



REVIEW OF RESEARCH

VOLUME - 6 | ISSUE - 9 | JUNE - 2017

INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS IN THE TWENTY FIRST CENTURY

Amar Bahadur Shukla



ABSTRACT :

In the post cold war scenario foreign policy of India is designed in a manner to make it a major pole in the power structure of International relations. The makers of foreign policy revisited its relations with its neighbours and world powers differently by rethinking its national security strategy. This goal of making India a major power is not very new. Nayar and Paul (2003), said “Although Nehru often spoke against great-power politics, underneath his idealism lay a submerged realism about the potential of India to become a major power in the international system”.¹ In the wake of the twenty first century, though India is strengthening its economic and military capabilities, but still it is counted as a “potential power” or a “power in making” instead of a great power because of the constraints it faces both in the region and internally.² Among the various restraints India faces in the region, relationship with Pakistan can be counted as the major impediment in the neighbourhood policy of the country. The association between the two countries bears the scar of antagonism since independence in 1947. Before 1947 both the countries were part of a single entity under the British rule. But Pakistan was carved out from the Indian subcontinent on the basis of religious nationalism. This was because of the fear of the representatives of Muslim population in British India that their rights will not be protected in the Hindu dominated country. Just after the partition of the British India both the countries started having a very hostile relation with each other. The two countries fought wars in 1948, 1965, 1971 and Kargil war in 1999. This was mainly because the relationship between the two was embedded with a feeling of distrust on the issues of militarism, nuclearisation, terrorism etc. Therefore trust deficit between the two led to the failure of the peace processes, making a harmonised relationship a distant dream.³

KEYWORDS : *scenario foreign policy , power structure , making India.*

INTRODUCTION :

In the twenty first century, where the world was seen as undergoing transformation, the relationship between the two countries underwent through various phases of changes. On one hand issues of globalisation encouraged the nations to come together in a closely knit circle but on the other hand the issues of terrorism, nuclearisations facilitated the weakening of the relationship among the states. Thus in the twenty first century

¹Nayar Baldev Raj and Paul T.V. (2003), *India in the World Order Searching for Major – Power Status*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 27

²Ibid, pp. 28

³Gul, Nabihah (2004), “Post-9/11 Pakistan-India Relations”, *Pakistan Horizon*, 57(3), pp. 67

the issues of non-traditional security threats came to dominate this relationship between the two, which was already going through a rough patch.

Thus in this perspective there is a little room left to be optimistic about the relationship between the two. Though there were no major wars in the twenty first century between the countries but the issues of border clashes, spread of terrorism hardly left space for an overall improvement of the relationship. Again though both the countries took various initiatives through negotiations to reach a new ground but hardly any of them could come up with a positive result in reinforcing the relation. Therefore in this context the paper tries to evaluate the relationship between India and Pakistan focusing on the issues which stand as hindrances between the two in the twenty first century. The study will also take into account the recent developments that are occurring in the India Pakistan relationship under the present regime. Finally the paper will also try to suggest steps that can be taken in future to improve the current impediments.

A CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

Before analysing the issues between India and Pakistan it is important to give a conceptual understanding on the basis of which the foreign relations of the two are formulated. Here the foreign policy orientation can be seen from the structure of a realist perspective which states that, the foreign policy behaviour of a state is determined by the international systemic constrain. Thus it is the structure of the international system which dominates the aspect of foreign policy at a large than its domestic politics. It is the pressure of competition among the states which becomes more potent than the domestic issues and a country orients its goals accordingly. Therefore the structural realists like Kenneth Waltz have explained that the structural constrains in international relations compels a state to form its foreign policy accordingly. Robert Gilpin states that a more powerful and wealthy state will focus more on security issues and welfare than a less powerful state. The state's power capability will also determine how far it will extend its economic, political capabilities and on that basis it will try to change the international environment to pursue its own policies. Thus here it can be said, as a rising power India is trying to have its influence in the world and in its neighbourhood by making its presence felt while adopting a proactive role.⁴

Again in continuation to this argument it can also be added that if the relationship between a strong and weak state is to be determined then along with the international structure the regional aspect should also be taken into consideration. In the region the strong state may exploit the weaker states by having an enhanced relationship politically and economically to control them or by having a bilateral relation which places them in an advantageous position. The weak states to counter this strategy may distance themselves politically or economically and always prefer to go for a multilateral relation to stop the strong states from overshadowing the weak states with their own decisions. Again to counter the stronger one the weaker state can enhance its military capability either internally or bringing external powers to help them.⁵ Thus in this context the relationship between India and Pakistan can be evaluated. In the international sphere India formulates its foreign policy goals according to the international structure and in the regional aspect try to gain maximum advantage of being a strong state in relation to its weak neighbours. On the other hand the weaker states like Pakistan, having a threat perception from India, formulates its policy in such a manner to counter the big neighbour, overall jeopardising a peaceful harmonious relation between the two. Thus again referring to the realist perception both the states formulate its foreign policy behaviour according to the competitive international structure to make its position felt in the international scenario.

