending is examined and compared with India, it is seen that Pakistan cannot engage in a conventional war against India. A nuclear war would mean destroying itself. As a result, Pakistan's struggle with India remains a "low-intensity conflict". The ideological framework produced by the Indian government during the 1990s was not capable of solving this problem. The Kashmir issue and the transformation of security concerns were formed within the context of the US's "war on terror" policy after September 11.[296] It is noteworthy that India blames Pakistan for almost everything but in reality, India cannot blame anyone other than itself.

5.6. Pakistan's Post-Cold War Foreign Policy

It is unlikely to say that Pakistan was able to integrate into the post-Cold War international system like India. Although its democracy has had difficulty in the face of the challenge of Hindu nationalism, India's democratic tradition as an old country seems to be easier to adapt and reach a social consensus. Pakistan had perhaps one of its longest democratic experiences after the Cold War (1985-1999). However, this experience has not been remarkably successful with the experience of Zia ul Haq. In addition, economic problems, refugees who settled in Pakistan after the Afghanistan war, *madrasahs* in the North-western Frontier Province, so called terrorist organizations created by this

[296] Surupa Gupta, Shibashis Chatterjee, *Indian foreign policy and coexistence: continuity and change in the post-Cold War era*, New York: Routledge, 2014, pp. 116-140.

confusion and vacuum of administration and the so-called *jihad* that these terrorist organizations carried out against India.[297] Moreover, many other things reveal the weaknesses of Pakistani governments, even if they came through an election process. This weakness made the political areas other than nuclear armament and Kashmir subject to change at any time with internal reactions. Therefore, the source of political legitimacy remained as an emphasis on religious elements after the Cold War and victories against foreign policy in India. Thus, India maintains its other confederation both because of religious differences and as a rival trying to destroy Pakistan at every opportunity.

After the overthrow of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto by Zia ul Haq in 1977, Pakistan was governed by martial law until the first elections took place in 1985.[298] For Zia ul Haq, this period was a period of re-structuring of Pakistan, both institutionally and ideologically. Although Islamic discourses were widespread in the country during the Bhutto period, Zia ul Haq purged this discourse from its socialist elements and made it pure and dense. This transformation also established a framework for post-Zia administrations in Pakistan. The governments in Pakistan, whether they were more Western (Benazir Bhutto, Pervez Musharraf) or more fundamentalist (Nawaz Serif), had not given up on the rhetoric of Islamisation and the instrument of legitimacy it creates.[299]

After Zia, the politics of Pakistan was determined by two parties and two individuals. Benazir Bhutto emerged as the daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, while Nawaz Serif emerged as an element of the Zia's regime.[300] Pakistani politics had a tripartite structure developed by the Zia regime: the head of state, the government, and the army. These three separate power centres were interrelated, but they also have had their own freedom of movement. Thus, the military's political influence, as well as the government's

[297] Stephen P. Cohen, *The idea of Pakistan*, p.164.
[298] Stephen P. Cohen, *The idea of Pakistan*, p.172.
[299] Kanishkan Sathasivam, *Uneasy neighbors: India, Pakistan and US foreign policy*, London: Routledge, 2017.p.56.
[300] Stephen P. Cohen, *The idea of Pakistan*, p.180.

actions, sometimes exists in a form that hangs over the government, as in Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) activities.[301]

In the post-Zia period, the mandate of the governments that came to the press with elections was short and they failed to implement radical reforms that could bring Pakistan out of its economic and political crisis. Bhutto's government served from 1988-1990 and 1993-1996, and in the interim periods up to the military decommissioning in 1999, Serif formed the government. When Benazir Bhutto was brought to power by Pakistan People's Party, she was addressing Pakistanis like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto used to. However, her administration, which continued until 1990, has been described as "a political failure".[302]

Although Bhutto had intended to achieve a post-Zia liberation within the country and a modernization towards the West, she had not embarked on compelling transformations in order not to lose her popular support. Despite using her father's populist rhetoric, she had reduced the influence of the state and increased the share of the private sector in the economic sphere; however, Pakistan had failed to hang on to the recession despite its liberal economic program and heavy loans from the IMF and World Bank. The failure of Pakistan People's Party resulted in the success of Serif's Muslim League and the Islamic Democratic Alliance, formed by *Jamaat-e-Islami*, in the 1990 elections.[303]

In fact, the Serif administration did not offer a different recipe for Pakistan in the economic field, and it was only the discourse that separated the Pakistan Peoples' Party and the Muslim League. Economic liberalization, privatization, deregulation, and the withdrawal of the state from economic activities continued. The differences in economic data between Serif and Bhutto governments were due to purely external factors such as IMF loans or foreign investment ratio. The innovation that serif brought was the awakening of the Zia regime again. The Sharia law, which was not implemented in the post-Zia period, had been re-implemented and the regulations on this issue had been

[301] Naseem Ahmed, "Military and the foreign policy of Pakistan", South *Asian Survey*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 2010, pp. 313-330.
[302] Naseem Ahmed, "Military and the foreign policy of Pakistan", p. 325.
[303] Stephen P. Cohen, *The idea of Pakistan*, p.191.

increased.[304] The revival of Serif's policy of re-Islamisation was the result of an effort to increase his popularity and create a new field of activity in Pakistan's foreign policy. But as he himself pointed out; it should not have been perceived as "theocracy." Serif, who refers to Islam as a "belief in progress and prosperity", stated that this was different from fundamentalism.[305]

When the Serif government left office in 1993, the situation was not much different from 1990; regional separatist movements were continuing their actions within the country, and the re-Islamisation project could not prevent it. The "Kalashnikov culture" created by illegal trade and terrorist organizations was continuing its influence.[306] Furthermore, the effects of the sharia law were strongly criticised by some sections of society. The Sharia law did not help but hide the chaos that Pakistan was in. Indeed, the coalition formed by Islamic parties failed in the 1993 elections. Pakistan Peoples' Party had been restored to power. It is worth noting that this transformation did not mean much for Pakistan.

The second Bhutto era or the second Serif government were not politically different from the first.[307] They had failed to respond to economic unravelling and political upheaval. For this reason, they created a political fiction based on the concepts of national pride and holy war, which brought the Kashmir issue or the issue of nuclear armament to rhetoric or opposition discourses. This is reflected in the strengthening of traditional forms of relationship, tribal structures, and madrasahs other than party politics and modern political institutions, and corruption and nepotism have been institutionalized.

In a military coup on October 12, 1999, Pervez Musharraf assumed control of Pakistan's government.[308] This situation was not considered new or different for Pakistan; the discourse remained the same. Problems related to Pakistan were expressed as economic failure, actions against national unity and lack of management to control them.

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[304] Ibid., p. 205.
[305] Ian Talbot, "Does the Army shape Pakistan's Foreign Policy", Christophe Jaffrelot (ed.), *Pakistan: nationalism without a nation*, London: Zed Books, 2002, pp. 311-325.
[306] Naseem Ahmed, "Military and the foreign policy of Pakistan", p. 326.
[307] Stephen P. Cohen, *The idea of Pakistan*, p.201.
[308] Ibid., p. 205.

In addition, Pervez Musharraf described his action as a different path to democracy, not martial law. The inability of civil administrations to meet the needs in Pakistan had weakened their legitimacy. The military regime led to new expectations in the public. In fact, the unease caused by the Sharif administration Islamist streak and its continued stance on foreign policy had led liberal circles to discreetly support the coup. The methods used by Musharraf to ensure his legitimacy were similar to its military or civilian predecessors.

Musharraf blamed the Sharif government for the failure of Pakistan in Kashmir and especially the conflict in Kargil, thus being a military leader he tried to open up ways to prosecute a former prime minister.[309] It was also necessary to explain the necessity of the Pakistani army to bring the issue of Kashmir to the agenda, because the army was responsible for the perception of the enemy who wanted to divide and destroy Pakistan, and the source of this perception of threat was found in India. Thus, the aim of the army to take over the government was the security and survival of Pakistan.

The Musharraf administration tried to appeal and address people as much as possible in order to prevent any sort of possible opposition. For this reason, while banning some of the fundamentalist religious organizations operating in Kashmir, this administration was careful to maintain good relations with the religious preachers (*ulema*) and did not stop short of describing Pakistan as a moderate Islamic State. In this way, he tried to prevent the reaction from parties such as the *Jamaat-e-Islami.*[310] It's worth noting that India-Pakistan relations improved dramatically during Pervez Musharraf's presidency. Under Musharraf's leadership, Pakistan attempted to strengthen relations with India, but it was not easy at all for him to change the never-ending rivalry between the two countries into friendship that too in a noticeably abbreviated time.

The Musharraf regime gained its main strength by acting with the United States after the September 11 attacks. Thus, its international legitimacy was fully established, and its

[309] Ian Talbot, "Does the Army shape Pakistan's Foreign Policy", p. 311-335.
[310] Hasan Askari-Rizvi, "Pakistan: Ideology and foreign policy", *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 1983, pp. 48-59.

management gained power to solve the problems in the country. The visit of United States Secretary of State, Powell to Pakistan in October 2001 is an indication of this change.[311] In his press release, Powell expressed the support of the United States and the international community to Pakistan and explained that the restrictions stemming from the 1998 trials had been lifted, the debt between the two countries had been restructured, and that the United States would help Pakistan benefit from International Monetary Fund loans.[312]After the Cold War, it is not possible to say that the period until September 11 was very different for Pakistan than in the 1980s. The discourse based on religion, the threat of India and the sanctity of the Kashmir issue had not changed. What is different is that international support from Pakistan's alliance politics had been lost during the Cold War. As Pakistan joined the new international system economically, it developed a discourse in the political field that was more reclusive and fuelled by the perception of the enemy through violence.[313]

The demise of the cold war meant a rapid transformation of political environment in Pakistan, and Pakistan was not ready for this change yet. With the death of Zia ul Haq in 1988, the system began to undergo a rapid transformation. While the policy of Islamisation remained valid, the implementation of this policy had to be softened; in addition, Pakistan had serious economic problems that had grown in the shadow of the war in Afghanistan, and the need for reconstruction was at stake. As Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan, the world began to discuss the effects of the end of the Cold War. However, the war was not yet over in Pakistan due to the Afghanistan issue. It is assumed that Pakistan not only provided logistical support to the jihadist movement in Afghanistan, but groups based in Afghanistan were organized and directed by the Pakistan intelligence service (ISI).[314]

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[311] Umbreen Javaid, Qamar Fatima, "US Foreign Policy Parameters towards Pakistan and India (2001-2008)." *Journal of Political Studies,* Vol. 19, No. 2, 2012, pp. 22-30

[312] Umbreen Javaid, Qamar Fatima, "US Foreign Policy Parameters towards Pakistan and India (2001-2008), p. 27.

[313] Bidanda M. Chengappa, *Pakistan, Islamisation, army and foreign policy*, New Delhi: APH Publishing, 2004, p. 39.

[314] Naseem Ahmed, "Military and the foreign policy of Pakistan", pp. 313-330.

Pakistan had taken part in the ongoing struggle between various groups within Afghanistan. Pakistan needed to be sure that the administration in Afghanistan would not follow a strategy that continued through the idea of "*Pashtonistan*" during the Cold War, and that left it facing the threat of disintegration.[315] In this direction, it had established its own power in Afghanistan by supporting diverse groups at different times. As a result, during 1996, Taliban forces comprising of refugees from the *Deobandi Jamaat*, *Ulema* and Islamic school in *madrasahs* in Pakistan seized control of Afghanistan and were immediately recognized by Pakistan as the legitimate administration of Afghanistan.[316]Another reason the jihadist movement in Afghanistan was supported by Pakistan was the belief that these groups could give Pakistan the upper hand in its ongoing struggle with India over Kashmir. The fact that Pakistan has made fundamentalist groups a part of its policy by calling them "freedom fighters" has led to an increasingly dominant position within the country in politics fuelled by religious discourse. Pakistan's decision to make fundamentalist groups a part of its policy was based on the "clash of civilizations" theory and the "green threat" discourse, which emerged after the Cold War ended, leaving the country in a precarious situation.[317]

The end of the alliance relationship between Pakistan and the United States in 1990 and US's cutting aid to Pakistan due to its nuclear activities also showed that the importance of Pakistan based on its geopolitical position had also decreased to some extent.[318] When the US presence was established directly within the region with the war in Iraq, Pakistan was excluded from US-based policies. However, it was still included in the US-led international force in the Iraq crisis. Like India, Pakistan was severely affected economically by the Gulf War. With the increase in oil prices and the stalled transfer of

[315] Ibid., p. 320.
[316] Nasreen Akhtar, "Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the Taliban", *International Journal on World Peace*, Vol. 25, No. 4, 2008, pp. 49-73.
[317] Hasan Askari-Rizvi, "Pakistan: Ideology and foreign policy", pp. 48-59.
[318] Susan B. Epstein, Alan K. Kronstadt, *Pakistan: US foreign assistance*, Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2011, p. 64.

money to the country by Gulf Workers, an important item in the balance of payments, caused a significant current account deficit.

Along with the economic problems, discussions on how Pakistan's foreign policy would be in the new era continued. The uncertainty in Pakistan disappeared with the establishment of the Nawaz Sharif government.[319] Regardless of the new world order, Pakistan was now a state that must seek a new international order paradigm that will protect the Muslim *Ummah* and the national interests of Pakistan. The idea of spreading Muslim *Ummah* and Islamic ideology was a new element of Pakistan's foreign policy. This approach first opened during the Gulf War. Pakistan was considered as a challenge to the system because it emphasized religious rhetoric in its foreign policy and its relations with the United States deteriorated. Their efforts to acquire nuclear weapons, in particular, have caused a worsening in their relations with the United States. Pakistan, on the other hand, felt compelled to continue with its current commitment. The subject of nuclear disarmament has been a derivative of Pakistan's relations with India. Thus Pakistan, giving up this project was like giving up the Kashmir case; since stopping nuclear work would mean giving up the fight against India, which could not be the case.[320]

Pakistan had tried to maintain its relations through its Muslim Brotherhood in order not to be completely isolated from the system and to open up new areas. For this purpose, it had communicated with the new Central Asian states that were established by the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Pakistan tried to conduct its relations with these countries through economic, strategic concerns and through the Economic Cooperation Organization. At the meeting held in Tehran in February 1992, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan became new members of the Economic Cooperation Organization.[321]

Pakistan' Muslim Brotherhood and *Ummah* understanding also played a successful role in its relations with these countries, especially in relation to Afghanistan's

[319] Amin M. Shahid, *Pakistan's foreign policy: a reappraisal*, Lahore: Oxford Pakistan Paperbacks, 2010, p. 43.
[320] Christine C. Fair, "The militant challenge in Pakistan" *Asia Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 2011, pp. 105-138.
[321] Charles H. Kennedy, Cynthia Botteron, *Pakistan 2005*, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 75.

neighbourhood, comments were made that the relations with these countries would help Pakistan to control the situation in Afghanistan and that it could keep India out of this region by increasing its effectiveness in Central Asia. This situation was not welcomed by India, which was trying to improve its economic relations with these countries in the region, and Russia, which was trying to maintain its effectiveness; there was concern that the rise of Islamic movements in Russia may increase the existing activities of Islamic radical organizations in Chechnya and Kashmir.[322]

China was the only country with whom Pakistan maintained Cold War-style relations. China, while helping Pakistan develop its nuclear technology, has sold medium-range M-11 missiles to this country.[323] It has enabled Pakistan to improve its military power and overcome the existing isolation. Although China's efforts to improve its relations with India during this time caused concern in Pakistan, Prime Minister Li Peng's visit to Islamabad in 1991 assured that he would "not give up Pakistan at the cost of developing China-India relations".[324]Although China tried to protect its relations with Pakistan, it can be said that it took an increasingly close position to India in its growing relations; China changed its policy towards India in relation to the need to resolve the Kashmir issue in accordance with United Nations resolutions, and supported India's arguments by explaining that the issue could be solved through bilateral negotiations.[325]

At Present, China and Pakistan are close allies in many ways. One of China's interests can be evaluated using the optic of balance of power. Both India and China are trying to become regional hegemons. Pakistan being a rival to India motivates China to become the former's friend to prevent India from becoming a hegemon in the region. Kashmir being the important agenda of Pakistan's foreign policy, China shows its support by keeping its foreign policy in Kashmir as Pro-Kashmir and anti-India. The other factors

[322] Christine C. Fair, "The militant challenge in Pakistan", pp. 105-138.
[323] Andrew Small, *The China Pakistan axis: Asia's new geopolitics*, New Delhi: Random House India, 2015, p. 55.
[324] Ghulam Ali, *China-Pakistan relations: A historical analysis*, UK: Oxford University Press, 2017, p. 44.
[325] Ibid., p. 58.

that keep China and Pakistan together are China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), the deep-sea ports, Geographical location, and nuclear power.

After the 1990s, the main problem of Pakistan's foreign policy was Afghanistan and Kashmir. Pakistan's difficulty in getting involved in the post-Cold War New Order and its attempt to achieve success in foreign policy using radical groups caused it to be further disengaged from the international system. The efforts to improve its relations with India in line with the Gujral approach and economic expansions have been fruitless due to domestic political turmoil, and the government's efforts to provide public support using the Kashmir issue. Pakistan was labelled a pariah state until it reintegrated into the system as part of the war on terror.[326]

5.7. Nuclear Arms and the War Confrontations

The insights of threats arising from each other regarding the territorial integrity of the two countries and the armed conflicts that took place between them as if proving these perceptions made it difficult for them to reconcile and solve the problems. There's a chance that the India-Pakistan rift will escalate which possess nuclear weapons, might turn into a nuclear war. Even worse than this is the arms and drugs trade, terrorism and human rights violation problems entering the region in the form of elements of the India-Pakistan conflict, not just as a risk but as a harsh reality. Therefore, as long as South Asia is the competition area of the two countries, their competitive situation will continue.[327] India and Pakistan continue to remain in conflict that begins with their fictional differences and their fictional borders are built upon it. The characteristics of the problems between them, the challenges of the international system, the processes of policy making, and the governments search for accountability have determined and produced the conflict between the two countries over and over again.

[326] Amelie Blom, "The multi-vocal sate: The Policy of Pakistan on Kashmir", Christophe Jaffrelot (ed.), *Pakistan: nationalism without a nation*, London: Zed Books, 2002, pp. 286-290.
[327] Ram P. Anand, *South Asia, in Search of a Regional Identity*, New Delhi: Banyan Publications, 1991, p. 39.

During the post-Cold War era, the conflicting relationship between the two countries remained unchanged. The two countries had changed their old alliances and political approaches and had tried to adapt themselves to the challenge of the new world order. In the new period, the problem was no longer just a Kashmir problem; it was rather the meaning attributed to existing conflicts. Like Kashmir, half of the nuclear armament had been an extension of this new situation between the two countries.[328] In an international system where the risk of nuclear warfare is unrealistic within the two countries, the development of nuclear weapons systems and making them a part of "national pride" has been the result of the enemy perception that they have developed for each other and filled with past experiences. This perception of the enemy has lost its international character due to the socio-economic and political forces of the new order and has re-emerged within the inter-communal Hindu-Muslim conflict. The new conflict was being conducted in different dimensions, including radical religious and nationalist groups, public and security forces within the countries, rather than being between armies.[329]

The nuclear tests carried out by India and Pakistan in May 1998 reintroduced South Asia on the international agenda. The action of the two countries generated concern at a time when the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and trade regulations connected to nuclear technologies were being updated and attempted to be activated. India was known to have a nuclear power after the peaceful nuclear test in 1974, and there was pressure on it to join the control mechanisms. Pakistan's reaction to the 1974 trial was to develop its own bomb.[330] One of the opportunities provided by the Afghanistan intervention to Pakistan was that it allowed nuclear technology to develop in its country without any attention.