Taking this aspect into consideration, it can be said that in South Asia, India stands as the dominant regional power comprising 73 percent of South Asia's land area, with a population of 77 percent and GNP of 77 percent.⁶ This causes insecurity among the neighbours of India specially Pakistan, where the wars with it can be justified on the ground of sheer imbalance between the size and power of the two countries. While India is having a vast coastline with numerous rivers, natural resources, Pakistan received the water of Indus

⁴Pant, Harsh. V (2010), "India in Afghanistan: A Test Case for a Rising Power", *Contemporary South Asia*, 18(2), pp. 135

⁵Basrur.M. Rajesh (2010), "India-Pakistan Relations Between War and Peace" in Sumit Ganguly (eds.) *India's Foreign Policy: Retrospect and Prospect*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp. 13

⁶Ibid, pp. 13

only after they passed through India. Again going back to the realist prism, the security dilemma of the state of Pakistan leads itself to rise against India. Therefore the first war fought in 1947 where Pakistan gained a part of Kashmir can be justified in this ground. After this Pakistan felt it more appropriate to bandwagon with the United States during the time of the Cold war to counter India by bringing a more powerful country in the region. Pakistan preferred doing so because of the unresolved questions of land boundary, identity questions during the time of Partition to bargain with India.⁷

During the 70s India's position was threatened in the subcontinent with Pakistan-US-China nexus. To counter this situation India became an ally of Soviet Union and after that India helped the east wing of Pakistan to become Bangladesh with the assistance of its military power. Thus once again came the aspect of strong and weak state where India further established its position by virtue of its enhanced military power. After this, India increased its defence budget and expenditure than Pakistan to continue with its hegemonic aspect. Pakistan in order to equalise its position with India, acquired nuclear power capability to counter the stand of India in the region of South Asia.

With the arrival of nuclear weapon in both the states the tension piled up. Having a perception of Mutually Assured Destruction Pakistan instead of going for wars started engaging in the terrorist activities. Thus after the nuclear weapon and coming of globalisation Pakistan resorted to low intensity conflicts in Kashmir thus shifting its focus from a traditional to a non-traditional security challenges.

After these incidents India in order to enhance its security position in the region tried to pursue Pakistan to have a stable economic relation, which can help in development of both. For this India gave Pakistan the status of the Most Favoured Nation (MFN) in the year 1995. But on the other hand Pakistan resisted trade with India. In the 1990s Pakistan's export was 0.42 percent to India. There were also differences seen while dealing with Kashmir issue. While India preferred a bilateral approach, Pakistan was more concerned for multilateral aspect. Because of this reason the Shimla agreement of 1972 became a failure (Basrur 2010).⁸

Thus it can be said from this aspect that the relationship between the two unfolded in a manner which became very difficult to manage in the contemporary time. Therefore before going into the issues of twenty first century we can glance at the past to find out the root of contention between the two.

GLANCE FROM THE PAST: PERSISTENT CHALLENGES

India Pakistan is having a constrained relation since the beginning. There are various issues which remains unresolved till date. Before going into the aspect of the relation between the two in the twenty first century it is better to have a glance on the issues which still acts as impediments in the relationship of the two states.

The Kashmir Issue

The India-Pakistan relations are characterised by periodic ups and downs. There were several issues of confrontation between them and India saw phases of hot and cold diplomacy.⁹ The question of Kashmir stands as a biggest challenge in the relation between the two. The Kashmir Issue emerged in front of the world in 1947 when the British rule ended from the subcontinent. At that time the ruler of Kashmir had option to decide the future of the state whether to go with India or want to join Pakistan. But the king of Jammu and Kashmir, Hari Singh wanted to be independent. However the tribal invasion from Pakistan made the king seek help from India in the fear of losing his territory to the invaders. At that time, Mountbatten, who was the viceroy of India, promised him military help and in return Maharaja signed the "Letter of Instrument of Accession to India".¹⁰ After the signing of the "Instrument of Accession", Kashmir became an integral part

⁷Padukone Neil (2014), *Beyond South Asia: India's Strategic Evolution and the Reintegration of the Subcontinent*, USA: Bloomsbury, pp. 47-48

⁸Basrur.M. Rajesh (2010), "India-Pakistan Relations Between War and Peace" in Sumit Ganguly (eds.) *India's Foreign Policy: Retrospect and Prospect*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp. 14

⁹Rizvi, Hasan Askari (2011), *Pakistan – India Relations: Old Problems and New Initiatives*, Islamabad, PILDAT, pp. 9

¹⁰ Sehgal Rashmi (2011), "Kashmir Conflict: Solutions and Demand for Self Determination", in *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 1(6), pp. 189

of India. Pakistan did not accept this development because Kashmir was a predominantly Muslim populated area and was geographically and culturally close to Pakistan. On these grounds Pakistan claimed that Jammu & Kashmir (J&K) State should have become a part Pakistan.¹¹ Since then Pakistan has fought three wars with India over this issue in 1947, 1965, and in 1999. Till date the issue remains unresolved between the two in spite of the various composite dialogues. From the decade of 1990s, terrorist insurgency increased in the area further deteriorating the situation of cooperation between them.

The issue of Siachen Glacier

The Siachen Glacier, which has observed conflict between India and Pakistan for more than thirty years, is marked as the highest conflict zone between the two. It has so far resulted in causing casualties mostly by unfavourable climatic conditions and difficult terrain rather than military conflict. The conflict is also putting both the sides in to an enormous financial burden.

The area of the Siachen glacier was inhospitable and was not worth of any conflict taking place in its grounds because of its climatic conditions. The original cease fire line (CFL) India and Pakistan approved in July 1949 under Karachi Agreement did not include the area of 'the glaciers' because of the difficulties to draft the line. The agreement only mentioned about the line passing through 'north to the glaciers'.¹² After the ceasefire line was transformed into a jointly established line of control (LoC) in October 1972, the newly demarcated line ran from the Shyok River, west of Thang, to the Point of NJ 9842. Indians and Pakistanis since then have tried to get their territorial claims in the region.¹³ The genesis of the Siachen dispute actually began in April 1984 under the code-name of Meghdoot.¹⁴ Since then several negotiations took place. The Defence Secretary talks in November 1992 agreed on "the mutual withdrawal of troops from key passes to new positions, and the creation of a 'zone of complete disengagement'" in the area.¹⁵ But none of the agreements came to force because of the domestic constrains, mutual mistrust etc. Though in 2004 there were again talks for the solving of the issue but a substantial result is yet to be devised. A step towards making resolution of the Siachen issue could help in building trust and confidence between the two countries. A resolution of this dispute has also become a necessary from the ecological point of view as it is the source of water supply to the rivers originating from these glaciers to the countries. The dispute and the military activities are hampering the ecological balance of these areas. The development of Siachen as a peace zone in fact, is very important for building a trust based relationship between India-Pakistan.¹⁶

The Issue of Sir Creek

Another important disputed area lies in the region of Sir Creek which is situated in the marshy lands of the Rann of Kutch. The Rann is situated in the border between the Indian state of Gujarat and the Pakistani province of Sindh. Following the armed clashes of 1965, Pakistan claimed that half of the area that ran along 24th parallel was Pakistani land. India opposed by saying that the boundary of its country ran roughly along the northern edge of the Rann. The issue was sent to arbitration and the Indo-Pakistani Western Boundary Case Tribunal's Award on February 19 1968, said that 90 percent of India's claim to the entire Rann is legal and justified, whereas Pakistan was given small part of it.¹⁷ This led to the generation of un-demarcated boundary between the two in some parts. As a result, it became very difficult to distinguish between the territorial waters of both, their contiguous zones and their Exclusive economic zones.¹⁸ Though various negotiations took place from 2005-2007 but still a proper demarcated boundary could not be envisaged between the two.

¹¹ According to the 1941 census

¹² Bajpai, Kanti and et. All, (eds.) (2001), *Kargil and After: Challenges for Indian Policy*, New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, pp. 200.

¹³ Ibid, pp.135.

¹⁴ Ibid, pp. 201.

¹⁵ Atul Aneja, (1997) "Siachen Accord Envisages a Thaw," *The Hindu*, New Delhi, 28 March 1997.

¹⁶ Raghvan, V. R. (2002), *Siachen: Conflict Without End*, New Delhi: Wiking, pp. 125.

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸ Bhushan, Bharat (2005), "Tulbul, Sir Creek and Siachen: Competitive Methodologies", *South Asian Journal*, 23(2) pp. 15

Wullar Barrage or Tulbul Navigation Project

The Tulbul Navigation/Wullar Barrage Project is another disputed issue between the two which remains unresolved. The issue started with the construction of a barrage which is 439 feet long and 40 feet wide, by India in 1984 on the river Jhelum, at the mouth of Wullar Lake, near Sopore town in Kashmir. But Pakistan had pointed out that India has violated the provision of the Indus Water Treaty which prohibited both the parties from constructing any “man-made obstruction” which may cause change in the volume of the flow of water excepting the fact of an insignificant amount.¹⁹ To solve this issue though various talks were organised from 2004-2007 but a substantial agreement is yet to be devised.