The nuclear strategy in South Asia was not as thorough or sophisticated as the Cold War nuclear race between the Soviet Union and the United States, but it was significant in terms of India's and Pakistan's reputation. India was intended to be an important

[328] Sumit Ganguly, *Conflict unending: India-Pakistan tensions since 1947*, p. 250.
[329] Victoria Schofield, *Kashmir in conflict: India, Pakistan and the unending war*, London: I.B Tauris, 2010, p. 56.
[330] Sumit Ganguly, Paul Kapur. *India, Pakistan, and the Bomb: debating nuclear stability in South Asia*, Columbia University Press, 2010, p.73.

powerhouse, and therefore, the nuclear test had to be considered a political issue, separate from technological considerations. The tests carried out by Pakistan immediately after India's nuclear tests were intended to "demonstrate its equivalence with India and neutralize India's nuclear threat or intimidation".[331] When it was announced that India would conduct a nuclear test, it was deemed necessary in Pakistan to respond to the test "to protect sovereignty, territorial integrity and national interests." [332] The nuclear challenge between the two countries led South Asia's two nuclear powers to make progress towards reaching an agreement on weapons control. A compromise was reached at the Lahore Summit in February 1999, which included confidence building measures. The Lahore Treaty included mutually informing the parties on ballistic missile systems and nuclear ammunition and expressed the closest point of relations between the two countries. The Lahore process has been a crucial step in solving problems between India and Pakistan; however, the process ended before reaching any results with conflicts that started with a Line of Control violation in Kashmir in June.[333]

The reaction in the international community to India's successful nuclear test was quite different. Non-Aligned Movement member states supported this initiative of India. The United States of America, on the other hand, imposed an embargo on India's materials and technologies, which are the means of access to nuclear energy. Canada, which provided plutonium and reactor assistance for the advancement of the Indian nuclear program, immediately stopped supporting the Indian nuclear power after US imposed embargo on India. India's worldwide standing has clearly improved as a result of its nuclear weapons acquisition.[334]

Being a nuclear power, India has been evaluated in a different category in its relations with the great powers. The United States of America, while imposing some

[331] Praful Bidwai, AchinVanaik, *New nukes: India, Pakistan and global nuclear disarmament*, Oxford: Signal books, 2000, p. 46.
[332] Sumit Ganguly, Devin T. Hagerty, *Fearful symmetry: India-Pakistan crises in the shadow of nuclear weapons*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 34.
[333] Jyotindra N. Dixit, *India-Pakistan in war and peace*, London: Routledge, 2003, p. 333.
[334] Sumit Ganguly, Devin T. Hagerty, *Fearful symmetry: India-Pakistan crises in the shadow of nuclear weapons*, p. 50.

sanctions against India's first nuclear weapon test, also kept away from reactions that would put India into difficulties and negatively affect relations in order not to alienate India from itself, considering the conditions of the Cold War. Looking at the domestic policy of India, three different schools of indigenous thought were influential on nuclear armament in India at the end of the Cold War. The first group, the neoliberal school, aimed at the economic development of the country.[335] The group, which was influential in Indian politics in the early 1990s, was wary of an ambitious foreign and security policy that would endanger the country's economic recovery. The second group, the Nehruists, were in favour of nuclear weapons. They, like Nehru, thought that India's territorial integrity can only be ensured by having nuclear weapons. The third group, on the other hand, were strong advocates, who envisage not only testing nuclear weapons, but also the creation of modern nuclear arsenals and the development of air, land, and sea transportable technology.[336]

In the bureaucracy, India's successful nuclear explosion increased the influence of Indira Gandhi, who was in the prime minister's seat at that time. The Indian government had not conducted detailed research and development study on the economic cost of acquiring nuclear power. Indian diplomats were also insufficient to measure the reaction that may come from the international community. At the same time, India had been subjected to heavy embargoes in this process due to the lack of a tangible policy on possessing nuclear weapons. Although the Indian authorities used peaceful rhetoric in the nuclear weapons test, this fact has no counterpart in politics. At the same time, India suffered serious economic losses during the procurement of nuclear equipment from other countries.[337]

The geostrategic position of the Islamabad and the problems with a strong neighbour like Delhi had some effects on the domestic politics of both countries. In particular, the increasing influence of the armies in the domestic politics of these two countries,

[335] Praful Bidwai, AchinVanaik, *New nukes: India, Pakistan and global nuclear disarmament,* p. 50.
[336] Sumit Ganguly, Paul Kapur. *India, Pakistan, and the Bomb: debating nuclear stability in South Asia*, 80.
[337] Ibid., p. 85.

especially in Pakistan, is related to the country's continuing military struggle. Pakistan now has the world's seventh largest army in terms of conventional forces and nuclear weapons in terms of weapons of mass destruction. The influence and weight of the army in the country's politics paved the way for the country to experience continuous military coups. In the post-independence period, several attempts were made to transition to democracy in Pakistan.[338] However, the military coups that followed the elections rendered the politicians who came to power with the elections dysfunctional. As a nuclear power, Pakistan has more integrity in domestic politics than India. The military successes that it has or will gain as a rival to India and the acquisition of nuclear weapons are a common denominator for the society. Pakistan has managed to procure technical materials, device maps and sophisticated parts indirectly from France, England, USA, Netherlands, Germany, Italy, and Scandinavia countries for making nuclear weapons.[339]

China is the main supporter of the development of Pakistan's nuclear technology. China has sold special technology furnaces and high-tech diagnostic equipments to Pakistan's nuclear facilities. China Nuclear Energy Industry Corporation is the source of these equipments. At the same time, China was supplying Pakistan with magnets and drawings for the production of nuclear bombs.[340] The fact that China gave its high-strength furnaces to Pakistan facilitated the production of tritium required for the nuclear bomb. The United States, on the other hand, provided nuclear bomb triggering devices such as zirconium and krypton electronics. Germany and some Scandinavian countries supplied the source of electronic components, tritium purification and production facilities. During the Cold War years, China tried to modernize the Pakistani army in order to prevent possible dangers of India.[341] Therefore, China has sent significant ballistic missiles to Pakistan and has played an important role in helping Pakistan in the field or nuclear arms and ammunition.

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[338] Praful Bidwai, AchinVanaik, *New nukes: India, Pakistan and global nuclear disarmament,* p. 55.
[339] Sumit Ganguly, Paul Kapur. *India, Pakistan, and the Bomb: debating nuclear stability in South Asia,* 98.
[340] Praful Bidwai, AchinVanaik, *New nukes: India, Pakistan and global nuclear disarmament,* p. 79.
[341] Ibid., p. 85.

Following the end of the Cold War, the South Asian region, which was devoid of the constraints naturally provided by the superpowers, has been the scene of some conflicts like other parts of the world. In 1998, insecurity in the region reached its peak when India and Pakistan conducted underground nuclear tests.[342] Although the international community reacted to both countries diplomatically, India and Pakistan did not pay much attention to these reactions in order to be included in the nuclear club. With Pakistan obtaining nuclear weapons, India has tried to develop diplomatic dialogues with Pakistan behind closed doors in order to weaken Pakistan's nuclear power and keep it under control. In the case of a hypothetical confrontation with Pakistan, India wants to take some safeguards to prevent the use of nuclear weapons. Pakistan, on the other hand, did not find India's offer sincere because it knew India's overwhelming conventional power. With the acquisition of nuclear weapons by Pakistan and India, their dependence on foreign sources, for economic and political reasons, has increased paradoxically instead of decreasing.[343]

Pakistan uses United States' F-16s in its regular military operations, while deploying French-made Mirage-III and V multi-purpose aircraft for nuclear strikes.[344] On the other hand, India actively uses the French Mirage 2000, the Anglo-French Jaguar capable of carrying nuclear weapons or the new type of Russian SU-30 aircraft.[345] This is why Pakistan has increased its dependence on China and France after being exposed to the United States military embargo. Pakistan successfully conducted a ballistic missile test with a nuclear warhead in March 2015.[346] Pakistani officials, on the other hand, stated that the research and development will continue and the growth of missiles against targets more than 1720 miles away will be ensured. While these efforts strengthened Pakistan's deterrence towards India, they also led to India's reaction.

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[342] Jyotindra N. Dixit, *India-Pakistan in war and peace*, p. 351.
[343] Jyotindra N. Dixit, *India-Pakistan in war and peace*, p. 352.
[344] Praful Bidwai, AchinVanaik, *New nukes: India, Pakistan and global nuclear disarmament,* p. 87.
[345] Sonu Loganathan, *Soft Power as An Instrument in India s Foreign Policy With its Neighbors in South Asia*, Unpublished PhD. Thesis, Goa: Pondicherry University, 2016., p. 101.
[346] Ibid., p. 104.

India and Pakistan have paid a significant price in economic, political, military, and legal understanding to obtain nuclear power and to protect their national security through weapons of mass destruction. However, it is understood that the states that are active in terms of technological and nuclear power that sell their nuclear weapons technologies under the table to India and Pakistan within the framework of their own pragmatic policies or ignore the access of technical assistance. The existence of chronic problems between both countries and their transformation into low or high intensity military conflicts from time to time causes considerable damage to South Asian regional insecurity. Every country has extremely specific reasons for obtaining nuclear weapons. The fact that the basic nuclear doctrines of the two countries are different and it is not clear under what conditions they will use them gives the impression that the instability and armament in the region will continue in the future. On the other hand, failure of the international On the other hand, if the international community fails to find normative solutions to prevent nuclear weapons proliferation, nuclear armament may rise in the coming years in both the South Asian region and other parts of the world. This, in turn, may trigger a more widespread tendency to possess or use nuclear weapons in resolving conflicts between states.

The terrorist acts conducted by Al-Qaeda militants in the United States on September 11, 2001, created a new perception of the enemy and an international political approach. The tendency of the 1990s has undergoing a rapid change, as the hegemonic power of the United States was more prominent with liberalization and economic priority discourses. In fact, the signals of this transformation showed themselves at the end of the 1990s, and September 11 became a symbol of this transformation. South Asia had been the most affected by this transformation. The military interest of the United States in the region decreased after 1990, and this changed completely with a new Afghanistan intervention.[347]

[347] Amin M. Shahid, *Pakistan's foreign policy: a reappraisal*, p. 210.

After September 11, the United States tried to form a new international coalition.[348] In this context, Pakistan suddenly gained importance as a strategic partner, while the sanctions imposed on Pakistan and India since 1998 were lifted for India in August, it was stated that they should be lifted for Pakistan after September and that the country should be given economic support. In addition, the issue of Kashmir was brought up again within the framework of the "war on terror" approach and there was an environment that forced Pakistan and India to do something about it.[349]

In Pakistan, the Musharraf regime was not considered to have established its own authority fully, and for its legitimacy, it was trying to improve its relations with some sections of society and restrain the jihadi elements. The multicentre structure formed within Pakistan made it difficult for the administration to intervene directly with the Pakistan Intelligence Agency (ISI) and its supporting groups. For the internationally isolated Pakistani administration, September 11 created an extraordinary opportunity for the administration to strengthen inside and establish its international legitimacy. In Pakistan, where the Islamisation project had been going on for a long time, it was difficult to participate in an operation against Afghanistan and to fight against Islamist militants. Musharraf did not have any choice other than to support the United States. In this respect, Pakistan declared "*Lashkar-e Taiba*" and "*Jaish-e Mohammed*"[350] organizations as terrorist groups that were on the United States terror list and Musharraf also conducted operations against members of al-Qaeda within its own country. As a result, it made noteworthy progress in its relations with the United States.

In mid-2003, the United States wiped out one billion dollars of that country's debt and offered three billion and two hundred million aid packages. It is clear, however, that aid did not create a pro-US environment in Pakistan as in 1950. It was also debatable that how long Pakistan's attitude towards terrorism will continue in this way. If the coalition

[348] Guihong, Zhang, "US security policy towards South Asia after September 11 and its Implications for China: a Chinese perspective", *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 27, No. 2, 2003, pp. 145-171.
[349] Vasantha R. Raghavan, "The double-edged effect in South Asia", *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 4, 2004, pp. 147-155.
[350] Aisha Ismail, Shehla Amjad, "Determinants of terrorism in Pakistan: An empirical investigation", *Economic Modelling*, Vol. 3. No. 7, 2014, pp. 320-331.

of *Muttahida Majlis-e-Ama*, which gained significant power in Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province, succeeded against Musharraf by increasing its effectiveness within the country, Pakistan could become a "rogue state" with nuclear weapons in the United States discourse. Despite Washington's possibility of Islamic parties seizing power, the limited democracy support in the Musharraf administration in Pakistan was a necessary element of regional policy. The reintroduction of the Musharraf regime into the international system caused Pakistan's relations with Russia ended after September 11. The conflict between the two countries has developed due to the Afghan problem, with Pakistan supporting Taliban forces and supporting fundamentalist terrorist groups.

In November 1999, Moscow indirectly accused Pakistan of "exporting terrorism", and it was stated by Russian experts that "there was General Musharraf behind the excessive groups and Bin Laden".[351] It enabled Russia and Pakistan to review their relations after September 11. The tension between India and Pakistan decreased when Pakistan was with the United States of America and Russia in the fight against terrorism and created a rapprochement between the two countries. Musharraf paid a visit to Moscow in February 2003[352], and agreements were made between the two countries on the restructuring of Pakistan's debts, the prevention of drug trafficking and the fight against international crimes; Moreover, the two leaders made a joint statement about the one-sided intervention in Iraq without the Security Council decision.

Gazprom joined pipeline project between the two countries, extending to Iran, Pakistan, and India, was prepared in 2004. This rapprochement was important for Pakistan to be involved in the system and to establish policy outside the United States. In fact, Russia was developing its relations with Pakistan in order to establish its regional influence and not to be excluded from the developments in Afghanistan. Although the problem of radical movements had not been overcome in front of this convergence and

[351] Muhammad Hanif, "Pakistan-Russia relations: Progress, prospects and constraints", *IPRI Journal*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 2013, pp. 63-86.
[352] Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Beenish Altaf, "Pakistan-Russia Rapprochement and Current Geo-politics", *Islamabad Policy Research Institute Journal*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 2013, pp. 125-34.

different attitudes about Kashmir were a problem, it was important for the Pakistan administration to find its support outside of the USA.[353]

Musharraf started talks with India regarding the solution of the Kashmir problem before 11 September. During the negotiations held in July, serious differences in opinion between the parties left the effort of dialogue to be fruitless. While India wanted to stop the rebellion activities in Kashmir completely, Pakistan stated that they did not support the actions in Kashmir militarily, but they supported the 'freedom fighters 'politically.[354] This created an insoluble disagreement between the two countries. In reality, tensions between the two countries in Kashmir rose after a terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament on December 13, 2001, bringing them to the verge of a new battle.[355] This crisis has shown that tensions can easily escalate between the two countries which might lead to a nuclear war, and unfortunately, there has not been a rapprochement between the two countries that could prevent such crises from occurring.[356]

September 11 united Pakistan and India by standing next to the United States of America, but this situation could not provide more positive steps regarding Kashmir. While Musharraf did not approve of the activity of fundamentalist groups, he did not intend to make a quick political transformation in order not to cause an unstable environment in the country and not to give up his means of struggle against India all of a sudden. However, his alliance with the USA made it obligatory to take a stand against the groups in Kashmir. However, Pakistan is still an extremist country for India and vice versa, whose alliance with the United States forces it to take a stand against groups in Kashmir, and the 2002 media tension has been interpreted as India punishing Pakistan for its activities in Kashmir, similar to the US punishing Afghanistan.[357]

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[353] Waqas Sohrab, Ishtiaq A. Choudhry, "Pak-US Relations in 21st Century: Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistan", *Berkeley Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 2012, pp. 1-16.
[354] Zhang Guihong, "US security policy towards South Asia after September 11 and its Implications for China: a Chinese perspective", *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 27, No. 2, 2003, pp. 145-171.
[355] Mirza Beg F., *Pakistans Foreign Policy with Special Reference to Indo Pak Relations from 1998 2004*, Unpublished PhD. Thesis, Uttar Pradesh: Dr. Rammanohar Lohia Avadh University, 2008.p.152.
[356] Ibid., p. 161.
[357] Waqas Sohrab, Ishtiaq A. Choudhry, "Pak-US Relations in 21st Century: Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistan", p. 10.

The India-Pakistan problem does not seem to be solved by removing separatist organizations from Kashmir. This can only be a meaningful step towards preventing violence. The non-violent policy choice of the two countries is a beginning to solve the problems of the people of Kashmir, the policy pursued by Pakistan against separatist organizations in Kashmir after September 11 produced a prospect for India and Pakistan to overcome their problems. In a speech in Srinagar on April 18, 2003, then-Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee reminded Pakistan that they had 'stretched the hand of friendship for the third and final time. The dialogue between the two countries started from February 2004.[358] This innovative approach was positively received and supported by Indians, but the Kashmiri people refused this narrative.

A real decision on Kashmir can be made by taking action to determine its status by removing the issue from being part of national dignity and fear of fragmentation. In short it can be said that the confrontations between India and Pakistan have caused the people of Kashmir to suffer since 1947. In the Kashmir valley, there have been countless examples of human rights breaches. In the guise of insurgents, the Indian armed forces have slaughtered thousands of innocent Kashmiris. Children and Women have suffered as well due to this never-ending conflict. The Indian armed forces have raped women and killed innocent people at will. Pakistan on the other hand has kept fuelling the situation by infuriating the youth of Kashmir to accept arms against India for its own benefit. The rising nationalist and religious movements in both countries increase the insolvability of the problem through populist rhetoric.[359]

In the post-Cold War period, the United States of America gained the power to direct the international system as the only superpower. The first use of this power was Iraq. Despite the fact that the Gulf War occurred at the same time as the end of the Cold War, no one could fully reject or criticize the United States' engagement in Iraq with coalition forces constituted in accordance with United Nations resolutions. In fact, on January 28th,

[358] Harold A. Gould, *The South Asia story: The first sixty years of US relations with India and Pakistan*, New Delhi: SAGE Publishing India, 2010, p. 63.
[359] Najam Rafique, "Pakistan-US Relations", *Strategic Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 3, 2015, pp. 43-70.

1992, Bush was able to explain that the USA is the leader of the West, which meant that he is also the leader of the world.[360] Thus, the basic elements of the new system were determined by the USA, and until the late 1990s, South Asia remained outside the US's area of interest. It is the terrorist activities that took place on September 11, 2001, that brought South Asia back to the agenda of the United States, and the resulting war against terrorism and the intervention in Afghanistan. From the fall of 2001, the US policies maintained throughout the 1990s were to be replaced by policies based on security and military, logistical alliances.[361]

The policy of the United States of America during the Cold War in South Asia was based on some elements. The primary approach was the establishment of a defensive structure in the region that included military alliances against the Soviet Union and China. Apart from the alliance, India was not excluded from the system, and it was prevented from participating in a formation against the USA through economic aid. In this context, although the policy of non-Alignment had been much discussed, it had been accepted in the USA as a policy against a pro-Soviet approach. Therefore, policies with security priority but different approaches had been implemented for Pakistan and India.

Unlike the Cold War period and the post-September 11 period, the USA followed a policy that had moved away from the security line until the late 1990s in South Asia after the Cold War.[362] In line with the current globalisation discourse, liberalisation, and the inclusion of the countries of the region in the world system had been issues of importance to the United States. Establishing strong economic ties with the countries of the region had become a priority goal. South Asia was no longer on the top of the US agenda, the expectations of the US from South Asian states were economic liberalization, democratic

[360] Paul S. Kapur, Sumit Ganguly, "The transformation of US-India relations: An explanation for the rapprochement and prospects for the future", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 47, No. 4, 2007, pp. 642-656.
[361] Paul S. Kapur, Sumit Ganguly, "The transformation of US-India relations: An explanation for the rapprochement and prospects for the future", p. 650.
[362] Ibid., p.651.

governments, softening and negotiations in India-Pakistan relations, and both states ' involvement in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of nuclear weapons.[363]

In 1990, the United States cut off its aid to Pakistan because of its nuclear activities, which it ignored throughout the 1980s.This new political context has also changed the allied perception of the United States, while Pakistan still retains its importance as an old and important military ally, but has been replaced by India, which is described as a "rising market". The new economic expansions in India, which began with the Rajiv Gandhi era, and the liberal trends that opened up to the international market instead of the state-centred approaches, led the United States to develop its Indian relations since the late 1980s. Economy-based development has not only shown itself in this field alone. In October 1991, an agreement was signed between India and the United States to provide military training to the Indian soldiers by the United States. As a result, relations between the two countries were strengthening and the US supported India's steps towards developing its military capacity. India's strategic interests could match the US interests to preserve its supremacy in Asia. This also meant that the United States recognized India as an autonomous powerhouse within the international system.[364]

The United States approach to Pakistan shows similar characteristics. By losing its importance as an ally, Pakistan has remained far from meeting the expectations of the United States. Although various transformation policies were pursued during Benazir Bhutto's government, they did not produce positive results. In the aftermath, Nawaz Serif's government was not able to respond to the expectations of the United States.[365] Despite all its negativity, Pakistan had shown that it will not give up the US-based policy by joining coalition forces in the Gulf War. Although the United States turned to India during this period, the continuity of the Afghanistan problem and the geopolitical position of Pakistan as a moderator and effective Islamic country caused Washington to continue

[363] Harsh V. Pant, *The US–India nuclear pact: Policy, process, and great power politics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 67.
[364] Harsh V. Pant, *The US–India nuclear pact: Policy, process, and great power politics*, p. 78.
[365] Akbar S. Zaidi, "Who benefits from US aid to Pakistan", Economic *and Political Weekly*, Vol. 46, No. 32, 2011, pp. 103-109.

its relations with Pakistan. US senior officials paid great attention to visit the capitals of both countries during their regional visits. The diplomatic support of the USA towards Pakistan continued. Although it was alleged that Pakistan participated in terrorist incidents in Bombay in 1993, US did not include Pakistan in the list of terrorist countries in 1994.[366]

In addition, in order to ease the embargo that had been in place since 1990, Congress adopted a regulation in 1995 that provided for the delivery of military ammunition that had been paid for from 1986-1989. However, it should be noted that the interest of the USA in this country was and is gradually decreasing. The support of Islamic extremist organizations, the nuclear program, and the problems in its economic and democratic program caused the relations to weaken.[367] It is an indication of this situation that Clinton spent five days in India and four hours in Pakistan during his visit to South Asia in 2000. The revival of US-Pakistani relations took place with the US intervention in Afghanistan and the fight against terrorist organizations. In the 1980s, close ties between the two countries were restored, and Pakistan was once again one of the countries that the US favoured.[368]

During the 1990s, there were two main problems for the United States in dealing with these two regional countries: the nuclear weapons and the Kashmir issue. The US attitude towards these two problems, which has been moving since the Cold War and which has become increasingly dangerous, is different from the previous period. The issue of Kashmir did not attract much attention by the US administration except for human rights problems. However, after the nuclear tests conducted by both countries in 1998, Kashmir was perceived as the centre of a nuclear war. However, there has been no opposition from the United States to Pakistan's proposals to resolve the issue in the mediation of the third party[369].

The Clinton administration stated that after the Kargil crisis, the United States will not mediate and produce a solution and further stated that only Pakistan and India can find

[366] Ibid., p. 105.
[367] Akbar S. Zaidi, "Who benefits from US aid to Pakistan", p. 106.
[368] Christine C. Fair, "The US–Pakistan relations after a decade of the war on terror", pp. 243-253.
[369] Akbar S. Zaidi, "Who benefits from US aid to Pakistan", p. 107.

a solution to this problem through dialogue. However recently the former President of US Trump stated had stated that US is ready to play the role of a mediator regarding Kashmir Issue between the two countries. However, this statement was opposed by the general public of India. Thus, Pakistan's expectation of the United States assistance in resolving the issue by pressing internationally has not been fulfilled. The United States increased its interest in the Kashmir issue after September 11, so in this regard the US tried to mediate somehow. In this respect, although US avoided being a third party, it tried to reach a consensus between the parties for the solution of the Kashmir problem.[370]

The administration of Obama clearly opposed and criticized the ways of Pakistan on the Afghanistan policies, as it believed that Pakistan is serving as a safe haven for the extremist groups for escalating levels of violence in Afghanistan. However, on the other hand Islamabad denies all these charges and considers them as invalid. The image of Pakistan in general in the US and among the European countries is that of a country with too much religious fundamentalism. The Bush administration and the media of United States left no stone unturned to paint this picture of Pakistan. Pakistan has been considered as a rouge state and has been continuously demonized as a purveyor of nuclear technology. The one positive thing that needs to be checked is that Pakistan's foreign policy continues to flourish even though there has been enormous pressure from the US and other European countries. Actually, Pakistan is an example of a victim who has been standing up to an international bully in the defence of its national interest.

The biggest concern of the United States of America about South Asia is the nuclear armament activities in the region. The nuclear tests conducted by the two countries in May 1998, together with the internal instabilities and rebellion activities of South Asia, strengthened the possibility of a nuclear war, the spread of nuclear weapons technology and increased the concerns for the USA and many countries. In addition to the expansion of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) during the 1990s, the United States also held talks with China and other nuclear-powered countries to prevent the sale of medium and long-

[370] Ibid., p, 109.

range missiles and to regulate export regimes related to nuclear technology.[371] However, this could not prevent the two countries from having their own nuclear warheads and having missile systems capable of carrying them. After September 11, the nuclear weapons issue became part of the terrorist problem and the scale of the threat expanded for the USA.

5.8. Conclusion

India and Pakistan claim that their foreign policies are a sign of support and goodwill towards other nations of the world and with each other. Both nations have also claimed that they will not take an aggressive stance against each other or against any other country. However, the state of Pakistan faced major issues shortly following the death of Jinnah, the founder of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The Kashmir issue, on the one hand, and Pakistan's wars with India, on the other, are among the country's first issues.

In additions to these problems, it is conceivable to add the problems that Pakistan faced with its other neighbouring country Afghanistan. Pakistan has sometimes used military force to solve these problems and now and then Pakistan tried to overcome these problems by using its diplomatic wing. Pakistan first used the military means against India regarding the Kashmir issue, but when it was not able to get successful results through military intervention, it took the matter before the United Nations and tried to apply its diplomatic means.

With India, Pakistan tried to carry out good relations in the first place due to the economic, cultural, and sociological connections. However, the problems between the two countries are reflected until today especially the border disputes and the Kashmir problem. Pakistan, which based its foreign policy on many factors in the 1950s, joined various Western Bloc alliances in the 1960s. Pakistan discovered new space for itself through alliances such as SETO and the Baghdad Pact, in addition to the defense cooperation deal with the United States of America. Pakistan also formed collaboration with its allies in the region in a variety of other fields. However, during the second part of the 1960s, when the

[371] Harsh V. Pant, *The US–India nuclear pact: Policy, process, and great power politics*, p. 82.

United States of America used the India-Pakistan wars as an excuse to limit Pakistan's development and impose a nuclear arms embargo, Pakistan began to contact with countries outside the Western Bloc. Mutual visits to China and Soviet Union during this period can be seen as a reaction by Pakistan against United States of America.

During the 1980s Pakistan's importance increased in the manner of regional development. During the 90s Pakistan was put into isolation, on the other hand during this period India tried to improve its relations with other countries of the world. Although the trial of multi-party democracy continued during this period, the Afghan civil war and the coming of Taliban to power were the issues that disturbed the image of Pakistan as well as its foreign policy. On the contrary, image of India and its foreign policy were also badly affected in 1999 by the Kargil war that India fought with Pakistan.

During the first decade of the twenty-first century, the events that once again caused a damage to Pakistan and India's foreign policies were the 9/11 terrorist events and U.S. invasion of Afghanistan. During this period immigrants who fled the war from Afghanistan took refuge in Pakistan also caused some serious problems in the internal politics of Pakistan that ultimately had some impact on the foreign policy of Pakistan as well. In 2013 Pakistan's foreign policy took a new shift towards China by collaborating with China in building China and Pakistan's Economic Corridor (CPEC). CPEC is not just an economic exit for Pakistan, however it is also an alternative to the United States of America which has been at the same time a tiring and corrosive ally for Pakistan. On the contarary, India which sees this friendship between China and Pakistan as a threat to their national security also made some changes in their foreign policy by strengthening their relations with Israel and United States of America. India and Pakistan relations have been intense in their 74 years of history, and these tense relations have revolved on the axis of Kashmir issue. Throughout their history, India and Pakistan have fought four times which ultimately have affected their foreign policies and still no result could be obtained regarding Kashmir. While India claims that Kashmir is an integral part of India, Pakistan claims that it does not recognize this decision. Both India and Pakistan's foreign policy

decision-makers have attempted to develop their respective countries' foreign policies in accordance with their national interests, security, and the Kashmir issue.

Pakistan’s foreign policy is generally shaped within the framework of Indian relations and the vice versa. In addition to that, Pakistan has faced problems with other neighbors such as Iran and Afghanistan, on the other hand India has faced the same problems with China. This situation has been used by both countries to counterbalance each other’s impact in the international arena. Both countries tried to strengthen their relations by joining various international organizations. This chapter provided a detailed account of the foreign policy changes and developments that took place during and after the Cold War era between India and Pakistan in a comparative manner and the next chapter will elucidate the contemporary foreign policies of India and Pakistan in detail.

Chapter 6

Contemporary Foreign Policy of India and Pakistan

6.1. Introduction

It is vital to discuss the foreign policy outputs of governments in decision-making processes, whether the idea of foreign policy is defined as a set of orientations, a set of commitments, or a plan of activities. Goals, strategies, and tools are the most comprehensive categories that may be addressed in terms of these outputs. The weighting given to these categories in foreign policy analysis is directly tied to the many ways in which foreign policy is understood. Foreign Policy Analysis is primarily a scientific endeavor based on empirical study, and it is critical that at least some of the knowledge be generalizable within reasonable limitations and validity.

India and Pakistan have now long been involved in a conflict over several critical issues. It also needs to be considered that both the countries are powerhouses of Asia and drive the political and economic landscape of Asia. This chapter will study and compare the foreign policies of both India and Pakistan from a perspective of contemporary times. This Chapter will further study the basic tenets of India and Pakistan's foreign policy and will also elucidate the influence of elements which are significant in the formulation of foreign policy of both India and Pakistan.

This chapter will shed light on the factors that have led to the long-lasting rivalry between the two countries. The steps that have been taken by successive governments of both countries will also be discussed in detail in this chapter. Moreover, recent changes and development in the foreign policy of India and Pakistan and shifts and advancements under the leadership of Narendra Modi and Imran Khan, will also be elucidated. At the end of this chapter, Decision-making process and Evaluation of Modi and Khan's leadership in India and Pakistan's Contemporary Foreign Policy will be elaborated.

6.2. The Current Foreign Policy of India and Pakistan

With the fall of the Berlin Wall, one of the Cold War's most important spatial symbols, and the Soviet Union's collapse on December 24, 1991, the end of the Cold War became tangible for everyone. The end of the Cold War brought about many important political, economic, and social changes; however, the most important is that the problem of defining the developments within the international system arose with the disappearance of its terminology. The dynamics and conflict that explained the relations between the countries could no longer be explained by Bloc policies or differences of ideologies. The "new world order" offered no different response than the United States hegemony that was created on September 11th, 1990, by the George Bush. Thus, there were other discourses that would explain the current conflict, and throughout the 1990s in South Asia, the discourse on the Pakistan-India conflict was, in this respect, on the fault line of civilizations.[372]

With the Soviet Union's withdrawal from Afghanistan, the Cold War in South Asia came to an end. The victory in Afghanistan carried the USA to the leadership of the unipolar world. The fact that South Asia ceased to be an area of the Cold War struggle meant that India and Pakistan re-established and defined the struggle between them within the new international system. The economic and ideological transformation had already begun in the late 1970s.The development school had failed to maintain its old line, which seemed successful when it reached the 1970s, regarding the possibility of different, alternative ways of development within the capitalism that defined the Third World. The high growth rates, with the positive effects of the international economic system, differentiated in the domestic political processes of the countries, concealed the increasing disability.

The discourse of the new economic order united the Third World countries at the 1970 Lusaka Conference as the economic challenges turned into demands.[373] However,

[372] Nitin Pai, *The Paradox of Proximity: India's Approach to Fragility in the Neighbourhood*, New York: University of New York, 2011, p. 47.
[373] Mohd N. Yazid, "The Cold War, Bipolarity Structure and the Power Vacuum in the East and South East Asia after 1945", *Journal of Global Peace and Conflict*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2014, pp. 121-128.

the ensuing global crisis had completely divided the Third World, which had started to crumble in the political field. With the effect of this division, the effort to create an alternative to the bloc's policies, which had emerged as an element of the Cold War, and to pursue a third way, was also being resolved. In fact, the Soviet Union began to implement reconstruction policies with Gorbachev, making this dissolution valid for the entire system. When the economic and ideological reconstruction showed its influence in the political sphere, the Cold War also disappeared.[374]

Transformation for both countries began in the early 1980s, with political and economic enforcement. The Afghanistan intervention and the impact of this intervention on the region accelerated the transformation and the political orientation of the post-Cold War within both countries before the Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan. The fact that it was part of surrounding the Soviet Union made Pakistan an important part of the war in Afghanistan, and the means of that war became part of Pakistan. The Afghanistan problem has also been the accelerator of the political transformation in India and transformed the democratic, secular understanding. The founding ideology of Pakistan, the "two nation's theory", necessarily separated the Muslims from the Hindus. This situation led to the formation of an identity that does not trust the other side and perceives a threat due to the impact of the experiences between the two countries.[375]

For India, however, Muslim identity did not represent a direct enemy. As a secular state, India tried not to create a perception of enemies based on religious and cultural bases while determining its own identity, considering the number of Muslim minorities in it. The expression of the war in Afghanistan as a "holy war" by Muslim countries and the United States and the support of the Mujahedeen by being described as "Freedom Fighters" added religious ideology as a dimension to the current system. In addition to the negativity of this situation, the democracy and economic problems of India caused the rise

[374] Arnfinn Jorgensen-Dahl, *Regional organization and order in South-East Asia*, London: The Macmillan Press, 2016, p. 6.
[375] Jyotindra N. Dixit, "Pakistan's India Policies: Role of Domestic Political Factors", pp. 229-236.

of Hindu nationalism together with the threat atmosphere created by the Afghanistan war.[376]

Since the mid-1980s, the rhetoric about the territorial integrity of India being under threat has portrayed minorities as the perpetrators of this situation. The minorities of India faced a lot of threats by the Hindu nationalists especially Muslims and Sikhs. The growing tension with Pakistan, the confusion in Kashmir and the economic burden and harmonization problems created by immigrants from Bangladesh strengthened the other perception and put the Hindu nationalism, as a combination of Hindu culture and history. The conflict between the two countries, which arose from the traumas of the dissolution and disintegration process, emerged with new elements articulated in the block policies of the Cold War, and re-established itself through religion and its defined discourse of cultural nationalism. The Pakistan-India conflict was now defined by the "clash of civilizations".[377]

Following the conclusion of the Cold War, the two countries' status in the international order was called into doubt. By assuring its economic, political, and military change in the post-Cold War order, India has attempted to become a regional power, if not a central state. It has re-established relations with the United States of America, China, and other countries in this direction, based on a new role set by its security perceptions. For Pakistan, a transformation like that in India was not easily possible but still Pakistan made relations with different countries over the course of time. In this context, compliance with the "new world order" has been strengthened by the burdens of the "old world order".[378]

The geopolitical importance of Pakistan that it had in the Cold War period and determined its foreign policy on this did not decrease in this new period. The new independent states in Central Asia, Afghanistan, Iran, and Iraq have helped Pakistan to maintain its importance in global politics. However, the failure of democratic institutions

[376] Nitin Pai, *The Paradox of Proximity: India's Approach to Fragility in the Neighbourhood*, p. 48.
[377] Sumit Ganguly, *Conflict unending: India-Pakistan tensions since 1947*, p. 143.
[378] Stanley Wolpert, *India and Pakistan: continued conflict or cooperation?*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010, p. 54.

in Pakistan and the heavy lifting of Islamic State identity have caused its geopolitical position to damage itself. By the mid-1990s, the Islamisation project, which provided control of the regime in Afghanistan, led to a large amount of support from Islamic countries, and which seemed to be a must-have example against the Iranian experience, had become a reality that even the administration could not direct and often referred to itself as terrorism.[379]As a result, Pakistan has not been able to achieve its economic development with defence spending of thirty percent of its budget, has not been able to solve its security dilemmas and has been pushed out of the system as a country that supports terrorism by failing to adapt to the post-Cold-war system. Re-integration into the system will be possible with a second Afghanistan intervention and the U.S. alliance.

Some of the global issues requiring multilateral cooperation are tackling terrorism, combating climate change, preserving biodiversity, exploiting deep-sea resources, ensuring that a proper global trade system is established, as well as civilian aircraft opening of sea line of communications and airspace. With developments in science and technology, there is a need for international cooperation in space, cyberspace, and extra-terrestrial bodies. Things like the use of fresh water, knowledge and culture can also be included in it.[380] However, problems related to handling relations with different countries and different regions are more pressing.

There is a need for stability in India's neighbouring states. There should be mutual trust as well as economic interdependence. As India grows, it should also take its neighbours along, otherwise the development gap between India and its neighbours will cause problems. India will not be able to stop the flow of people coming to India in search of jobs from its porous and weakly controlled borders. India should have a significant role in peaceful South Asia, so that it does not get stuck in managing the relations of its neighbours. India must have the time and freedom to engage strategically with the rest of the world. To prevent neighbour countries from moving away from undesirable instructions, India will need to deploy adequate resources, attention, and ingenuity. All

[379] Ibid. p. 92.
[380] Jyotindra N. Dixit, "Pakistan's India Policies: Role of Domestic Political Factors", pp. 229-236

states know that India is to some extent the leader of Southeast Asia, but this leadership and respect is to be earned, India cannot think of it as inherently beneficial.[381]

India needs to focus on development in the current undeclared and unstable Arab world, where it has huge stakes. Most of India's imported oil comes from Arab world. More than seven hundred thousand Indian workers live and work in Arab countries. Israel is also of sheer important, especially in the defence sector. From a long-term geopolitical point of view, Iran cannot be ignored either by India. It is a strong and cohesive state with increasing regional influence and is currently India's only route to reach Afghanistan and Central Asia. India will have to engage intensely between the mutual territorial rivals of Arab countries, Iran and Israel and make its way very softly and carefully.[382]

There are many dynamic and large economies in East and South-East Asia, which offer promising opportunities for trade and investment. India needs more contact with ASEAN countries for the development of its North-East region. Fortunately for India, ASEAN and East Asian countries have responded to India's wishes for closer ties. Many regional structures complement bilateral contacts. In addition to economic relations, security and defence cooperation have also become an extremely key component of the relationship and have become more important after China's aggressive behaviour in the South China Sea. It would not be wise for India to give China a chance to spread on the region without any restraint.[383]

Despite its relevant decline, the United States remains the world's most powerful country, with unrivalled sweeping authority. There is no doubt that India needs at least a cordial, and preferably a cooperative America to ensure economic development and modernization of defence. India also requires US support to deal with China's growing challenge. The prominent issue is that both countries are in practical partnership. India is

[381] Ian Hall, "Multialignment and Indian foreign policy under Narendra Modi", The *Round Table*, Vol. 105. No.3, 2016, p. 271-286.
[382] Roy Tirthankar, *India in the world economy: from antiquity to the present*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012, p. 250.
[383] Deepa Ollapally, Rajesh Rajagopalan, "The pragmatic challenge to Indian foreign policy", *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 2, 2011, p. 145-162.

cooperating in areas where there is no conflict of interest, without derailing the gap of relations. There is some uncertainty about the approach of the new US president. However, there are early indications that this relationship will retain its importance for the Trump administration and the US Congress, but India will have to be cautious and alert.[384]

Russia has traditionally been a remarkably close and time-tested friend of India. Today, the warmness of the relationship is somewhat missing, due to several reasons, this relationship has been given somewhat lower priority in the foreign policy priorities of the two countries. Russia has also become uncomfortably close to China. Although Russia no longer occupies an unbelievable top position among India's defence suppliers, but it is an important defence partner. It has given India unique defence platforms such as nuclear submarines and an aircraft carrier that no other country is willing to offer. India has to follow this relationship, try to give it more economic content and take steps to stop the recent drift in relations.[385]

Europe, Africa, and Latin America are important to India mainly from the economic perspective. Although India's economic relations with Europe are vibrant and significant, much more can be done, particularly to obtain the necessary investment and technology. Africa and Latin America play a relatively marginal role in India's foreign policy priorities, but there is considerable scope to enhance economic ties. In all these relations there are no significant security problems other than cooperation to counter terrorism. If there are frequent provocative activities from Pakistan or China's side, India can definitely retaliate, but its response can be unpredictable too. India can take the necessary precautions in dealing with nuclear opposition. Perhaps non-military options can be looked at. Fortunately for India, everything is going according to its will.

6.3. Developments in India and Pakistan's Contemporary Foreign Policy

The Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, warned Pakistan that it should not be complacent with the situation in Pakistan-administered Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan, and

[384] Hayes Jarrod, *Constructing national security: US relations with India and China*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 167.
[385] Ian Hall, *Modi and the reinvention of Indian foreign policy*, UK: Bristol University Press, 2019, p. 45.

raised human rights issues in Baluchistan, by making it clear that India would not be pleased with the status quo. It is also a clear statement to China that the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor project, which begins in Gilgit-Baltistan and finishes in Baluchistan, should not be considered a clear barrier-free route. Prime Minister Narendra Modi has stated that it is now up to the system to implement the policy.[386]

Under the Indus Water Treaty, taking steps to fully utilize its rights on both the Western River and the Eastern Rivers is a crucial step taken by the Modi Government. A high-level committee has been set up to manage the matter.[387] Although the proposed projects may take a few years, the intention is very much clear. Even a modest reduction in river flow for Pakistan's water-scarred country might generate major economic and political problems. Aside from the foregoing, India is collaborating with the Afghan government to construct tiny dams on the Kabul River, which flows into the Indus (which is not included in the Indus Water Treaty).[388]

In addition, India is considering collaborating with Afghanistan to challenge the validity of the Durand Line between Afghanistan and Pakistan, which has yet to be recognised by any Afghan administration. Pakistan must realize that if it continues to pursue policies that jeopardize India's territorial integrity, India will be able to retaliate in kind.[389] Globally, China is using its economic strength, and using its position in every conceivable way to thwart India’s rise as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and as an NPT accredited nuclear power. It opposes India’s permanent China is attempting to hinder India's rise as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and an NPT recognized nuclear state by leveraging its economic might and position in every way possible. It opposes India's permanent membership in the United

[386] Chaulia Sreeram, *Modi doctrine: The foreign policy of India’s Prime Minister*, New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016, p. 78.
[387] Ibid., 80.
[388] Shiv Shankar Menon, “Maritime imperatives of Indian foreign policy”, *Maritime Affairs: Journal of the National Maritime Foundation of India*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2010, p.15-21.
[389] Ibid., p. 19.

Nations Security Council as well as its admission to the Nuclear Suppliers Group. China is far from ready to regard India as a leveller in any form.[390]

India and China have low mutual confidence on a bilateral level. Arunachal Pradesh is now assertively contended by China, which has annulled a previous boundary arrangement. Periodic border events put India under psychological strain, and it is unable to lower its security. India has been already developing Agni-V and Agni-IV missiles to reduce the military's gap with China, acquiring nuclear submarines, setting up invading forces in the mountains and border infrastructure such as roads and airspace.[391] India is already taking necessary steps like upgrading. In the event of a confrontation, there are preparations to attack China's vulnerable border and maritime locations. Cyber security and capabilities must be improved. To lessen its undue reliance on China, India has to diversify its imports of critical inputs such as active ingredients in medicines and rare soils. India's goal in the border talks should not only be to safeguard India, but also to claim locations like Kailash-Mansarovar, which have long been associated with India's religion and faith.[392]

Tibet is an important and sensitive issue in bilateral relations. After the death of Dalai Lama, the situation will become more complicated and India-China relations may face a crisis. India with high level contacts has condemned its policy regarding Dalai Lama, who was recently summoned to the President's Secretariat or *Rashtrapati Bhavan*. India is encouraging him and foreign diplomats (especially United States ambassadors) to undertake visits, including Tawang and Arunachal Pradesh. The Indian region of Arunachal Pradesh was recently visited by the United States Ambassador. Perhaps India should have a better understanding of China's 'one-China' policy by associating more closely with it, as late Foreign Minister Sushma Swaraj stated some time ago.[393]

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[390] Vipin Narang, Paul Staniland, "Institutions and Worldviews in Indian Foreign Security Policy", *Indian Review*, Vol.11, No. 2, 2012, p. 69.
[391] Ian Hall, *Modi and the reinvention of Indian foreign policy*, p. 129.
[392] Rajesh Basrur, "India and China: A Managed Nuclear Rivalry", p. 151-170.
[393] Azim Zahir, "India–China rivalry in the Indian Ocean: emergence of a new Indo-Maldives strategic dynamic", *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region*, Vol. 17, No.1, 2021, p. 78-95

Some of the major agreements that took Place immediately after the Independence of India and Pakistan are as follows:

- Jinnah-Mountbatten Talks (1947): Talks between Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Governor General of India Louis Mountbatten in November 1947 on Kashmir issue.
- Karachi Agreement (1949): The ceasefire agreement on 27th July 1949 between the military leadership of the two countries took place.
- Liaquat-Nehru Agreement (1950): Under the Liaquat-Nehru Pact or Delhi Pact, the agreement between the two countries on the issues of refugee, property, rights of minorities took place.
- Indus Water Treaty (1960): Agreement on the water sharing of the Indus and its tributaries on September 19, 1960, was signed.
- Tashkent Agreement (1966): After the India and Pakistan war in 1965, the peace agreement between the two countries on 10th January 1966 was held.
- Shimla Agreement (1972): After the Bangladesh War in 1971, both countries agreed on 2nd July 1972 in Shimla to end the disputes.
- Delhi Agreement (1973): This was on August 28th, 1973, it was an agreement between three countries India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.
- Islamabad Agreement (1988): The Non-Nuclear Agreement was signed on December 21, 1988, between Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.[394]
- Agra Summit (2001): In July, Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf and Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee met for a two-day summit in Agra in India.

[394] Mubeen Adnan, "Areas of Engagement and Security Threats between India and Pakistan", *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol. 20, No.1, 2013, p. 131-142.

Two days later, the summit crumbled, and the two parties were unable to achieve an agreement on the crucial issue of Kashmir.

- Dialogue Process (2004): Vajpayee and Musharraf meet in Islamabad on January 12th. At SAARC they hold direct talks with each other. The Dialogue Process, which consists of bilateral discussions between officials from various levels of government, began in his year. Manmohan Singh, the then-Indian Prime Minister, said on the eve of a visit to Indian-administered Kashmir in November that India will cut the number of troops stationed there. That, ironically, never happened. However, in 2006 India redeployed 5,000 more troops in Kashmir.
- Agreement with other Countries (2008): A framework agreement between Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, and Pakistan for a $ 7.6 billion natural gas pipeline project was signed by India.
- United Nations (2013): On the side-lines of the United Nations General Assembly in September, India's and Pakistan's prime ministers met in New York. Both leaders decided to put a halt to the fighting between the soldiers of the two sides in the disputed Kashmir region. However, no agreement was signed at that time.
- Release of Fishermen (2014): Pakistan released 151 Indian fisherman from its prisons on May 25th as a goodwill gesture ahead of Narendra Modi's inauguration as Prime Minister.
- Visit to Pakistan (2015): Modi makes a surprise visit to Lahore in eastern Pakistan at Sharif's birthday and grandchild's wedding. No agreement was signed in this meeting as well.

6.4. Recent changes in the foreign policy of India and Pakistan

As a result of the undergoing changes in the world order, India's foreign policy is also undergoing practical adjustments. The fall of the Soviet Union and the situations that followed were significant factors in the shift in Indian foreign policy. The need for international cooperation in combating terrorism sponsored by Pakistan in Punjab and

Kashmir and the necessary cooperation to keep Kashmir issue out of United Nations agenda. Furthermore, attempts to mould India in accordance with the unipolar world order, attempt to obtain permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council, attempt to reconcile economic aspects as the main issue in changed world scenario and being a leader of non-aligned countries in order to fulfil the aspirations of third world countries.[395]

Narasimha Rao's government tried to define its foreign policy in accordance with the pristine environment in which he paid more attention to the economic aspect rather than giving more emphasis to policy based on ethics and values. India kept diplomatic relations with Israel after having almost no bilateral relations for the last 40 years. Changing the traditional policy, the United States voted in favour of the proposal of France and Britain to hand over the Libyan accused responsible for the Lockerbie and Tenor aircraft explosions to the United Nations. The change of policy in West Asia was indicated by India when it recently supported the United States-backed new proposal of the United Nations to stay away from the 1975 anti-Israel proposal. India also tried to give a clear signal to Arab countries by adopting a strict stance in line with national interests, that now in future the relations between India and Arab countries will be based on reciprocity.[396]

After the military and economic issues were agreed upon with the United States, the process of comprehensive reform in India-US relations began. United States President Clinton's visit to India in March 2000, President Bush's visit to India in March 2006, President Barack Obama's visit to India on 6th November 2010, and President Donald Trump's visit to India on 24th of February 2020 reflected major changes in relations with cracks between the two countries.[397] In view of the newly changed scenario of global trade, India considers taking a serious view on the strategy of entering into bilateral and free trade agreements so that the blocking of World Trade Organization negotiations does

[395] Eswaran Sridharan, "Where is India headed? Possible future directions in Indian foreign policy", p. 55.
[396] Walter Andersen, "Recent Trends in Indian Foreign Policy", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 41, No. 5, 2001, p. 765-776.
[397] Chaulia Sreeram, *Modi doctrine: The foreign policy of India's Prime Minister*, p. 85.

not adversely affect India's foreign trade prospects. Currently India is tied to around 20 free trade agreements ranging from bilateral free trade agreements with neighbouring countries such as Singapore, Sri Lanka, Mauritius and Thailand to agreements with other free trade groups such as Gulf Corporation Council.[398]

The most important Free Trade Agreement for India and its neighbouring countries is the South Asian Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA). SAFTA has been duly established and implemented since January 1, 2006, among SAARC countries.[399] SAFTA might be the start of far-reaching and all-encompassing economic and social consequences in Asia, as well as a big step forward in the economic field. India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Nepal, and Afghanistan, the eight members of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), are working to turn the world's most backward area into a shared market. So, in other words it can be said that this is a key step by India towards improving relations with Pakistan. Further, Afghanistan has also been included as a new member country. At present, eight countries in the South Asian region are able to complete only five percent of their total trade among themselves. Intra-regional business from SAFTA can double every five years, which currently stands at 6$ billion.[400] The other members countries can also help in bring Pakistan and India close to each other.

Pakistan's foreign policy revolves around its opposition to India. Hatred and mistrust that existed at the time of India's partition have kept both countries on the verge of conflict to this day. The idea of hostility towards India has become an essential part of the religious politics of Pakistan and vice versa. Pakistan followed the policy of instability in Kashmir region by sending infiltrators and now for the last few years Pakistan has been internationalizing this issue by propagating the incidents of human rights abuses in Kashmir on international forums.[401] In various bodies of the United Nations, in the Non-

[398] Baohui Zhang, "Chinese foreign policy in transition: Trends and implications", *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, Vol. 39, No. 2, 2010, p. 39-68.
[399] Ibid., p. 50.
[400] Stephan Keukeleire, Tom Delreux, *The foreign policy of the European Union*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, p. 65.
[401] Mehrunnisa Ali, *Readings in Pakistan Foreign Policy 1971-1998*, UK: Oxford university press, 2001, p.87.

Aligned Summits and in the SAARC Summits, Pakistan does raise the Kashmir issue on one pretext. General Pervez Musharraf had even threatened that the use of nuclear weapons on the Kashmir issue is possible. So, in other words it can be said that Pakistan is not giving up on Kashmir Issue. Pakistan is the hanger of America in the Indian subcontinent and is actually following a foreign policy adopted from American foreign policy. Pakistan became a member of SEATO, and CENTO and Pakistan was committed to allow the Peshawar base to be used by the United States and continued to receive arms from the US.[402] However, things have changed recently; Pakistan has changed sides and at present Pakistan seems to be more inclined towards China than United States. In the words of Kuldeep Nayar, "Right from the time of its birth, the importance of Pakistan was very much for the political strategy of United States. Pakistan's geographical location is such that it could be used as a base for surveillance and military action against three forces in Asia. This urge to keep Pakistan together and strengthen it as a military ally against the former Soviet Union, China, and India, had forced the US to provide Pakistan's full military and financial support and every one of its diplomatic playgrounds supports the right and wrong move."[403]

Pakistan continued to strengthen its position by acquiring aid and assistance from Western countries. It acquired weapons from the United States of America and even the former Soviet Union. Although Pakistan denies it, experts believe that China and to some extent Germany can claim to be the fathers of the Pakistani arms and ammunition.[404] In other words, it can be said that Pakistan is cleverly using every country for its own interests in the same India is using it allies for its own interests. This shows that the foreign policy of Pakistan has been successful to some extent lately.

In addition to various weapons in the past, China also provided missiles to Pakistan. Between 1992 and 1994, China provided more than 50 M-11 missiles to Pakistan and also

[402] ibid., p. 90.
[403] Kuldip Nayar, *Wall at Wagah: India-Pakistan Relations*, New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2003, p. 38.
[404] Rajesh Basrur, "India and China: A Managed Nuclear Rivalry", p. 160.

provided ring magnets for the uranium enrichment facility in Kahuta. In 1997, Pakistan announced the successful testing of another missile called the Hatf-III, which is actually the Chinese M-9 missile.[405] After 1947, the Pakistani people had to remain under military power for a long time. The Kulak class of Pakistan, high bureaucracy and high military officers continued to cooperate with each other for the promotion of their economic interests and played an important role in maintaining military rule. Military power is still under considerable pressure by the foreign policy makers so that more than half of the state's total income can be spent on the army and defence. The influential role of military and military officers in the formulation of foreign policy paves the way for aggressive and belligerent foreign policy. In short, Pakistan's foreign policy has been opportunistic. It has been working as a pawn in the United States or China and in the former Soviet Union. The United States not only raised its financial and military support, but also in such a way that Pakistan grew up as a spoiled child.[406] By joining numerous regional and international organizations, Pakistan has attempted to enhance its relations with other countries.

6.5. Foreign Policy of India under the leadership of Narendra Modi

Narendra Modi, who is the current prime minister of India started his second term in office follows an optimistic foreign policy. After Modi came to power for the first time in May 2014, there was a massive change in foreign policy in a short span of five years. After Modi became the Prime Minister, the large-scale academic literature has been prepared in this area, it did not happen during the tenure of any previous Prime Minister. Even the government's detractors acknowledge the shift in India's foreign policy. There is no doubt that this government has made an impact on foreign policy in a short period of time, and it has made it obvious that it intends to make India a global power.

[405] Akram M. Zaki, "The evolution in global power balance and Pak-China relations", Policy *Perspectives: The Journal of the Institute of Policy Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 2014, p. 3-15.
[406] Ray S. Cline, *World power trends and US foreign policy for the 1980s*, New York: Routledge, 2019, p. 43.

In the 2019 Raisina Dialogue in Delhi, Foreign Secretary Vijay Gokhale had said, "India has emerged from a period of non-alignment. In light of its current interests, India is forging connections with other countries throughout the world. The time has come to increase India's role in the rules that are being made for the world through international forums and agencies."[407] Gokhale emphasized that India's position in multilateral institutions will be further strengthened. The Foreign Secretary clearly stated that India's future will depend exclusively on the role it plays in the G20 and the Indo-Pacific region.[408] This statement from his proclamation also showed that what has changed in India's foreign policy since Modi came to power.

Modi has attempted to alter India's role in the international system throughout the last seven years. He has indicated that India has the desire and capability to determine the international system's priorities. Modi has ended his reluctance about the role that India wants for itself in the world. He is ready to claim the 'soft power' of his evolution. After this initiative of Modi, efforts to increase India's global influence at diplomatic level increased. Along with this, emphasis was also placed on soft power and Yoga, which Indians believe and consider as part of their spirituality. This change is not only a symbol of India's growing confidence, but behind it is an ambition to gain a role for the international community to set rules. India does not want to limit itself as a nation following the rules made by other countries. Earlier India had been avoiding any kind of risk regarding foreign policy, but now India is also ready to take the risk to regain its new role. For decades, India had been following a cautious foreign policy, but in the 'Great Power Game', India fells that it is ready to move fast and get a bigger role to play in the International Arena.[409]

As far as the strategic interests of the country are concerned, the Modi government has made its own path. It is strengthening the foreign policy by increasing partnerships

[407] Shakuntala Rao, "Making of Selfie nationalism: Narendra Modi, the paradigm shift to social media governance, and crisis of democracy", *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, Vol. 42, No. 2, 2018, p. 166-183.
[408] Ibid., p. 175.
[409] Surupa Gupta, et al, "Indian Foreign Policy under Modi: A New Brand or Just Repackaging?", *International studies perspectives*, Vol. 20, No.1, 2019, p. 1-45.

with other countries and not retreating from it. In this case, the government will have to take care that this initiative and should not prove to be a twin of the non-Alignment policy, because the contemporary world is very different from the past and is continuously in flux. For example, India is seeking greater autonomy for itself in the case of China by increasing its contact with the alleged 'Quad'.[410] With this, when India holds trilateral talks with Russia and China, it is clarifying strategic autonomy in the case of the former Trump government. India has adopted this strategy to challenge the pillars of the Global Economic Order.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi recently visited the Kyrgyzstan's capital, Bishkek, to participate in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). With this visit of Modi, the priorities related to his government's foreign policy are becoming clearer.[411] In Bishkek, called upon regional organizations to react strongly against extremism and also met Chinese-Russian presidents. Both Beijing and Moscow play a major role in Central Asia where many major powers are competing with each other. India is trying to expand its reach in this area.[412]

Furthermore, India is creating its relations steady with its old friend Israel. In the recent times the relations with the Arab countries have improved as well. Modi will waste no time in trying to make the relations between India and the new United States government secure and stable. Despite all the good things mentioned about the Modi government, he and his government has been accused of causing a religious conflict and harming the religious sentiments of the people of India. Modi might have been successful in improving and developing India's relations with other nations, but it can be clearly said that his politics and government has completely failed within the country. Never ever in the history of India, has been so much intolerance in the name of secularism and religion as it is in the present.

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[410] Ibid., p. 40.
[411] Surupa Gupta, et al, "Indian Foreign Policy under Modi: A New Brand or Just Repackaging?", *International studies perspectives*, Vol. 20, No.1, 2019, p. 35.
[412] Vikash Chandra, "Modi government and changing patterns in Indian foreign policy", *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 2017, p. 98-117.

6.6. Foreign Policy of Pakistan under the Leadership of Imran Khan

Imran Khan, the current prime minister of Pakistan has given top priority to improve and develop robust relations with China at the present. Khan has stated that China's success has resulted in the raising of 700 million people out of poverty, and that Pakistan can learn a lot from this experience.[413] The second country that is on the agenda of Khan is Afghanistan. Khan claimed that more measures will be taken to continue the 'War on Terror' and to stop the 'Afghan jihadists,' and that Afghanistan's people have suffered the most and are in desperate need of peace. Khan has also declared that Pakistan will make every possible effort to resolve this situation. Khan moreover stated that, like the European Union, he wants to see 'Open Borders' with Afghanistan.[414]

Another country that is on the top of Imran Khan's list is United States of America. In one of the Khan's statements, Khan addressed remarkably little about this complicated connection, but he did urge for a "mutually beneficial relationship" rather than the current "one-way" condition of ties, which he believes has caused Pakistan much harm. He stated that a balanced relationship with the United States of America is what he seeks. Iran, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia are the other countries at the top of the list. Khan seemed to imply that he would want to see Pakistan play a possible peacemaker role in the Middle East, saying that whatever Pakistan might do to help calm tensions in the region would be welcomed. The other important country which tops the list is arch-rival India.

Khan has remarked that he was disappointed that the Indian media had portrayed him as a "Bollywood film villain," and that cricket had made him the most well-known Pakistani in India.[415] In his perspective, improving India-Pakistan relations would benefit everyone. He expressed his aim to strengthen economic and business connections between the two countries in order to benefit both countries and decrease poverty. Khan also

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[413] Shahid Ullah Khan, et al, "The Relentless and logjam Success of Imran Khan and Challenges for Naya Pakistan", *Pacific International Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 2018, p. 86-89.
[414] Muhammad U. Khalid, *Valence Populism in Pakistan: Making Sense of Imran Khan's Ideological Cluelessness*, Hungary: Central European University, 2020, p. 34.
[415] Shahid Ullah Khan, et al, "The Relentless and logjam Success of Imran Khan and Challenges for Naya Pakistan", p. 86-89.

remarked that Kashmir is the most important issue and that he was willing to take two steps ahead to improve relations.[416] However most of the Indians believe that Pakistan's foreign policy under Imran Khan is largely anti-India. Indians believe that Khan and his Foreign Minister is constantly making anti-India rhetoric. It seems that he has made the foreign ministry of his country the centre of spewing venom against India according to some Indian scholars. The problem is that Indians are not giving a chance to Khan to prove his statements right.

The work done by the army Chief Raheel Sharif during Nawaz Sharif's prime ministership in Pakistan is now done by Qureshi in Imran Khan's government. Indians believe that after the Imran Khan's Government came to power, his so-called anti-India agenda is going on since then. From commenting on India's internal affairs to talking to the separatist leaders of Kashmir, it seems to be the job of the Foreign Ministry of Pakistan. Recently, there has been a lot of uproar over Qureshi's private conversation with separatist leaders of Kashmir. After this, he has been clarifying that he has no intention of interfering in the internal issue of India.[417] However most of Indians believe that that the foreign minister of a country, after talking on the phone with Kashmiri leaders, and the stating that he is not interfering in the internal affairs of India is a biased statement.

Due to the worsening statements of Qureshi, Pakistan Ambassador Suhail Mehmood was summoned in New Delhi recently. India's Foreign Secretary Vijay Gokhale had stated on Qureshi's antics that it would not help improve relations between the two countries. It shall be noted here that in December of last year, Qureshi had stated that Imran Khan has implicated India by throwing a *googly* on the Kartarpur Corridor issue. Due to this, India had to send two ministers to participate in opening ceremony of the Kartarpur corridor. A lot of diplomatic controversy was also raised on that statement of Qureshi.[418] In a way, some Indians believed that his googly statement was clear that Pakistan does not appreciate the sentiments of Sikhs. It was further comprehended that

[416] Ibid., p. 88.
[417] Muhammad U. Khalid, *Valence Populism in Pakistan: Making Sense of Imran Khan's Ideological Cluelessness*, p. 37.
[418] Muhammad U. Khalid, *Valence Populism in Pakistan: Making Sense of Imran Khan's Ideological Cluelessness*, p. 40.

Pakistan was doing politics on the issue of Kartarpur Corridor. Now taking a look at the latest case is of Britain's House Commons. There was a conference on the situation in Kashmir. Qureshi also addressed this conference. All was well here, but it was reported that the Indian media was not allowed to come at his behest, so that they could cover it.[419] That is, Indians believe that Qureshi was now crossing all the boundaries of levity and was not fit be a foreign minister. However, Indians forget that the job of a foreign minister is to improve the relations of its own country with other countries. In other words, it can be clearly stated that he is doing a fine job by fooling the Indian government and is strongly working for the interests of his government and country.

After Iman Khan came to power, who earned a name on the pitch of cricket from politics, it seemed that Khan would try to change the structure of the Pakistan in a good way. His party also claimed about creating a new Pakistan that would be free from corruption and will also improve its relations with the neighbouring countries. However, the Khan government seems to be bowing before the puppets that is mostly Pakistani Army on every issue. There are constant attacks on the rights of religious minorities. Instead of attracting foreign tourists to the country and improving relations with other countries, his foreign ministry is taking up such clichéd issues like Kashmir.[420]

Pakistan, which calls itself the guardian of the Muslims of the entire world, is silent on the atrocities on Muslims in China. China has been unabashedly oppressing the Muslims based in its Muslim-dominated Xinjiang province. But it is clear that Pakistan has not protested even once. Atrocities on Muslims are happening there at the behest of the ruling Communist Party. But Pakistan's TV channels are not broadcasting it at all. The Muslims of Xinjiang province are being taken to the Re-Education Camps and introduced to the ideology of the Communist Party. That is, they are being forced to leave Islam. There are more than one million Muslims in these camps. In these camps, they are asked

[419] Ibid., p. 43.
[420] Mishal Mushtaq, et al, "A corpus-based ideational meta-functional analysis of Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan's speech at United Nations general assembly", *Cogent Social Sciences*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2021, p. 1-17.

to openly condemn their religion Islam. All this is happening so that Chinese Muslims adopt Communist ideology.[421] So that they and their children are always away from the basic teachings of Islam. However, Khan who calls himself a Muslim leader has not even said a single word against China.

6.7. Pakistan's Relation with Global and Regional Powers

6.7.1. Pakistan-China Relations

Since the 1955 Bandung Conference, Pakistan has occupied a unique place in China's foreign policy. The common point that brought the two countries closer was the hostility or rivalry with India. For China, Pakistan is a regional power that will keep India busy, while for Pakistan, China is perceived as the only ally that can balance India on a regional and even global level. In addition to Japan, which became an ally of the USA after the Second World War, the fact that the USA-India relations began to develop with the end of the Cold War has been one of the reasons affecting the rapprochement process in China-Pakistan relations. In 1962[422], China and Pakistan signed an agreement accepting Chinese control in a part of the disputed Kashmir region. In the following period, Pakistan has continuously supported China in important problem areas such as East Turkistan, Taiwan, and Tibet, while China has continuously supported Pakistan on Kashmir.

China has made significant sales and technology transfers to Pakistan in the fields of warplanes, missiles, nuclear technology, and satellite technologies. It is even stated that Pakistan hosts a Chinese space communication facility in Karachi and that Pakistan's nuclear technology and weapons program is an extension of China's. In addition, China's deployment of troops to the Gilgit-Baltistan region[423], the construction of the Gwadar port, the construction of a railway between Karakorum and Gwadar are not simple events that can only be explained within the framework of good decency and international economic

[421] Natasha P. Concepcion, "Human Rights Violations against Muslims in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region of Western China", *Human Rights Brief*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 2000, p. 8.
[422] Minhas Majeed Khan and Mirwais Kasi. "Pakistan-China Relations." *Strategic Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 3, 2017, pp. 55-74.
[423] Ibid., p. 60.

competition. In 2015, China and Pakistan signed a free trade agreement with the goal of increasing bilateral trade volume to $15 billion USD.[424] This close relationship between Pakistan and China should not lead us to the conclusion that China represents an alternative for Pakistan to the United States. In fact, the United States provided Pakistan 349 million dollars as military and economic aid in 2010.[425] The agreements with the USA, especially during the coup administrations, provide an important area of action for the USA on Pakistan. Moreover, if China establishes closer relations with Pakistan, it fears the deepening of Indo-American relations and the emergence of an incurable and insurmountable polarization on the Continent.

China has undertaken the construction of a highway stretching from the Karakoram region to the port of Gwadar, which is located at the Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea checkpoint.[426] Although Pakistan suggested that the port be turned into a Chinese base, China immediately rejected this proposal because it was afraid of possible reactions from the USA and India with an official base to be established here. In addition, Islamabad's inability to prevent extremism is an obstacle to the development of China-Pakistan relations. Although China is in good relations with Pakistan, this relationship remains rather faint in the face of the depth of Pakistan-US relations. The USA has an important sanction power over Pakistan that emerged during the Cold War and continued afterwards.

6.7.2. Pakistan-Russia Relations

Pakistan-USSR relations have changed shape according to the course of USSR-India relations. Although the USSR did not welcome the partition of India and the establishment of Pakistan, it was in an effort to develop balanced relations with Pakistan and India in the period until the 1958 Pakistani military coup. The opinions that the 1958 coup was supported by the USA and made Pakistan a sphere of influence of the USA caused the Soviets to side with India against Pakistan. During the Indian-Pakistani wars

[424] Sun Weidong, "Pakistan-China relations: CPEC and beyond." *Policy Perspectives: The Journal of the Institute of Policy Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 2017, pp. 3-12.
[425] Ibid., p. 9.
[426] Ibid., p. 10.

in 1965 and 1971, the Soviet policy against Pakistan and the fact that India was the main supplier of weapons led to the division of Pakistani domestic policy into anti-Soviet and supporters of developing good relations with this country. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto came to power in 1973[427], who thought that as long as bad relations with the Soviets continued, Pakistan's hand would be weak in the fight against India and that it would not be able to escape from constant defeats.

During the Bhutto period, relations with the Soviets' rose to the best level in history, while Pakistan's relations with SEATO and CENTO were suspended, and relations with the United States under Jimmy Carter were also deteriorated. This situation caused sections within the army, who saw Pakistan's rapprochement with the USSR as a major loss, to take revenge on the USSR, which they saw as the reason for the defeat against the United States and India set the stage for the 1977 Zia ul Haq's coup. One of the reasons that pushed the Soviets' to invade Afghanistan was this loss of ground in Pakistan. It can be argued that after the 1977 coup[428], the Pakistan-US relations reached their highest level in history, especially in the fight against the Soviet occupation in Afghanistan.

During this war, both countries deepened their alliance relations by uniting all their forces within the framework of the common goal of ending the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. This course of relations has also affected Pakistan's domestic policy. So much so that the operation that dealt the final blow to the pro-Soviet regime in Afghanistan was carried out by the order of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Although Bhutto attempted to improve relations with Russia in 1994-95, the Bhutto government's recognition of the Afghan government under Taliban control as the legitimate government prevented the development of relations. Pakistan's declaring the Taliban government illegitimate after the events of September 11, 2001, its cooperation with NATO against extremists, and its participation in the international fight against terrorism have also enabled the rapid recovery of Pakistan-Russia relations. Even though Pakistan-Russia relations developed significantly as a reaction to the unprecedented

[427] Hafeez Ullah Khan. "Pakistan–Russia relations and the changing paradigm." *Journal of Political Studies* Vol. 26, No. 1, 2019, pp. 217-227.
[428] Ibid., p. 220.

improvement in the relations between the USA and India during the term of President Asif Ali Zardari, Prime Minister Putin's statements in 2010 that he wanted to develop strategic relations with India reawakened historical doubts.[429]

In 2011, Russian policies changed again, and this time Putin announced that he supported Pakistan's application to join the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, offered technological support to Pakistan's steel mills and Thar coal enterprises projects, and furthermore Russia also condemned NATO attacks in Pakistan. These events have had a significant impact on Pakistani domestic politics, paving the door for the army to become directly involved in domestic affairs. This has resulted in the country's democratization attempts failing, regimes failing to obtain legitimacy in the eyes of the people, and governments failing to be transparent, accountable, and efficient.[430] However, the new and current government of Pakistan under the leadership of Imran Khan is trying to improve relations with Russia.

6.7.3. Pakistan and US Relations

The United States of America and Pakistan established bilateral relations in 1947. Pakistan is one of the United States' most important non-NATO ally. Pakistan remained a member of Baghdad Pact and CENTO from 1955 to 1979. In an agreement made between the United States of America and Pakistan in 1959, the USA promised to provide military support to Pakistan in case of any attack. But in the India-Pakistan War that took place in 1965, the USA did not fulfil this promise and became an unreliable ally in the eyes of Pakistan. The invasion of Afghanistan by the USSR in 1979 caused an unprecedented deepening of the alliance relations between Pakistan under Zia-ul-Haq and the United States of America.

During this period, the USA provided Pakistan with 3.2 billion dollars of economic and military aid, on the other hand, Pakistan provided weapons and ammunition to the anti-Soviet fighters in Afghanistan and ensured that the Soviets are not successful.

[429] Hafeez Ullah Khan. "Pakistan–Russia relations and the changing paradigm, p. 221.
[430] Ibid., p. 222.

Another important factor affecting the USA-Pakistan relations has been India's position in the international arena. Although India played for the leadership of the Non-Aligned Group during the Cold War, it remained in a position closer to the USSR. Pakistan's involvement in organizations such as CENTO under the influence of the USA has been effective in this situation. Since 1947, India's adoption of a Soviet-style economic model has led to the birth of an implicit alliance between India and the USSR and the deterioration of India's relations with the West. Despite having a population ratio comparable to China, India was not given a permanent membership in the UN Security Council, and unlike China, its nuclear activities caused discontent among Western countries. Since the 1990s, India has begun to make its presence felt deeply in world politics. The fact that it has come a long way in becoming the most populated country in the world and in the top three in terms of economy has made India an undeniable country. From the point of view of the USA, the aims of limiting China and Russia and making their military and economic presence permanent in Asia necessitated the establishment of good relations with this country.[431]

The disintegration of the USSR caused the Pakistan-US relations to enter a complex and problematic period. The most important problem between the two countries was how to limit the activities of the mujahideen used against the Soviet occupation in the post-Cold War period. In the recent period following the assassination of Osama Bin Laden, it is understood that Pakistan-US relations have entered a more tense period. On the days when the US Congress was talking about the interruption of assistance to Pakistan, Pakistan's arrest of Pakistanis who passed information to the CIA about Osama Bin Laden also shows that Pakistan was trying to show that it will not back down from taking countermeasures if the United States neglects it. Pakistan was actually trying to show that the United States needs Pakistan, rather than its need for the United States.

Indeed, for the US, Pakistan is not a country that can be ignored in the context of maintaining an acceptable government in Afghanistan and its access routes to Central

[431] Najam Rafique, "Rethinking Pakistan–US relations." *Strategic Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 3, 2011, pp. 124-152.

Asia. Supporters of the status quo in Pakistan are on the alert for a possible democratic reform movement, and this is one of the most important reasons for the recent tensions in US-Pakistani relations. It can be said that the elites representing the status quo in Pakistan want the effects of the conditions left over from the Cold War and 9/11 periods to continue and the USA to continue its cooperation with them.[432] The USA, on the other hand, thinks that it cannot ignore India in the changing world conditions, and wants more countries in South Asia, along with India, to integrate with the West by adopting democratic and liberal values, and thinks that in this way, it can force China and even Russia to democratize. The United States has played and continues to play the most important role in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy and, accordingly, its domestic policy.[433] Since its inception, the United States has played a vital role in the training of the Pakistani army, as well as shaping the country's economic planning through its economic aid programs. Terrorist financing networks in Pakistan came under investigation in mid-2018 when the Paris-based Financial Action Task Force (FATF) found significant deficiencies in Pakistan's fight against money laundering and terrorist funding. Pakistan was recently placed on the gray list in 2021.

6.7.4. Pakistan-Israel Relations

The violent opposition of religious groups in Pakistan towards Israel caused the Pakistani public to become anti-Israeli and the Pakistani government to develop anti-Israel policies. In this case, Israel approached India, tried to prevent the US aid to Pakistan, and declared Pakistan, together with Afghanistan, the most important enemies of Israel. At this point, it can be argued that there are more important reasons behind the hostility towards Israel in Pakistan. As a matter of fact, with the end of the Cold War, India, which lost its most important patron and arms supplier in the international arena, the USSR, began to look for ways to improve its relations with the United States. At this point, the notion that Israel is the only mediator had started to dominate in the eyes of Indian decision-makers, and in the following period, significant progress had been seen in India-

[432] Najam Rafique, "Rethinking Pakistan–US relations, p. 130.
[433] Ibid., p. 136.

Israel relations. In the 1980s, Israel made some attempts to eliminate Pakistan's nuclear capacity, but these attempts remained inconclusive due to the intelligence capability of the Pakistani secret service ISI and the readiness of Pakistani jets. [434]

On the one hand, India tried to prevent Israel's attempts by being afraid of being exposed to a nuclear attack in the event of such an attack, and on the other hand, being afraid of becoming the enemy of all Islamic countries. The war against the USSR in Afghanistan during the 1980s further complicated the situation. The struggle against the Soviets has given unprecedented depth to the historical strategic alliance relations between the USA and Pakistan. In this case, Israel ensured the establishment of relations between MOSSAD and ISI in order to improve its relations with Pakistan.[435] Moreover, a large number of weapons were obtained from Israel to be used in Afghanistan against the USSR. Recently, some talks have been held regarding the establishment of diplomatic relations between Israel and Pakistan, but Pakistan has firmly stated that it will not establish any diplomatic relations with Israel until an independent Palestinian state is established. The fact that Islam was determined as the founding identity during the establishment of Pakistan affected the country's domestic and foreign policies. Despite the establishment of good relations with Islamic countries, the fact is that Israel has not been recognized by Pakistan until now.[436]

6.7.5. Pakistan-Turkey Relations

Although Turkey and Pakistan are geographically separated from each other, they maintain close relations and cooperation in many fields such as politics, economy, and defence due to their historical ties of brotherhood based on common religion and cultural heritage. The fact that Turkey was one of the first countries to recognize Pakistan, founded in 1947, was one of the most important steps that strengthened the understanding of close friendship and brotherhood based on the history of the people of the two countries.

[434] Vinay Kaura, "Prospects of Israel-Pakistan rapprochement." *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 26, No. 6, 2020, pp. 785-798.
[435] Ibid., p. 790.
[436] Ibid., p. 793.

Relations have developed with high-level visits after the foundation of Pakistan as the two countries support each other in their most difficult times, such as natural disasters. On November 16-17, 2016, President Recep Tayyip Erdoan paid an official visit to Pakistan. President Erdoğan also attended the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) Summit held in Islamabad between February 28 and March 1, 2017.[437]

Turkey and Pakistan are two countries that have historical ties of brotherhood, built on a common cultural heritage, and the economic relations between them are maintained within a strong framework created by these ties. It is seen that the relations between Turkey and Pakistan have been strengthened in an institutional sense in recent years. The mechanism, which was established as a High-Level Cooperation Council between the two countries in 2009, was later upgraded to the level of a High-Level Strategic Cooperation Council. The council's latest meeting was held in Islamabad in February 2020 with the participation of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan. On 28 December 2018, the Pakistani judiciary recognized the Fetullah Terrorist Organization (FETO) as a terrorist organization and decided to transfer the schools owned by the organization to the Turkish Maarif Foundation, which was an important development in the relations between the two countries. [438]

In addition to projects aimed at preserving, the common cultural heritage in Pakistan, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) has contributed to many works in the field of health, education, clean water, agriculture and municipal services. In the earthquake and flood disasters that occurred in Pakistan in 2005 and 2010, aid was delivered from Turkey to the country through TIKA. On the other hand, 1,100 Pakistani students have already studied in Turkey within the scope of Türkiye Scholarships coordinated by the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB). The relations between Turkey and Pakistan continue to develop not only in the

[437] Sheharyar Khan, "Dynamics of Pakistan-Turkey Relations", *Pakistan Review of Social Sciences*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 2020,pp. 14-24.
[438] Rahat Shah, Wang Li, "Rationales behind Pakistan-Turkey relations since September 11, 2001", *The Round Table*, Vol. 109, No. 5, 2020, pp. 559-573.

bilateral dimension but also in the presence of multilateral organizations. The two countries follow a constructive stance on economic and human development and security issues in many platforms, especially the United Nations (UN). [439]

Considering that the current trade volume of Turkey and Pakistan does not reflect the potential of the two countries in terms of population and economic size, steps are taken to increase economic cooperation and investments, trade delegations frequently visit each other. The most striking point in the bilateral trade of goods between Turkey and Pakistan is that although the economic relations are in a very positive framework, the trade volume is at a very low amount. In 2019, the trade volume between the two countries was realized as 803.0 million dollars, and of this figure, 499.1 million dollars is Turkey's exports to Pakistan, while 303.9 million dollars is Turkey's imports from this country.[440] Most of the imports from Pakistan to Turkey are cotton fabrics. The main imported products include cotton yarn, ethyl alcohol, leather, and leather clothing, knitted gloves and ready-made clothing products.

Turkey mostly exports electrical equipment for telephone and telegraph, sanitary towels and diapers, electrical transformers, cotton weaving, textile machinery, cartridges and bullets, machines with specific functions and rubber tires to Pakistan. Negotiations on the signing of a Free Trade Agreement between Turkey and Pakistan are in progress. The investments of Turkish companies investing in Pakistan are around 2 billion dollars. The total amount of projects undertaken by Turkish companies in the field of construction in Pakistan so far is over 1.7 billion dollars. Turkey and Pakistan continue their procurement, shopping, research and development activities within the framework of military cooperation. While military officials make regular mutual visits, various defence projects are being implemented between the two countries. In addition to the contract signed in 2017 for Turkey's fighter jet pilots to purchase 52 initial trainer aircraft from Pakistan to be used in training, the contracts signed last year for the sale of helicopters to Pakistan

[439] Aisha Shahzad, "Economic Relations between Pakistan and Turkey in a Globalized World", *Eurasian Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 2019, pp. 30-40.
[440] Aisha Shahzad, "Economic Relations between Pakistan and Turkey in a Globalized World", p. 36-38

and the joint production of MILGEM class corvettes have been concluded in the field of defence industry cooperation.[441]

6.8. India's relation with the Global and Regional Powers

6.8.1. India-China Relations

One of the important goals and achievements of Indian foreign policy after the Cold War has been to take steps towards resolving border and territorial issues with China and to normalize bilateral relations with China. The ever-increasing trade relations between India and China have also brought about the process of political decisionism. The two nations' trade volume climbed from a few hundred million dollars in the 1990s to 13 billion dollars in 2004, and China has risen to become India's second largest trading partner since then. It aims to double commerce between the two countries to 80 billion dollars by 2022. China and India were at conflict over border areas by the late 1950s. This scenario resulted in a two-month battle between the two countries in 1962, although the matter was not solved during the conflict.[442]

During this war, China occupied the Arunachal Pradesh region of India, thus cutting off India's connection with Tibet. Later, China claimed 90,000 square kilometres on India's north-eastern border, while India accused China of occupying 38,000 square kilometres in the Kashmir region. Moreover, India has identified China as the number one threat after its 1998 nuclear tests. In 2003, it established a joint commission to clarify the border disputes between the two countries. Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao's four-day official visit to India on April 11, 2005 marked a turning point in India-China relations.[443]

During this visit, Jiabao announced that they did not claim any rights over Sikkim region and that they would support India to be more effective in the international arena.

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[441] Nazmul Islam, "Turkey, Asia Anew and South Asia: A Comparative Assessment on Bilateral Relations and Soft Power Policy with Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan", *TURAN-SAM*, Vol. 12, No. 47, 2020, pp. 379-398.
[442] Jagannath P, Panda, *India-China relations: politics of resources, identity and authority in a multipolar world order*, New York: Routledge, 2016, p. 33.
[443] Ibid., p. 39.

Indian Prime Minister Sing, on the other hand, said that India and China must reshape the world order.[444] During this visit, two important agreements on free trade and political settlement of land problems were signed. These agreements show the change in both India's and China's view of each other and their regional policies. The normalization process of India-China relations and the acceptance of India as an observer member to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization at the Astana Summit held on 5th July 2005 strengthened India's position in Central Asia.[445]

Russia played a special role in the India-China rapprochement. Although Russia cooperates with China within the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, it perceives China's economic and demographic expansionism in Central Asia as a major threat. At this point, India emerges as a balancing factor for Russia against China. The normalization process of relations between India and China also provided an important basis for the idea of the Moscow-Beijing-Delhi triple alliance put forward by Russia. However, India is concerned about the ever-increasing Chinese influence in Central Asia and is following it closely. A new pillar of power will appear in Asia if the Shanghai Cooperation Organization turns into an area where the interests of giant countries such as China, India and Russia will be in harmony. However, it seems very difficult for these three countries to push aside their problems and increase the relationships between them to the level of alliance. It is possible to evaluate the joint military exercises as attempts to protect the two important markets of Russia, the biggest arms dealer of China and India.

India emerges as one of the most important countries that can create a balance against China, due to its many features such as the large population, the possession of nuclear weapons, the continuous growth of its economy and the conflict of interests with China on many issues. As mentioned above, India-China relations have been problematic for a long time due to border disputes, Tibet problem and China-Pakistan military alliance. Like Russia, another important state that takes these facts into account and wants to use India as a counterbalance to China is the USA. Since June 2020, India and China have

[444] Ibid., p. 42.
[445] Nimmi Kurian, *India-China Borderlands: Conversations Beyond the Centre*, New Delhi: SAGE Publications India, 2014, p. 73.

been facing each other in the Ladakh Region and Galwan Valley, and there have been clashes between the two armies with loss of life. First of all, the reason for India's military build-up on the Chinese border is that China has increased the number of soldiers in the Tibet and Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, which borders the disputed Kashmir Region, and intimidated India with military exercises in Tibet. While the tension over the Kashmir Issue on the New Delhi-Beijing line is escalating, the USA wants to take advantage of the global media power to further fuel this tension. In short, the source of these provocative actions between the two great powers is largely due to the Chinese strategy of the Washington administration.[446]

6.8.2. India-Russia Relations

One of the most important countries influencing India's position in Central Asia is Russia. As a legacy of the Cold War era, India and Russia are two countries that consider each other as traditional allies. The alliance agreement signed between India and the USSR in 1971 is still valid today. India largely buys its arms and ammunition from Russia. India recently signed 28 agreements related to defence with Russia on 6th December 2021 during Vladimir Putin's visit to India. Russia has also started delivering its S-400 long range air missiles to India based on a deal between the two counties that was signed in 2018.[447] Furthermore, the two countries' land, naval and air forces had held a large-scale joint military exercise near New Delhi on 12th October 2005 to combat terrorism.

Although the political and military relations between India and Russia are advanced, the volume of trade between the two countries is 1 billion 800 million dollars. Yevgeny Primakov, who was the prime minister of Russia, put forward the idea of forming a tripartite bloc between Russia, China, and India in 1998. However, during this period when India was conducting nuclear tests, its relations with China did not allow Russia to implement the idea of a triple alliance. After Russian President Vladimir Putin took office, he continued the rapprochement process with China initiated by his predecessor Yeltsin,

[446] Nimmi Kurian, *India-China Borderlands: Conversations Beyond the Centre*, p. 80.
[447] Hafeez Ullah Khan, "Pakistan–Russia relations and the changing paradigm", *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1, 2019, p. 217-227.

and the so-called Shanghai Five was transformed into a six-member organization in 2001.[448] When Russia became a close ally with China in this way, it attempted to mediate between the two countries. Since 2004, important steps have been taken in solving the land problems between India and China. All three countries consider cooperation necessary due to their internal problems, which they consider as Islamic terrorism. India considers trilateral cooperation necessary in the fight against terrorism because of Kashmir, China because of East Turkistan, and Russia because of the Chechnya problem. The territorial issues between India and China have not been deciphered, but frozen. But still the idea of a triple alliance is a distant prospect. Therefore, it seems more attractive for the three countries to cooperate within the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

6.8.3. India-USA Relations

India is defined as a key country in the efforts to establish a multipolar world order led by Russia and China. Although this definition is correct, it does not fully reflect the truth. Since 2000, great progress has been made in the relations between India and the USA. The Bush administration continued the strategy of discovering India, which was initiated by US President Clinton, who visited India in March 2000, and in 2005, the cooperation between the two countries exceeded the dimensions of increasing arms exchange in defence issues, joint production of weapons and technology transfer. In July 2005, the United States lifted its embargo on India and made a nuclear pact. When India conducted a nuclear weapons test for the first time in 1998, the United States reacted strongly to it and had imposed economic sanctions on India.[449]

After September 11, it was decisively agreed that India would provide full support to the United States and that strategic cooperation would be established between the two countries. In June 2005, a framework agreement was signed during the visit of Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to the USA. This agreement, which foresees joint military exercises and facilitating the sale of military equipment, also includes the

[448] Ibid., p. 220.
[449] Khalid Iram., "Re-Energizing India US Relations," *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1, 2020, p. 60.

development of cooperation between the two countries on the civilian nuclear program. The most important reason that pushed India to have nuclear weapons was the territorial problems with Pakistan and China.[450] In the new conditions that emerged after the Cold War, the normalization of relations with Pakistan and the resolution of the problems with China led to the reduction of threats to India's security. Despite this, India has made its military nuclear program even more active, let alone stop it. The main reason for this is India's desire to become a global leader in the emerging new world order. India expresses its requests for permanent membership in the UN Security Council, citing its military and nuclear power. From the point of view of domestic policy, nuclear policy is an issue supported by the vast majority of the public.[451]

In India nuclear power is considered by the people to be necessary for the protection of the country's national interests and independent foreign policy. Therefore, all political parties also attach importance to the development of nuclear weapons as a material of domestic policy. US President Bush visited India in March 2006.[452] Bush's visit to India had led to comments that the United States has changed its approach to South Asia, putting its relations with its traditional ally Pakistan on the back burner and prioritizing India. It was stated that the United States, which preferred Delhi as its main strategic partner in the region instead of Islamabad, would support all kinds of activities, including India's establishment of a base in Central Asia. During Bush's visit to India, he raised the issue of the Greater Central Asia Project and the US President had requested India's support in this regard. Evaluations regarding the overlap between the strategic goals of the USA and India in the region mostly reflect the reality.

The implementation of the strategy initiated by the USA under the name of the Great Central Asia Project, which aimed to establish a North-South transportation and energy corridor, would provide India's direct access to the Central Asian region. In this context, the Trans-Afghan Pipeline project for the transport of Turkmenistan natural gas to the southern line was the most concrete initiative. However, in the implementation of this

[450] Ibid., p. 61.
[451] Khalid Iram, "Re-Energizing India US Relations, p. 62.
[452] Ibid., p. 63.

strategy, it was of great importance to ensure stability in Afghanistan and to cut Pakistan's support for the Taliban.[453] These two points are also very important for India's security. If this fails, India will continue to cooperate with Russia and Iran in order to strengthen its control in Central Asia. The nuclear treaty concluded between Washington and New Delhi is aimed at establishing a regional balance system in the depth of Asia. Since the United States is trying to make a similar agreement with the Pakistani side, linking the danger of using nuclear power to the result. Increasing trade relations is an important factor in bilateral relations. For example, India's recognition of the US-imposed embargo on Iran, which plays a serious role in closing the energy deficit, shows the dimensions of cooperation and harmony in bilateral relations with the United States. The dominant force of the unipolar system is the strategy that the United States has pursued in South Asia, rather than just balancing at the global level, has been to turn to regional balancing alliances.[454]

The relations between the USA and India are of great importance, considering that the centre of international relations is gradually shifting to the east. The fact that the two countries, which had very limited relations before the Cold War, tended to cooperate in many fields after this period, as well as the fact that the USA wanted to produce multilateral policies, also had an effect on India's becoming an important regional power in the world. The fact that India has become a serious economic power with its market-based economic policies and support for global growth makes this country even more important in the eyes of the USA.

One of the reasons for the importance of the United States to India in the post-Cold War period is that the Asia Pacific region. The United States, which produces policies with a natural reflex in the face of China's rising power, aims to establish close relations with the countries of the region in this respect, and it is considered normal to give priority to India in this process. Countries bordering the Indian Ocean, which is considered the most important point where China opens to the world, is the main target of the USA in the new period. For the USA, the sustainability of its presence in South Asia is possible by

[453] Ibid., p. 63.
[454] Khalid Iram, "Re-Energizing India US Relations, p. 64.

establishing good relations with India, whose influence in this region has increased even more. An alliance to be established by India with the United States is necessary in terms of balancing India's traditional competitors in the region, Russia, and China. As such, the changing dynamics after the Cold War and the country's relations have allowed it to be maintained in a new era.

In 2018, US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and Secretary of Defence Jim Mattis inked an agreement with Indian Ministers of External Affairs Sushma Swaraj and Defence Minister Nirmala Sitharaman aimed at strengthening bilateral defence cooperation. On 24th February 2020, the former US president Donald Trump visited India. During his visit India agreed to buy 3 billion US military equipment to boost the defence system of the country. Recently on 27th October 2020, U.S. Secretary of Defence Mark T. Esper met with Indian Defence Minister Rajnath Singh and signed an agreement regarding boosting accuracy of Indian drones and cruise missiles.[455] So, it can be said that the India and US relations are improving day by day.

6.8.4. India-European Union Relations

When it comes to India's relations with Europe, it's clear that political and commercial collaboration have progressed at a breakneck pace in recent years. Considering the economic relations between the two sides; bilateral trade, which was 77 billion Euros in 2016, reached 109 billion Euros in 2021, can be given as an example of developing commercial relations. Although the economic summits between India and the EU were interrupted in some periods, the 14th Partnership Summit was held in New Delhi on October 6, 2017, and the 2020 India-Europe Agenda plan was accepted. [456] Accordingly, the development of security, technological and trade relations has become a priority. From this point of view, although the development of India's relations with the Central Asian countries in the second periphery seems to be only increasing its regional

[455] Khalid Iram, "Re-Energizing India US Relations, p. 65.
[456] Winand Pascaline, "The European Union and India: From donor-recipient relations to partners in development." *Global Affairs*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 2021, pp. 579-595.

influence, creating new markets and resources, the main thing is that New Delhi sees itself as a global actor.

Between 2014 and 2020, the EU invested $800 million in East Asia. In the Indo-Pacific, which has an important economic value for the EU, furthermore EU companies continue to expand into the markets in the region. Those who govern the markets and set the regulations and standards for the region have an impact on the long-term viability of EU firms in the region. Furthermore, diversifying the global supply chain in a region other than China provides an opportunity to boost investment in Indo-Pacific economies. Recently, the EU and India held talks on the construction of new joint infrastructure projects that rival China's giant infrastructure project 'One Belt One Road'.

According to some sources this project emphasized that the EU and its allies have a common interest in alternatives dominated by multilateralism, not that Chinese investments will dominate. The most problematic aspects of the previously unsuccessful negotiations between 2007-13 were India's unwillingness to facilitate access to EU lawyers and its reluctance to open its market to European automotive parts. The EU is India's largest trading partner with over $100 billion in bilateral trade, according to data from the Indian Ministry of Commerce.[457] The USA and China competed fiercely for the second place. The EU is also India's second largest export market after the US. India is the EU's 10th largest trading partner. According to ministry data, despite the tension on the border, China overtook the United States with a bilateral trade volume of $77.7 billion in 2020, becoming India's second largest trading partner. India's bilateral trade with the USA, on the other hand, decreased to 75.9 billion dollars with the pandemic. On the other hand, there is a $40 billion deficit in India's trade with China[458]. China purchases labour-intensive and low-value-added products and raw materials from India, to which it exports high value-added products.

[457] Winand Pascaline, "The European Union and India: From donor-recipient relations to partners in development, p. 585.
[458] Ibid., 586.

6.8.5. India-Uzbekistan Relations

Central Asia is geopolitically a buffer zone between Russia and China. Afghanistan, which is the extension of Central Asia, and is considered as a bordering neighbour in the context of Indian strategy. In India's rivalry and tension with Pakistan and China, this region emerges as a strategic area of struggle for influence. The disintegration of the Soviet Union provided India with a new political chance to expand into Central Asia. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, all of which acquired independence when the Soviet Union fell apart, had to deal with their own national identity issues and policies. India-Uzbekistan relations have historical ties dating back to the 14th century. The ancient trade route like silk road routes passed through the cities of Uzbekistan along the Fergana valley line, as well as the cities of Samarkand and Bukhara. Traders, architects, and artists of Indian origin in these cities played a leading role in developing the relations between the two cultural basins.

During the Soviet Union period, the relationship between Uzbekistan and India was carried out at a limited level. Since Tashkent was one of the important centres of Soviet-era Central Asia, the region functioned as the main administrative centre of Soviet Russia. In terms of India, the Consulate opened in Tashkent in 1987 was elevated to the level of embassy in 1992, with the aim of deepening political relations. Within the scope of the changing foreign policy understanding of India after 1990, a rapid acceleration was achieved with the mutual visits of the leaders of the two countries.[459] The relations between the two countries focused on the economy and cooperation agreements were made for energy resources. In addition, as an extension of this, more efficient trade opportunities were challenged by reaching a multi-faceted agreement with Iran and Afghanistan.

Following the visit of Prime Minister Singh of India in 2006, a memorandum of understanding on gas, mining and oil was signed. With this visit, Uzbekistan supported India's desire to join the United Nations Security Council on a permanent basis. Strategic

[459] Meena Singh Roy and Rajorshi Roy. "Uzbekistan: The Key Pillar of India's 'Act North'Engagement." *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 44, No. 2, 2020, pp. 106-124.

agreements were signed at the meeting between Mirziyoyev and Narendra Modi, who came together at the Hujarat Global 2019 summit in Ahmedabad.[460] One of the most important of these is the uranium supply agreement from Uzbekistan to India. While the trade volume between the two countries was 159 million dollars in 2011, this figure increased to 323 million dollars in 2017. The trade imbalance between the two countries was partially balanced by the increase in the export items of Uzbekistan after Karimov. As a result, it can be said that Uzbekistan's regional expansions form a suitable basis for India's strategy of developing relations with neighbouring countries. After new openings, for India, Uzbekistan is seen as a gateway to Central Asia. Based on this, the relations between India and Uzbekistan are expected to increase in the coming period.

6.8.6. India-Afghanistan Relations

India is one of the countries that mostly supported the US intervention to eliminate the Taliban and were most satisfied with the change in Afghanistan. The developments in Afghanistan have been in favour of India, and Afghanistan, which was an obstacle between Central Asia and India before, has turned into a springboard for India's opening to Central Asia. India has made large investments in Afghanistan since the fall of the Taliban regime. Seeing the stability of Afghanistan as very important for its national security, India provided 650 million dollars in aid between 2002-2006 for the projects related to the reconstruction of Afghanistan. In addition to its embassy in Kabul, India opened consulates in Jalalabad, Herat, and Kandahar.[461] The leader factor also had a significant impact on the post-Taliban Afghanistan-India rapprochement.

Hamid Karzai, who assumed the post of head of state in Afghanistan, defined India, where he received his higher education, as his second home. Prime Minister of India Manmohan Singh paid an official visit to Afghanistan in November 2005. This visit was important as it was the first visit of the Indian side to Afghanistan at the prime ministerial level after 29 years. Karzai had visited India three times from the end of 2001, when he

[460] Ibid., p. 112.
[461] Harsh V. Pant, "India in Afghanistan: A test case for a rising power." *Contemporary South Asia*, Vol. 18, No. 2. 2010, pp. 133-153.

took office, until November 2005.[462] During the reciprocal visits, agreements were signed in areas of vital importance for Afghanistan's development, such as education, health, and agriculture, apart from the fight against terrorism and security issues. Trans-Afghan Pipeline had been directly related to the developments in Afghanistan in terms of benefiting from energy resources.

Trans-Afghan Pipeline, which aims to deliver Turkmenistan natural gas to the Indian Ocean, first came to the fore in 1991 and the Asian Development Bank financed the feasibility of the project. The Trans-Afghan Pipeline natural gas pipeline project, which India was reluctant to approach for a long time in order not to give a trump card to Pakistan, was approved by Prime Minister Singh at the beginning of 2005.[463] The normalization of relations with Pakistan, its cooperation with the USA and its desire to meet the energy needs of its ever-growing economy, as well as the change in management in Afghanistan, were effective in India's participation in the project. For the first time, India participated with a delegation to the ministerial meeting held in Ashgabat, the capital of Turkmenistan, on February 14th, 2006, for the Trans-Afghan Pipeline project.[464] When India's policy towards the conflict is evaluated throughout all phases of the Afghan conflict, it can be seen that India strives to establish a secular, if not a moderate, government in Afghanistan if possible.

For this, Iran can mobilize the good relations and potential cooperation opportunities it has developed with Russia and Central Asian states. After the Taliban forces entered Kabul on August 15, 2021, and the United States (USA) completed the withdrawal process from Afghanistan on August 31, 2021, the world has come to the brink of a new geopolitical volatility.[465] The said wave opened the door to many options ranging from regional cooperation opportunities to the possibility of deepening of conflicts. Considering the possibility of deepening of the conflicts, the first scenario that comes to mind is that the terrorist groups that are already in the region and that may emerge are

[462] Ibid., p. 141.
[463] Harsh V. Pant, "India in Afghanistan: A test case for a rising power, p. 149.
[464] Ibid., p. 150.
[465] Prakhar Sharma, "India–Afghanistan Relations: Pragmatism towards Political Normalisation." Routledge Handbook on South Asian Foreign Policy, 2021, pp. 139-151.

starting from inside Afghanistan; Central Asian countries, Russia, Iran, India and China to include states such as creating an environment of instability and damage the region's economic, social and political structure. However, it can be stated that the migration problem arising from the environment of insecurity will also affect other countries. As it can be predicted, Afghanistan-India relations entered a new phase after the Taliban dominated the country. Over the past two decades, India has developed good relations with Afghan governments. In this process, New Delhi made infrastructure and superstructure investments in Afghanistan and tried to support the weak Afghanistan economy. Undoubtedly, India's largest visible aid in the period in question was the Afghan Parliament, which was built in 2015 and was fully financed by India. In addition to the aid provided, there was a rapid increase in commercial relations.[466]

Between 2019-2020, the trade volume between the two countries reached the highest level, reaching approximately 1.5 billion dollars. Looking at the latest events, it is understood that the Taliban is one of the most important power centres in Afghanistan and cannot be ignored. Likewise, it is undeniable that India is one of the most powerful actors in the region. In this respect, India can make positive contributions to the region and the new reality in Afghanistan. Undoubtedly, India is one of the countries most disturbed by the withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan. In fact, India's discomfort with the Taliban's control in Afghanistan is not new. When the agreement between the Taliban and the USA was signed in February 2020 in Doha, the capital of Qatar, which stipulates the withdrawal of US forces by the end of 2021[467] many Indian experts stated that Afghanistan was left at the mercy of the Taliban and Pakistan. The fact that the Taliban took control of the country in a short time last August and that the Western powers, especially the USA, had to leave Afghanistan in a hurry, justified the concerns of Indian experts.

After the Taliban took control of Afghanistan, unlike Russia and China, the other great power of Asia, India, closed its embassy in Kabul. Until the Taliban, India-Afghanistan relations had reached a very good level. Between 2021, India invested about

[466] Prakhar Sharma, "India–Afghanistan Relations: Pragmatism towards Political Normalisation, p. 140.
[467] Ibid., p. 141.

3 billion dollars in development projects in Afghanistan. Even at the Afghanistan Conference held in 2020[468], Indian Foreign Minister Subrahmanyam Jaishankar stated that with more than 400 infrastructure projects in 34 states, all parts of Afghanistan were touched. Among these, the Parliament building, which was built for 90 million dollars as a gift from India to Afghanistan and opened in 2015 with the participation of President Modi, has a special symbolic importance. In addition, another symbolic investment is the Salma Dam, also known as the Afghan Indian Friendship Dam, which was built in Herat with Indian funds for hydroelectric and irrigation purposes.

In addition, in accordance with the 'Strategic Partnership Agreement' signed between India and Afghanistan in 2011, Afghan goods gained the right to enter the Indian market duty-free. As a result of this, India-Afghanistan trade volume between 2019-2020 reached 1.5 billion dollars.[469] Moreover, more than 500 flights were carried out in the process of air transportation between India and Afghanistan, which was established in 2017, until the Taliban took control. In this way, 5000 cubic meters of cargo was transported between the two countries. Furthermore, India was targeting an access corridor to Central Asia via Afghanistan by expanding Iran's Chabahar port with investments. Thus, by leaving Pakistan out, India would be able to establish a geo-economic trade line with Central Asia. But with the withdrawal of the USA, all of India's strategic investments based on Afghanistan entered into a period of uncertainty to a large extent. With the US withdrawal from Afghanistan, India is in a very difficult position. The situation has led to the end of the economic and political engagement that India had developed with Afghanistan under favourable conditions since 2001.

6.8.7. India-Turkey Relations

Turkey immediately recognized India, which gained its independence on August 15th, 1947, and diplomatic relations were established. Turkish Embassy in New Delhi and Turkish Consulate General in Mumbai and Hyderabad are presently operating in India. Turkey sees India as a friendly country advancing towards becoming a global power with

[468] Ibid., 143.
[469] Prakhar Sharma, "India–Afghanistan Relations: Pragmatism towards Political Normalisation, p. 146.

its large market, superiority in space and information technology, rich human resources, deep-rooted historical and cultural heritage.

President Recep Erdogan and Indian Prime Minister Modi came together at the BRICS[470] and G20 summits in 2015 and 2019. Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, on September 23rd, 2019, at the 74th UN General Assembly met with Minister of Foreign Affairs of India, Subrahmanyam Jaishankar and both had a bilateral meeting. Delegations led by Ambassador Sedat Önal, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Ambassador Gitesh Sharma, Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of India, met in New Delhi on May 8, 2019.[471]

The Central Asian region also constitutes an area of common interest and cooperation for Turkey and India. Ensuring stability in the region is important for both countries. In addition to the historical, cultural ties of both countries with the region and the fact that India is one of the most important gates to the Indian Ocean for the region; the accounts of powers such as China, Russia and the United States over the region make cooperation between Turkey and India inevitable. The USA's plans to withdraw from the region and the fact that countries such as Turkey and India do not find much space in the preparation of these plans require the two countries to consult more with other countries in the region.

In terms of energy geopolitics, Turkey and India are kind of dependent countries. It should not be ignored that Turkey, which has made great efforts to become an energy transition and market, supports projects in favour of India in the region. India's neighbours Pakistan and Afghanistan are vital countries for Turkey. In contrast, countries such as Syria, Iraq, Israel, and Egypt, which are Turkey's neighbours and located in its immediate region, are also of immense importance to India. Turkey's role in the problems related to Pakistan and Afghanistan is too significant to ignore. At this point, possible India-Turkey

[470] Melike E. Bildirici, "Militarization, economic growth and petroleum consumption in Brazil, Russian, India, China, Turkey, South Africa and Mexico", *Economic Computation & Economic Cybernetics Studies & Research*, Vol. 51, No. 2, 2017, pp. 77-80.
[471] Ibid., p. 79.

dialogue and cooperation is important in terms of minimizing the mutual concerns of the two countries.

Turkey's role in Burma (Myanmar) also contributes significantly to the two countries' better understanding of each other. Think Tanks are one of the basic building blocks of democracy and play an important role in the solution of international problems. It is important to encourage interaction between civil society elements and to create a good image of the other side on both sides. Turkey and India are democratic and pluralistic countries that have managed to keep their Muslim peoples in a state-conscious and free from radicalism. The two countries may make a significant contribution to security and stability by cooperating at the global and regional levels in the fight against radicalism, which is one of the most prominent drivers of instability in today's world.

New approaches and interdependence to be developed between Turkey and India should be crowned with high-level relations. One of the important obstacles to the development of relations between the two countries is the inadequacy of high-level visits. In particular, the lack of high-level visits by the Indian side makes it difficult to overcome the psychological barriers necessary for the development of relations between the two countries. The size of the current potential between the two countries should be seen by decision makers and expected to be fulfilled. Public opinion in the two countries perceives the other as a rising value. Approaches are needed to mobilize new results. India has a very high trade volume and a large diaspora in the Middle East. Turkey-India trade volume approaching 7 billion dollars constitutes the material basis of relations[472]. However, considering the demographic and economic capacities of the two countries, as well as the complementary nature of the two countries' economies, it is understood that the current economic relations are quite inadequate. In order to expand and deepen bilateral relations, it is an inevitable necessity to develop economic relations first.[473]

[472] Melike E. Bildirici, "Militarization, economic growth and petroleum consumption in Brazil, Russian, India, China, Turkey, South Africa and Mexico", p. 79.
[473] Anna Bigelow, "Lived Secularism: Studies in India and Turkey", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 87, No. 3, 2019, pp. 725-764.

In this context, recognizing the existence of sensitive, fragile, short-term problems in bilateral relations, identifying areas of common interest that will result in short-term results, developing cooperation in these areas; starting from economic areas and even a few sectors open to cooperation and allowing it to spread to other sectors with a snowball effect; including businessmen in the process; emphasis on cultural cooperation, think tanks, civil society organizations, universities, writers, artists, journalists improving the interaction between a mutual to prepare the ground for the learning of language to intensify, the opening of the Cultural Centre, to provide flexibility when it comes to visas, tourism relations needs to be strengthened.

It can be said that the relations between Turkey and India follow a stable course. However, it is possible to ensure that India's interactions with the Asia-Pacific area, which is becoming increasingly important in global trade and politics, and the Indian Ocean, which heavily feeds this region, have a long-term structure built on solid foundations. Despite the stalemate in relations between the two countries, some historical and religious-cultural factors should not be overlooked. For example, the impact of regional factors such as the secession of Pakistan and the Kashmir issue added to it is undeniable. In this context, it is necessary to distinguish Turkey-India relations between practical approaches and ideals.[474]

However, it would be beneficial to bring up the Turkish elements in the north of the country, with a population structure of more than one billion, and the significant Muslim population in the states of the sub-continent facing the Arabian Sea in the west, the Bay of Bengal, and the Strait of Malaka in the east, as a common denominator. The significant constructive effect of the network of relations that need to be developed in the regions of the Sub-Continent, which stands out with these different features, will also be felt in time, in the political and commercial relations of Turkey extending to the lands of Southeast Asia.[475] Meeting the stated expectations and realizing the predictions depend on Turkey's ability to use as much as possible the opportunities that will enable it to cooperate with

[474] Anna Bigelow, "Lived Secularism: Studies in India and Turkey", pp. 725-764.
[475] Ibid., p. 750.

both the official, semi-official, and private sectors in wide areas in this gigantic country. In this context, it is possible to say that President Erdogan's visit gives hope for such a concrete initiative. It is claimed that the relations between the two countries are going to improve in future. Both the countries are considered as emerging superpowers in their region, so it seems that both the countries need to develop decent relations with each other.

6.9. Assessment of Modi's and Khan's Government

Moving towards the seventh year as Prime Minister, Narendra Modi has established a unique style of governance and politics. There is a lot of difference between Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Modi's leadership. His rule is also slightly different from Morarji Desai's rule as well. In the last nearly seven years, he has made a substantial change in the vision and thinking of the government and has made the administration well-organized. Not only did he move further towards making Indian politics Congress-free in the 2019 *Lok Sabha* (Lower House) elections after 2014, but his agenda is to bring development in all areas by 2024.[476] However Modi has been continuously criticized from being an anti-Muslim leader which is proven by his past politics when he was the chief minister of Gujrat region.

Modi's major goal in governance is to create a new India by 2025. For this, he has made a rule to bring 40% posts in the Indian bureaucracy through professional and independent thinkers with professional and progressive approach through lateral entry. There will be no rules and public examinations for these 40 per cent people.[477] In other words these 40% bureaucrats will be the people belonging to his government's ideology. Narendra Modi takes the risks and he is neither afraid of negative reactions nor distracted. His government took strange decisions like passing the GST law and demonetization. However, most of the common people have suffered with the implementation of this law. Furthermore, most of the Indian renowned Economist believe that demonetization was the biggest blunder done by any government since Independence.

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[476] Prashant Waikar, "Reading Islamophobia in Hindutva: An Analysis of Narendra Modi's Political Discourse", *Islamophobia Studies Journal,* Vol. 4, No. 2, 2018, p. 161-180.
[477] Pankaj Mishra, "How Narendra Modi seduced India with envy and hate", *New York Times,* Vol. 23, 2019, p. 20.

Additional Modi has since then doubled crude oil imports from the United States. By taking this step, Modi has also tried to allay America's resentment for not buying 5G from American companies. India is no longer completely dependent on Gulf countries for oil imports. For 5G, they approached China-sponsored Huawei Company. These are two big revolutionary steps, which many people have not noticed. The fourth important step is the decision of 100% foreign direct investment in the coal sector. Modi already had rich experience as the Chief Minister of Gujarat except from atrocities against Muslims and now has a large and national outlook.[478]

In foreign relations Modi government has changed a lot of things. His government has provided a lot of innovative ideas in the defence sector. Recently Modi appointed Bipin Rawat as Chief of Defence Staff and has created a new Department of Military Affairs. Modi has done this by struggling with bureaucracy and it is believed that Modi has taught the bureaucrats a lesson by ending bureaucratic domination in the defence sector. Just as Modi abolished the Nehru's Planning Commission and replaced it with a NITI Aayog, he decided to abolish the Railway Board and bring in private participation in the Indian Railways, as he understood that the technical chiefs can help in the safety and security of the railways.[479] Taking all the above changes into consideration it has can be said that Modi does not listen to anyone's advice. He does what he thinks is right. Further the privatization of railways also caused a clamour in India as many Intellectuals believed that he was planning to privatize railways because of his close ties with the Ambanis and Adanis who are the richest businessmen of India at present.

"My cabinet note used to take six months to reach the entire cabinet, but today it just takes 15 days," he said by talking about the concept of minimum government and maximum governance."[480] The Government of India has 85 departments and about 70 major ministries. Modi understands the concept of all these ministries and departments.

[478] Ian Hall, "Narendra Modi and India's normative power", *International Affairs*, Vol. 93, No. 1, 2017, p. 113-131.
[479] Ian Hall, "Narendra Modi and India's normative power", p. 115.
[480] Ibid., p. 116.

His most loved ministry is tourism. In all his public meetings and business addresses, Modi states with pride that people should visit 15 tourist places at least once a year.[481] Therefore, he has established the huge statue of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in Gujarat and the National War Memorial in New Delhi.

In the last two years, a large number of tourists have visited these two places. However, it should be noted as well that a lot money was spent on the construction of above-mentioned Statue. Narendra Modi is fond of *'Pragati'* (pro-active governance and timely implementation), a multi-modal platform based on information and communication technology. In the first progress meeting of his second Prime Minister tenure, he reiterated his commitment to housing for all by 2022. Not only this, he was always reviewing the progress of major schemes like *Ayushman Bharat* and *Sugamya Bharat*. (Pro-active governance and timely implementation).[482]

The Modi style of governance faced a lot of criticism recently. Talking about Modi's style of Leadership, we focus on two levels, international and national. Internationally, Modi has not offended anyone except Pakistan. His stature is so high that he calls all global leaders by their first name. In his own words, the reason for this is that Indian voted him, and he got 303 seats in the 2019 *Lok Sabha* (lower house) elections. In the recent development of escalating conflict between Iran and America, the diplomacy of Modi's has been appreciated by many world leaders. His thinking of holding bilateral talks in major cities of various states (e.g., he held meetings with Xi Jinping in Mahabalipuram in Chennai and the Japanese Prime Minister in Varanasi) is part of the incorporation of India's federal structure. Talking about Indian politics, Modi's goal is to complete the 2019 *BJP* (Bartiya Janata Party) manifesto by 2024. BJP president Amit Shah has said that 90 percent of BJP's election announcements were successfully implemented by the Modi government.[483]

[481] Ibid., p. 120.
[482] Ian Hall, "Narendra Modi and India's normative power", p. 125.
[483] Pankaj Mishra, "How Narendra Modi seduced India with envy and hate", p. 30.

Modi's politics is to eliminate the national party like the Congress so that BJP can stay in power for five more years. Modi is happy to target 35 to 40 regional parties and is dusting off their dynastic politics. Apparently, Modi has successfully ensured the decline of the Congress in the Indian political scene along with the elimination of so-called hereditary party politics. Due to the strong and robust leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, the voice of India is being heard effectively in the world today. India's voice is now being heard more on the global stage, whether it is the G-20 or climate change conferences. Strong ties are being established between India's neighbouring countries except China and Pakistan.[484]

Pakistan requested support from almost all the countries of the world on the issue of Article 370, but barring one or two countries, no one supported Pakistan. The United States refused to intervene, calling it a bilateral issue. There has been an attempt by Pakistan to raise this issue in the United Nations as well, but it had to face setback there too. The era seems to be over when the International Islamic Organization used to back Pakistan on Kashmir. In 2019, when the Government of India removed Article 370, only two countries Turkey and Malaysia supported Pakistan: Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Maldives, Islamic nations like Bangladesh and Afghanistan declared it an internal matter of India. Despite Pakistan's insistence, Saudi Arabia did not call an Islamic organization meeting on Kashmir. Consequently, it seems that Pakistan's intention to internationalize the Kashmir is not working. Pakistan needs to change its approach in order to internationalize the Kashmir Issue. On 5th August 2020 Modi laid the foundation stone of Ram temple, he received the highest praise and publicity in India, even in the media of Pakistan, this incident was widely praised.[485]

The powerful Muslim countries have advised Pakistan to exercise restraint in making rhetoric against India, it only exposes the increasing domination of India. When Saudi Arabia's Foreign Minister Adil Al Zubair and United Arab Emirates Foreign

[484] Nitasha Kaul, "Rise of the political right in India: Hindutva-development mix, Modi myth, and dualities" *Journal of Labor and Society,* Vol. 20, No. 4, 2017, p. 523-548.
[485] Madhulika Sharma, "Narendra Modi and the new education policy: retrospection, reform and reality", *Journal of Asian Public Policy,* Vol. 9, No. 2, 2016, p.140-153.

Minister Abdullah bin Al Nahyan visited Islamabad, they asked Pakistan to try to negotiate with India and exercise restraint in making statements. Such situations are influential in how much the influence and severity of India has increased in the world and almost control has been established in the conditions of neglect of India. The invitation to attend the G-7 summit clearly reflects India's growing strength. The G-7 is the group of seven largest developed and advanced economies in the world, including Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Britain, and the United States. If Pakistan takes the path of negotiation and does not resort to invasion and terrorism, then surely the issue of Kashmir can be solved. But there is also a big truth that the issue of Kashmir is the key to power in Pakistan. Pakistan has been militarized on this issue. That is why instead of spending money on the poor, the government is spending money on weapons.[486]

India's domination and influence is not only increasing due to Narendra Modi's policies, politics, economic and peaceful coexistence ideology, but it is the first time that a government promotes its soft power in the form of yoga, Ayurveda, food, literature, tradition, knowledge, and experience. It is ready to give, this life value and lifestyle which was useful to life thousands of years ago. The Modi government is determined to prove them useful to the world humanity instead of becoming a part of a museum, due to which the world attaches importance to what it said while looking at India with hopeful eyes. Indian civilization and culture, biography is eternal, trivial, and universal. It has been in contact with the entire existence and greater consciousness. India has been a source of knowledge for the world civilization since the beginning. Today, Modi himself and his government are bringing this incredible treasure to life by giving it modern reference, unleashing his power.

Definitely the self-reliant India has equal to 10 percent of GDP, announced the massive package of Information Technology, it has received international acclaim. This will lead to a new economic boost and a new life culture in India. This will not only bring hope to the common man, but also new industrial environment, new economy, new

[486] Shahrukh Khan, *The military and economic development in Pakistan: Capitalism on Trial*, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2013, p. 82.

business, new political values, new ideas, new human relationships, new social organizations, new customs, and new life winds of self-reliant India. A saga will be written in which the national character will be created, the nation will be empowered, India will be present with an independent personality and identity not only in the inner world but in the eyes of the world. Modi's far-reaching policies are giving a befitting reply to China's bigotry and pandemonium antics of Pakistan psychologically. China would never have imagined that its economy depended on India and the markets will be destroyed in this way. The height of any nation is not measured by the height of its buildings, but by the character and spirits of the national leader. In this sense, Narendra Modi has emerged as an effective world leader, due to the new reputation and dominance of India in the world.[487]

Ever since independence, the leaders of the Republic of India believed that it has the unique ability to provide moral leadership to the world. At that time India did not have financial power. To address this deficiency, India's policy governors, led by Jawaharlal Nehru, emphasized India's moral and symbolic leadership in world diplomacy. India became a big voice against imperialism. India also became the leader of liberal international dialogue in the post-colonial period, which had the moral right to oppose racism. The then India used to raise its voice against the big powers of the world. At that time, India insisted on non-alignment instead of going to the camp of any superpower.

In the early period after independence, India made its moral leadership the foundation of its foreign policy and tried to fulfil its expectations of being different from the rest of the world. At that time, India kept itself apart from the Cold War world diplomacy and tried to give social leadership to the world by following the independent foreign policy of an independent country. India was neither a supporter of the fierce communism of the Soviet Union nor a supporter of America's fierce capitalism. Most of the history of independent India has been following these moralistic expectations. This is

[487] Sunil Luthra, , Sachin K. Mangla, "Evaluating challenges to Industry 4.0 initiatives for supply chain sustainability in emerging economies", *Process Safety and Environmental Protection,* Vol. 117, 2018, p. 168-179.

the reason India used to oppose nuclear weapons in the early days of it becoming a republic, and it avoided taking steps to acquire nuclear weapons.

When India conducted the atomic test in 1998 and faced international sanctions and setbacks, the then Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh called India's nuclear test the post-colonial era of atomic racism. Since then, India has been continuously presenting itself on the world forums as a responsible nuclear power. And on this basis, India has been morally considering itself as a power of high status. India, on the other hand, has yet to formally sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). It has also not joined the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT). Despite this, India and the US struck a successful civil nuclear pact in 2008.

Recently, India has also become part of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) and the Wassenaar system.[488] The government led by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh made 'Integrated Development' its new standard in India. In which economic development was said to be based on rights. At the same time, any standard of the *Bharatiya Janata Party* (BJP) led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi is clearly overcome. Modi and his close aides, such as Home Minister Amit Shah, repeatedly mention the ambition of making India a 'world leader'. To fulfil this big goal, small steps like International Yoga Day are taken into consideration in the United Nations. Apart from these trivial matters, what will be India's new moral standard under Modi's leadership as a nation, is yet to emerge.[489]

Many scholars argue that Prime Minister Modi is influenced and inspired by Swami Vivekananda's theory of *Karma Yoga*, 19th century Indian monk, in which the emphasis is to work with right intentions. Modi uses the power of his personal relationships in international relations.[490] But, under his *Karma Yoga*, no concrete basic principle has emerged so far, on which a new policy should be built. It is said that the main reason for this is that the Hinduist organization inspired by Modi and BJP is an organization with

[488] Roop. S. Yadav, "Modi's Foreign Policy Outlook: Challenges for the New Government", *Indian Journals*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2015, p. 33-44.
[489] Ibid., p. 38.
[490] Ian Hall, "Narendra Modi and India's normative power", p. 135.

religious and philosophical beliefs of *Hindutva*. Its focus is primarily on domestic issues and not international issues and these organizations have been accused of spreading the poison of religious hatred among the people of India. However, this argument can be challenged by two things. The first thing is that theoretically the domestic situation has an impact on international issues, and recent examples can also be said that international affairs also have an impact on domestic politics. Countries such as Norway, Sweden and Denmark continue to promote gender equality and reduce the use of fossil fuels on the basis of their domestic experiences. (Norway has decided to spend a measly dollar from its pension fund to use fuels like coal and oil).

According to the results of the election held in Pakistan on 25th July 2018, Imran Khan, the leader of the leading Pakistan Justice Movement (PTI), significantly increased the number of ministers of his party. The PTI received 115 of the 260 seats announced in the 272-member parliament, according to the election results. The PTI is also the party with the highest number of seats in one of the 4 states in the state elections. Accordingly, the 70-year-old Khan was tasked with forming the government as the leader of the party with the most seats in parliament. Khan became the first person to come to power since 1970 apart from the leaders of the Pakistani People's Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N).[491]

Khan was born in 1952 in Lahore, the capital of Punjab province, as the only son of a mother and father of Pashtun origin. Khan started his education at Aitchison College, one of the city's top schools, as a child of one of Lahore's top families, and later attended Worcester Royal Grammar School, one of the oldest schools in England. Khan started playing cricket at Worcester Royal Gramer School and played for Worcester and Lahore.[492] Khan was a student at the Oxford University, in the department of Politics and Economics. He graduated with honours from the University, where he also played for a cricket team. Khan returned to his country in 1976 and joined the national cricket team,

[491] Hussain, Muzmmil, and Farish Ullah Yousafzi. "Discourse analysis of first parliamentary speech of Pakistan Prime Minister Imran khan", Elementary Education Online, Vol. 20, No. 5, 2021, pp. 7007-7014.
[492] Ihsan Yılmaz, Kainat Shakil. "Imran Khan: From Cricket Batsman to Populist Captain Tabdeli of Pakistan", *ECPS*, Vol. 2, 2021, p. 12.

and in 1978 he made his name in cricket history with his bowling, which reached a speed of 140 kilometres.

The Pakistan national team, captained by Khan, won the World Cup in Australia in 1992. This was the first and only World Cup that Pakistan had ever won. Khan's journey in politics began after his World Cup victory. Having ended his sports career at the top, Khan founded PTI in 1996.[493] In the 1997 elections, the PTI, which was excluded from Parliament by receiving only 1 percent of the vote, was also able to make way for only 1 minister in the parliament in its elections. Khan supported Pervez Musharraf's military coup in 1999, thinking it would end corruption, but according to his own claim, he turned down Musharraf's offer to be Prime Minister. Khan, who boycotted the 2008 elections, resigned with 85 members of parliament from other parties in response to Musharraf's resignation as chief of staff and his re-nomination as head of state. Musharraf, who declared a state of emergency over the developments, sent Khan to prison.[494]

More than a hundred thousand people attended rallies and demonstrations in Lahore and Karachi ahead of the 2013 elections, in which Khan organized rallies and demonstrations criticizing United States drone operations, corruption and US policies in Afghanistan. PTI received nearly 17 percent of the votes in the 2013 elections and entered parliament with 35 members of parliament and became the main opposition party. At the same time, the PTI, who came to power in the region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in the north of the country, organized the 2014 protests that created public pressure for the resignation of PML-N and its former leader Nawaz Sharif, who were the target of allegations of election irregularities.

Khan also pressured the Constitutional Court to investigate Sharif and the PML-N, who were charged with corruption after the Panama Papers emerged.[495] Political specialists attribute Khan's success, separated from other leaders by both his career and

[493] Ibid., p. 14.
[494] Ihsan Yılmaz, Kainat Shakil. "Imran Khan: From Cricket Batsman to Populist Captain Tabdeli of Pakistan", p. 13.
[495] Imran Khan, et al, "Political Stability and Institutionalization in Pakistan: An Overview of Major Political Developments during 2008-2016.", *Review of Economics and Development Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2019, p. 33-40.

rhetoric, to his appeal to the middle class and the young. Michael Kugelman, a South Asia expert at the Wilson Centre think tank, stated: "as a celebrity athlete, Khan is a popular figure among young people. His stance against corruption attracts the attention of the middle class. Khan was also able to successfully attract rural residents, conservatives, young people, and the middle class to his side in Punjab, the country's largest province. Khan's success also suggests that without family ties or strong alliances, the election will be won."[496]

Khan, who supported the coup in 1999, later contradicted the coup rule and was jailed for several days. However, ahead of the 2018 elections, other parties criticized Khan and the PTI for having the support of the military. Although there is no definitive explanation, some organizations allegedly supported by the Pakistani military have announced their support for Khan. Among them were the *Ansars of the Ummah*, which is recognized by the United States as a terrorist organization, and the Mujahedeen movement. Statements of support were interpreted in the country and in the international media as blocking the PML-N, the party of Sharif, who was Khan's biggest rival, and thus opening the way for PTI. Rival parties claimed that the soldiers guarding the ballot boxes on Election Day did not include party observers other than the PTI in the counting process or took them out.[497]

Khan denied these allegations and criticisms, saying "The Army belongs to Pakistan" and stated that the army is only working for unbiased and transparent elections. Khan, who built his 2018 election campaign on anti-corruption rhetoric and the slogan "*Naya Pakistan*" (New Pakistan), has also made remarkable statements in foreign policy.[498] Khan, who has been critical of United States policies in Afghanistan, said he favours good relations with Afghanistan and peace talks with the Taliban. However, his opponents criticized his remarks, by calling him "Taliban Khan". Khan argues that the

[496] Ihsan Yılmaz, Kainat Shakil. "Imran Khan: From Cricket Batsman to Populist Captain Tabdeli of Pakistan", p. 14.
[497] Aqil Shah, "Pakistan: voting under military tutelage", p. 128-142.
[498] Ibid., p. 143.

solution of the Kashmir problem should also be discussed with India, provided that it is based on United Nations resolutions.

In Khan's victory speech, he noted that relations with the United States and Saudi Arabia, which he called "traditional partners", primarily neighbours, will be improved. Khan recently spoke about the Kashmir Issue in United Nations which caused a backlash from the India media. From the above statements it can said that Khan is trying his best to change the political structure of Pakistan in a good way and is correspondingly trying to improve and develop relations with the rest of the world. However, improving the political and economic conditions of Pakistan is not an easy task and it might time some time so we have to wait and watch in this manner.[499] In the Pandemic situation though, when India was going through the worst health crisis, Pakistan was one of the states who offered India to help and condemned the deaths in India.

6.10. Conclusion

The foreign policy of India and Pakistan is to be evaluated through its history. Even though there have been changes in accordance with the changing political order in the world, there are certain factors that contribute to the status-quo. Britain's unfinished agenda in subcontinent in the form of Kashmir, kept India and Pakistan always at the edge of potential wars, even though three wars actually happened. The communal tensions in India always stayed at the centre of India's domestic politics as well as foreign policy in the form of its tripartite alliance with India and Israel to combat Islamic fundamentalism and fight against war on terror.

On the other hand, Pakistan since its creation, has been dealing with a baggage of Soviet Union's and United States's unfinished agenda in Afghanistan. Kashmir issue came as a dowry with Pakistan when it was formed and the violation in partition plan led to three wars between India and Pakistan. Moreover, Pakistan's 'support to Kashmiris resistance movement against India'has won Pakistan the titles of sponsoring terrorism not

[499] Imran Khan, et al, "Political Stability and Institutionalization in Pakistan: An Overview of Major Political Developments during 2008-2016.", p. 33-40.

only in India, but India has been accused to outsourcing this label to Pakistan in the International arena as well. The change in governments in both India and Pakistan has not changed much, since the Kashmir issue has stayed without a solution, but India has been able to diverse foreign policy, while as Pakistan has been found crippling in-terms of making improvements and developments.

Under the leadership of Narendra Modi and Imran Khan, the foreign policies between the two states have further widened due to Pakistan's take on Kashmir and its effort to internationalize the Kashmir issue. Although, the foreign policy of India and Pakistan depends on so many factors that have been already mentioned in the thesis, but Kashmir issue has widened the gaps between the two states. Moreover, the interests of both states are different, their allies are different, that also makes their priorities and proximity level differ. For instance, India's closest ally Israel has not been recognized by Pakistan and since Israel is the most powerful militarily and an ally to the superpowers, this factor has led to the isolationism between Pakistan and the developing world.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The British rule in India lasted for almost 20 decades. The British dived India into two parts and this division was based mostly on religion. After the independence in 1947, the formation of both countries was itself a big dispute. This fragmentation between Indian and Pakistan widened more and more because of Kashmir conflict. Due to the Kashmir conflict, the two countries have fought four wars with each other. Every year both the sides are in continuous confrontation with each other at their respective borders. South Asia has been at constant war since the establishment of India and Pakistan. The problems between these two countries are postcolonial; the fragmentation has produced the desired results neither in India nor in Pakistan's favour.

Millions of people have been killed during and after the independence on both sides. These events, which have created traumatic effects for the people of both countries, converged with existing political problems such as Kashmir and created mutual mistrust. The environment of insecurity developed with the battles that were fought between these two countries. The wars were fought in 1948, 1965, 1971 and 1999. Each war has made the solution of the problems increasingly impossible. In addition, the internal political problems of both countries and the search for legitimacy of their governments led them to reproduce these problems in discourse and developed a conflictual mentality. The Cold War problems have reached their regional qualifications. India in implementing its policy of non-compliance, Pakistan sought to weaken its relatively feeble position by engaging in an alliance with the United States. As a result, the leaders of the block in Cold War had found themselves in the realm of conflicts. However, the end of Cold War did not eliminate the conflict and caused a re-establishment in a new era. The methods and tools of conflict varied i.e., nuclear weapons, terrorist activities, communitarian discourses.

Elements of the post-Cold War order have also replaced relations between India and Pakistan. The problems between the two countries are regional in nature but these problems also affect the foreign policy of India and Pakistan. However, a situation cannot

be limited to the two countries when it is considered that the two countries have nuclear power, their weapon technology, their populations, their place in the world economy, and the international atmosphere of the radical organizations fed by the negative atmosphere created by the conflict. After September 11 re-attracted attention in South Asia with new elements and the concept of conflict. For India and Pakistan, it has created a new international environment for conflict or reconciliation. A comparative study of both these regional powers based on foreign policy dimensions and challenges made a significant contribution to the literature of the discipline of International Relations.

Tensions and competition during the previous 70 years, combined with the United States and the Soviet Union's quest for geographic effectiveness, resulted in both countries possessing nuclear weapons. Moreover, in all the war scenarios in the world, the most likely nuclear weapons explosion in a war is the India and Pakistan's Line of Control. Therefore, the relationship between Pakistan and India is closely followed not only in terms of demography and economy, but also in terms of global security.

Nevertheless, despite all these similarities, the point that these two countries reached after 76 years is very different. India runs the most populous democracy and democratic system in the world. More than 800 million voters voted in the election in 2014 and were able to change the government. India has a system that guarantees religious and political freedom. However there still some regions which have been facing communal violence since independence. It has a place among the top 10 economies in the world. Indian companies have taken an important place in the global economy and are increasing their activities every day. Many of the world's largest companies are run by Indian origin owners. Education and income averages of over 1.3 billion people are rising rapidly. Furthermore, India has a rapidly growing space program, and in 2014, as well as the first attempt, it managed to place satellites in the orbit of Mars. Especially in computer technologies, software training and 3D production areas, Indians are making serious investments to mark the future. There are highly dynamic non-governmental organizations that are still struggling in the areas of women's rights, poor rights and minority rights, which have serious problems. In other words, it can be said that India is way ahead of Pakistan in every field.

Pakistan, the sixth most populous country in the world, could not operate democracy from the beginning. The summary of its political history consists of corruptions, blows and army rule. The country is suffering for sectarian war, religious extremists, corruption, the dominance of the army generals and their internal conflicts. The sphere is considered one of the most important sources of potential chaos. Why is this? How did the two states, which are very similar to each other, and which started on the same terms, reach such contradictory results? There are many reasons. The most serious reason why the Pakistan faced these circumstances is that it leaders never grasped the importance of democracy and the rule of law and the religious extremism and ideology played a very prominent role. Some most prominent leaders of India and Pakistan were Nehru and Jinnah respectively. It is claimed that tensions and conflicts between Hindu nationalists and Muslims and Sikhs from time to time has been solved without laying the foundation for much larger conflicts. However, in the recent years there have large increase in the number of communal riots against Muslims in India. The Indian system manages to keep more than a billion people in a way that speaks hundreds of different languages, believes in dozens of different religions, who live in most rural areas. There is no doubt that there are several problems that need to be overcome, but it seems India can effectively and efficiently manage its potential and dynamics to solve these problems.

The Modi era in India began in 2014. Narendra Modi had established his populism on the axis of opposition to the so–called secular political elite of India, which was controlled by the Gandhi family. In fact, Modi's reputation as a leader dates back to his time as chief minister of the state of Gujarat, where he was elected in 2001. Among his achievements, which were mentioned at that time, those do not just include economic development. Modi is also remembered for his active role in provoking the looting of Gujarat, which occurred in 2002 and resulted in the deaths of 2000-3000 Muslims. In this way, Modi's name has become the flag of anti-Islamism in the country. In the following years, Modi, designer clothing has built its charisma by combining the dominant masculine image and the effective use of new communication technologies with anti-Islamism.

After Narendra Modi came to power in India and Imran Khan won the elections in Pakistan in 2018, the problems between the two countries began to intensify. Modi has made it easier for Hindus who have been subjected to religious persecution in foreign countries to obtain Indian citizenship. However, although minorities like other Christians were included in this facilitation initiative, Muslims were excluded from this initiative. The allegation that anti-India slogans were chanted after a demonstration by university students in February 2016 in India caused reactions in the society. Under the leadership of Narendra Modi and his Hindu nationalist (BJP), widespread accusations against students were supported. Terrorist charges, attacks, and extrajudicial executions against Muslims in the country have gradually increased. However, the attacks of terrorist organizations against Indian targets cause an escalation of violence in the frozen conflicts between India and Pakistan. For example, the Islamist rhetoric used in the terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament has created the perception in India that the so-called Islamist terrorism, which has long been associated with Pakistan, is no longer an external situation, and that the Muslims in the country are involved in it.

Within the scope of Modi's foreign policy strategies, it can be said that India is getting closer to the United States of America and moving away from China without breaking relations completely. In this way, Modi is getting closer to the United States and Japan to balance China in his own region, while improving India's relations with Israel in the Middle East. Modi, the first Indian prime minister to visit Israel, has made historical progress in military cooperation with the United States, contrary to the traditional Nehru's non-alignment. Modi has placed this convergence in an ethnocentric conceptual framework. It can be said that the Indo-Pacific conceptualization is important against the Asia-Pacific conceptualization of India in the USA and China triangle. The vision of the Indo-Pacific that brings India to the fore also positions India against China in the region. Therefore, although India has some important disadvantages against China, it accelerates its struggle for regional hegemony under Modi's rule. It is important in this context that after the India-China border dispute in June 2020, India turned to banning China's electronic applications used worldwide, excluding China from 5G networks, and blocking companies allegedly linked to the Chinese military.

Modi attaches importance to India's economic growth and becoming a global power. Narendra Modi, who is aware of the fact that the way to do this is to increase India's economic growth rate, expand its military capacity and use the demographic power factor in the sense of deterrence, strives to transform Indian foreign policy in the same context. While adopting a policy of not being isolated from global governance in foreign policy, Modi also emphasizes on Hindu nationalism in line with cultural nationalism. Modi's populist rhetoric advocating Hindu cultural nationalism draws the reaction of Muslim countries in foreign policy, as India is a country with heterogeneous ethnic identity groups. The Kashmir issue is instructive in the sense that Modi's reactionary populist stance is reflected in foreign policy.

It has been important for Khan to be a well-known personality in the Pakistani public for many years, to be the captain of the national cricket team and to achieve great success together with the national team. At first, Khan did not emphasize his religiosity much in public, but he decorated it with religious motives in his speeches during the election process. Under his rule, Khan and the army became close to each other. The military has positively received Khan's speeches on the theme of nationalism and religion.

In a speech before his election, Khan stated that he wanted to make peace with India and increase trade, open borders with Afghanistan and take advantage of a mutually beneficial relationship with the United States, which caused discomfort in the Pakistani army. Khan touted himself as someone who often opposed American policies, participated in anti-American demonstrations to stop NATO trucks heading to Afghanistan, and stood up to Washington. However, Khan himself felt that this law had been abused before he was elected, and he wanted it changed. He had even declared that he would not exclude minorities if elected.

In the foreign policy of Pakistan during the Imran Khan period, establishing cooperation with Muslim countries on the grounds of Islamophobia, taking steps to repair the damaged relations with the United States in order to balance against India and the inability to ensure stability in domestic politics affect foreign policy are among the prominent issues. Pakistan's relations with China are also of great importance. In this context, because of the Pakistan-China cooperation, the China and Pakistan Economic

Corridor (CPEC) comes to the fore. China's goal of establishing an economic corridor, which is a branch of the 'one Belt and one Road Initiative', causes tension in US-Pakistani relations. The same is true for India-Pakistan relations, as this corridor runs through the Kashmir region, which is in dispute with India.

The fact that Pakistan has many ethnic groups within its borders is an influential factor in its foreign policy. In this context, Iran-Pakistan relations are being shaped under the umbrella of US-Iran relations. In a sense, it can be considered that the fact that Khan announced that he would take part on the Iranian side in the US-Iranian relations that turned negative during the reign of Imran Khan is closely related to the segment of the Shiite population estimated at 42 million in Pakistan. Ultimately, Pakistan's confrontation with Iran will fuel the environment of turmoil in Pakistan. Along with all this, one of the dynamics of Pakistan's foreign policy is relations with Afghanistan. India accuses Pakistan of providing support to the Taliban. Against the background of today's Indian activities in Afghanistan, there is increasing United States support for India.

This study has investigated how can be the foreign policy of India and Pakistan be studied in a comparative manner. A lot of research has been done on the foreign policy of India and Pakistan but not much has been written and researched about the foreign policy of India and Pakistan by doing a comparative analysis. This study shows that in order to understand the political instability of relations between India and Pakistan, it is significant to comprehend their foreign policy comparatively. Furthermore, the study has also examined how this instability shapes the foreign policy of these two nations for more than seven decades now. In order to carry on these investigations, the behaviour of two states was evaluated using the theoretical perspective of foreign policy. India and Pakistan have been mostly evaluated using the foreign policy scholarship, and so does this study in a comparative manner.

The analysis revealed that foreign policy and the India-Pakistan conflict are inextricably linked. Both India and Pakistan formulate their foreign policies with the region's instability in mind. India makes allies in the international arena keeping Pakistan in consideration, while as Pakistan also forms its alliances according to the status-quo in

its hostile neighbourhood. The Pakistan's bilateral relation with India, which has mostly been about wars and conflicts, still holds a nucleus position in the Pakistan's foreign policy, and even for India, there is no other reality other than this. The Kashmir Issue, that has been there since the partition of India and Pakistan also gives a rise to the Pakistan's militarist Ideology. In fact, Pakistan looks at India through the Kashmir's Status-quo. Pakistan also looks at Kashmir through the New Delhi's policies in Kashmir, which has been looked through the settler colonialist perspective by many scholarships.

Concerning India and Pakistan foreign policy and relations, this study has established a context that goes back to the times when British colonized Indian subcontinent and left India and Pakistan with unclear border lines. Carrying the same theme, the study discusses the history of partition and the legacy that Britain left, one in the form of Muslim-Hindu question and the Kashmir issue. Both the communal tensions and the Kashmir issue has still persisted as the most important factors preventing the two nations to come together on the negotiation table. The partition principle which had to divide the two states on religious grounds, ended up leaving more Muslim minorities in India than total number of Muslim populations in Pakistan causing more dissension and conflicts both directly and indirectly.

The inclusion of theoretical perspective of Foreign Policy to India and Pakistan's bilateral relations helped the study to be carried in a more critical way. By analysing foreign policy trends through critical lenses, it was determined that in the case of India and Pakistan, it is their rivalry that designs their foreign policy regionally as well as in the international arena. In order to understand the bilateral relations of India and Pakistan, it is important to understand their foreign policy pre- and post-cold war in a comparative manner. The whole journey of becoming nuclear powers was not motivated internally, but the external allies of both these states helped them in becoming nuclear armed neighbours.

The study journeys back to the origin of the conflict, rather than making it an India and Pakistan issue only. Most of the scholarships skip the British hand in this seven-decade conflict that has cost so many lives, made India and Pakistan nuclear armed neighbours, seceded Bangladesh from Pakistan and fought three wars. The inclusion of

British partition proposal and drawing those unclear border lines leaves Britain in the guilty position and slightly taking off the blame from India and Pakistan in creating this conflict.

The study also analysed the Post-Independence Foreign Policy of both countries. The pattern found in terms of alliances was in accordance with the need for security. Since both the states post-partition faced their nations in war since the beginning, the alliances were formed with respect to defending their borders. The study points out Britain being the linch pin of the whole situation. The study also undoubtedly demonstrates the mistakes done by Britain, which left India, Pakistan and Kashmir in an endless dispute and sufferings. Britain has been able to make an easy escape from being the main stakeholder in this conflict, yet the academic scholarships brush off its presence very easily. The narrative of Britain entering the subcontinent to civilize South Asians was proven to be a facade, the reports show that Britain left the colonies in absolute poverty by taking all the assets. Yet Britain is entitled to enlist India and Pakistan as third world and developing countries, who need foreign aid. The facade of Commonwealth countries founded by Britain prevented India and Pakistan to be de-colonized.

India and Pakistan have been mostly called as realist states, so their foreign policy is viewed and evaluated according to the foreign policy in a comparative manner. It is very important to understand as to what motivates a state to form a relationship with other state. What are the states' interests and needs, and what can an ally offer to the state to meet those ends. Similarly, India and Pakistan being identified as realist states and the victims of endless rivalry, leaves them in a position to ally with the other realist state to increase its security. Security and sovereignty is at the heart of India and Pakistan's foreign policy because they go under a constant process of security dilemma.

It is nearly impossible to look at these two states through any other theoretical perspective because of their colonial past and disputed origins. These two states cannot be looked through the idealist perspective. If a scholar does that, it means the history and the context is not even taken in consideration. India and Pakistan gained their independence in a state of war with each other because of the unclear border lines that were drawn for

Muslims and Hindus by the people, who were not even from these two religious scriptures. Hence, for the states like Pakistan and India, who have been going through the security dilemma since the beginning of their creation cannot be looked through any optic other than the realism.

As this research has shown, that for the past seven decades, the scholarships have paid very less attention to how foreign policy analysis in India and Pakistan in a comparative way that has a strong impact on the relations between the two states. In fact, India is accused of proxying skirmish in Pakistan through Afghanistan and Baluchistan, while as India accuses Pakistan of doing it through Kashmir. Also, one of the main endeavours of the research is to fill the gap of Britain being the main culprit in the game, otherwise it all looks like fictional series where the conflict between India and Pakistan started out of nowhere making the study, in general, a vague and biased narrative. This study can start a discussion by putting Britain in the battle ring as well, so that the whole situation is dealt with all the missing links found.

This research aims to constitute an additional contribution in the role of foreign policy of India and Pakistan by showing its impact in the dynamics of decades old rivalry. As in the study, the comparative analysis of India and Pakistan's foreign policy is done; it has been found that Post British rule the world started looking at these two states in a unique way. In one of the studies, it was reported that when Britain left the subcontinent, it stole the wealth worth 43 trillion dollars. The two states were left so poor, that they have been since categorized as the third world countries and developing countries.

When it comes to Pakistan, the first institution that was established was the military institution, so there has never been found stability in the civil-military relations. Apart from accusations of being the sponsor of terrorism and infiltration in Kashmir, it has been also accused of supporting Osama Bin Laden, which is an indirect accusation of funding the 9/11 attacks. As for India, which is an enormous country, the things have been slightly better, at least it has not been isolated as Pakistan in the international arena. But the biggest accusation for India so far has been its decades old occupation in Kashmir, which is the apparent face of the conflict between the two. India was created on secular terms, but the

RSS, which is labelled as radical organization, puts the secularism of India at risk. The lynching of Muslims in India and the killing of innocents in Kashmir, has made India vulnerable for being the most one of undemocratic countries in the world. In the same way, Pakistan's militarism also starts the debate of authoritarianism and dictatorship in Pakistan.

The study also discusses the contemporary foreign policy of India and Pakistan and mostly evaluates the foreign policy under Narendra Modi and Imran Khan. Both have been celebrated globally, Modi for his yoga and Imran Khan for his positive speeches. However, in this era there has not been much initiative for boosting relationship between the two. In fact, the religious tension in India between Muslims and Hindus in India have escalated the religious hatred between India and Pakistan. When Modi became the Prime Minister of India winning the absolute majority, he did a global tour, held international talks, and signed a lot of deals.

Israel has become one of the closest allies to India since Modi came into power. The defence deals signed have been worth millions of dollars. Imran Khan has been more into fixing the image that India has been arguably ruining from a long time. Lately, Modi's India has become an unavoidable market for the world powers and Pakistan gets isolated for being a rival to India. These two Prime Ministers have not been remarkably successful in coming closer, rather the two states have gone too far from having close relations. The trust deficit has increased between the two due to the situation in Kashmir valley and the injustice happening to Muslims in India.

As a result, at a time when populism has been on the rise in the region since 2014, the foreign policies of India and Pakistan have undergone a visible transformation. Khan has completely shaped Pakistani politics with an understanding of populism that has strengthened the Islamic tone. While Pakistan is moving away from the United States of America, its convergence with allies such as China and Iran provides an environment for Modi India's relations with Pakistan to become even tenser. While analysing Modi, it will be seen that his right-wing populism is fed by a sharp anti-Muslim practice. In Modi's

right-wing populism, Islam is associated with anti-India. It is not surprising that attacks against Muslims increased in the political environment created by such a discourse.

Similarly, Modi's discourse indicates that the so-called Islamic threat does not constitute a purely internal problem. Thus, Modi's right-wing populism places Pakistan on the target. In fact, the demonization of Pakistan coincides with Modi's ethnocentric view of foreign policy, which finds its meaning in the concept of the Indo-Pacific. Accordingly, it is meaningful to say that Modi also targets China, which is the main ally of Pakistan's main in the region. Finally, the right-wing populist motifs of Modi's foreign policy can easily be discerned in the Kashmir issue. It is striking that Modi likened the problem to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and brought it to international law on this axis. In such an environment, it is observed that the most violent period of history in Kashmir was experienced during the Modi-Khan period. In the case of Khan, Pakistan's efforts to develop close relations with other Islamic countries on the Kashmir issue by confronting the Saudis and to advance grassroots support in domestic politics are noteworthy. However, in this way, it is a fact that the Kashmiri identity in the region is getting weaker and the transnational Islamist elements are gaining strength as the Islamic identity comes to the fore.

Finally, it can be said that the era of populist politics weakens the optimistic forecasts for the future of India-Pakistan relations. It is expected that Hindu-Muslim conflicts will escalate internationally under a populism that works with the logic of increasing social support for personal leadership by putting an eternal enemy against an imagined popular unity or will. However, under certain economic and geopolitical imperatives that India may face in the future, the possibilities such as Modi's softening of competition with China and his move away from the United States of America, although difficult to realize, may contribute to easing the tensions between India and Pakistan to some extent. In addition to the BRICS, India is a member of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, both of which are based in China and the close economic relations it has developed with its second trading partner, China, have prepared the institutional infrastructure for such possibilities despite the

growing populist environment in the world. Therefore, considering all the above-mentioned factors it is obvious that these factors will definitely have an effect on the foreign policy of Indian and Pakistan.

The development of relations with Pakistan within the context of security policies is one of the most essential building blocks of Modi's foreign policy, which has strengthened his authority through populist techniques. Therefore, this situation is one of the important reasons for the increase in tension in Pakistan-India relations. One of the primary objectives of India, which has been trying to strengthen its military capacity due to the recent conflicts with Pakistan, is to create an India that has secured its security against attacks. For this reason, in the Modi era, we are faced with an India that takes Israel's air attack strategies against Palestine as a model within the scope of the Israeli-Palestinian conflicts and integrates it into its own defence and attack policies. Modi likens the Kashmir problem to the Palestinian problem in Israel and presents it as one of the problems within India.

For Pakistan, the Kashmir region is of vital importance. First, the Economic Corridor Project (CPEC), which connects Pakistan's economic future, passes through the regions of Kashmir that belong to Pakistan and where India maintains its demands. Moreover, considering the geographical features of Pakistan, Kashmir is the most suitable region for agriculture and the situation of this region causes serious economic problems. However, although Modi's confrontational policy forced Pakistan to take measures against cross-border terrorism, it did not yield meaningful results. Nevertheless, New Delhi continues to isolate Islamabad from international forums and seeks to attract regional and international players such as the European Union, Russia, and the United States to put pressure on Pakistan not to harbour terrorism against India.

Although Imran Khan stated before the elections that the conflict with India on Kashmir could be resolved through democratic and legal means, he changed his stance on this issue after winning the elections. Khan's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Shah Mahmud Qureshi, sent an ultimatum to the OIC, headquartered in Riyadh, and the Saudis, demanding that the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) convene in Kashmir. This

move of the Khan administration not only caused Pakistan's conflict with the Saudis, but also tried to ensure that the OIC member states indirectly recognized that Kashmir belongs to Pakistan, by convening an international organization in an internationally problematic region like Kashmir. In the context of the Kashmir issue, the perception that Khan was an honest leader who defended the rights of Pakistanis by settling accounts with India and liberated Kashmir and adequately representing the country in international politics has become widespread in the public eye.

The conflict situation in Kashmir encourages more violence and negatively affects the prospects for a peaceful resolution. Six months after Modi became prime minister for the second time, the most intense artillery strikes in history took place along Kashmir's borderline, the traditional main deadlock between India and Pakistan. Since 2014, mutual artillery attacks and aircraft downing activities have been increasing. Under these conditions, the Kashmiri identity began to be replaced by an Islamic identity among the insurgent groups fighting against India. The consolidation of Islamic identity and the increasing involvement of transnational Islamist elements in the conflict, along with Pakistan's militia support, has further complicated the situation.

If India had not been partitioned, it would have been the most populous country in the world today. However, in 1948, a bloody partition broke off Muslim Pakistan from predominantly Hindu India. Muslim Pakistan was also divided into two again after a very bloody war in the early 1970s, and West Pakistan declared its independence and turned into a separate state called Bangladesh. Despite the tense relationship between India and Pakistan, the people of both countries wish for amicable connections and cooperation. A steady increase has taken place in foreign relations between India and Pakistan, which has helped to dispel misconceptions and doubts about each other. Both the countries follow the same form of parliamentary government system and other laws.

The former President of Pakistan Pervez Musharraf tried to improve relations with India by signing various agreements and by paying regular official visits to India. The same can be said for former Prime Minster of India Atal Bihari Vajpayee, who was a staunch supporter of developing and stretching relations with Pakistan. So, it can be said

that during the tenure of President Musharraf and Prime Minster Vajpayee the foreign relations between these two countries were flourishing. An agreement of mutual assistance and cooperation in custom services was signed on 21st September 2012 between the two countries. In September 2011, India and Pakistan signed another Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on drug demand reduction and the prevention of illicit trafficking in narcotic drugs, psychotropic substances, precursor chemicals, and related topics.Both countries signed an agreement in 2007 aimed at decreasing the danger of nuclear-weapons-related incidents. Both India and Pakistan struck an agreement in 2005 on ballistic missile flight testing. As can be seen from the above, both countries have attempted to strengthen their relations with one another at various times, but relations have deteriorated at times due to the ongoing tension on their borders.

Both India and Pakistan neither signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty or the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and in addition both the countries started the developing nuclear weapons. Both India and Pakistan followed somewhat similar foreign policy during and after cold war era. In 2014 Indian Prime Minister Nerandra Modi's surprise birthday celebration with former Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in Lahore was one of the most talked about in the world media. The photo of the two prime ministers holding hands was the most shared photo of the day on social media. Thus, it can be said that there are more differences rather than similarities between India and Pakistan when it comes to their foreign policy. However, it would also be vague to say the foreign policy of India is different from Pakistan.

As the research has demonstrated, the objectives and aims, which were presented in the first chapter of the thesis, are fulfilled respectively by taking validity and generalizability into consideration. Also, in the researching and writing process of the thesis being aligned and lucidness have been the preliminary objective in order to present the assumptions and hypothesis with an unbiased manner. In addition, the whole study was managed in accordance with the research design which was presented at the end of the first chapter, and by and large all the titles and sub-titles were summarized, and the rest of the thesis was progressed in parallel with this order.

The research questions of the proposed study; how can we compare the foreign policies of two states?" and "how do we do a comparative analysis of foreign policies of two states with reference to India and its neighbouring state Pakistan?" In addition, the other research question taken into consideration was "how the foreign policy of India and Pakistan altered after the change in bipolar system?" have been answered in detail. The answer has been sought by analysing the topic from different perspectives and starting the analysis from the very beginning of the foreign policy historically, reaching to the contemporary practices and filling gaps in between. In this way, general topic has been discussed in detail with its many different aspects including historical, geopolitical, sociological, and psychological. Finally, considering the whole thesis, a proper and unbiased IR study has been tried to be put forward to shed some light on the everlasting rivalry between two remarkable South-eastern states, India, and Pakistan.

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