INDIA PAKISTAN RELATIONS IN 21ST CENTURY

The twenty first century brought various changes in the world scenario. India became very optimistic in playing a potent role in the global politics. After its economic liberalisation, India wanted to attract foreign investments in the region. For this India wanted a stable relationship with its South Asia neighbour focusing on comprehensive role with Pakistan. Therefore India along with emphasising its policy towards major powers focused on its neighbourhood policy where Pakistan became a key factor.

In the foreign policy aspect India’s neighbourhood policy played an important role. In the recent times it is envisaged that a peaceful neighbourhood is a prerequisite for the economic growth of the country. So India has marked the policy of neighbourhood as the ‘first circle’ of its foreign policy emphasising its relationship with its neighbours for the growth and development of the region and as well as its foreign policy. But it has been viewed that the neighbourhood policy has constantly remained a problematic area as India became busy in managing the relation with its neighbours as a big brother rather than shaping it as an ally. The hegemonic position of India created an impression of a dictator trying to dominate the neighbours. S. D. Muni has pointed out that due to lack of a balanced political perspective, proper diplomatic styles, power differences in the region, India’s economic influences, extra- regional power led to an unbalanced growth of the region hindering the proper functioning of India’s neighbourhood policy.²⁰

The Diplomatic Ups and Downs

At the end of the twentieth century, the relations between India Pakistan saw the light of improvement when Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee visited to Pakistan on 21st February in 1999 in order to open the Delhi-Lahore bus service. This meeting was a breakthrough in the relationship for both the countries. Both the Prime Ministers had discussed all aspects of bilateral and regional issues and also signed the Lahore Declaration along with a joint Statement and Memorandum of Understandings (MOU).²¹ The MOU highlighted that the “The two sides shall engage in bilateral consultation on security concepts and nuclear doctrines with a view to developing confidence building measures in the nuclear and conventional fields, aimed at avoidance of conflicts”.²² Thus the declaration mainly focused on the issues of - identifying and resolving all the issues such as recognising the nuclear dimensions of security, commitment for the principles of United Nations charter for peaceful co-existence, implementing the spirit of Shimla Agreement, enhancing the measures of confidence building measures including the issue of Jammu and Kashmir, to reach a proper ground in solving the issues of contention between the two countries.²³ The memorandum also promised for an early and positive outcome of the agreed bilateral agendas. A further aim was made in taking instant step

¹⁹Joseph, Mallika (1998), “Delhi Round of Indo-Pak Talks – II: Tulbul Navigation Project/Wullar Barrage”, *Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI)*, 21 November 1998.

²⁰Behuria, Ashok K., Smruti S. Pattanaik & Arvind Gupta (2012), “Does India Have a Neighbourhood Policy?”, *Strategic Analysis*, 36(2), pp. 231-232

²¹Dr. Ali Muhammad et. All (2015), “Pakistan – India Relations: Peace Through Bilateral Trade” in *European Scientific Journal*, 11(4), pp.365

²²Pillai, K. Raman (2005), “Rethinking India – Pakistan Relations: Challenges Ahead” in Rajen Harse & K. M. Sethi (eds.) *Engaging With the World*, New Delhi, Orient Longman Private Limited, pp. 236

²³Lahore Declaration, (2006) [Online: web] Accessed 10 September 2015, URL: www.nti.org/treties-and-regimes/lahore-declaration/

“for reducing the risk of accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons”.²⁴ But these declarations remained in paper only.

After few months of Lahore Declarations Pakistani intruders crossed the LOC and came in India’s Kargil sector with the help of Pakistani Army and intelligence agencies. This incident clearly violated all the norms of international law and principles of Lahore Declarations.²⁵ This incident created the situations for a small war between both the countries, thus beginning Kargil war in the year of 1999. Kargil war certainly destroyed the image of Pakistan as a nation state in international system. Peace process which was initiated by both the countries got derailed from the track. This incident not only spoilt the peace process between India and Pakistan but disturbed the civil and military institutions of Pakistan where General Pervez Musharraf made a military coup and took all the powers from the hands of the civilian government of Nawaz Sharif. After Kargil crisis the relationship of India and Pakistan became very hostile, but once again the dialogue process started in 2001 when Pakistan’s self-declared president General Pervez Musharraf visited India in July 2001 in response to Prime Minister Vajpayee’s invitations. During 15-16 July 2001, in Agra, a summit was held and discussions ensued on various issues like bilateral trade, visa issues, education related issues and security issues. Apart from these issues the leaders of both the countries “discussed nuclear risk reduction measures, cooperation to stop drug trafficking and other cross border issues and trade relations”.²⁶ But the leaders could not agree on a joint statement due to differences on the question of Jammu and Kashmir. After this the political dialogue in Agra Summit failed and treaty was not signed.²⁷

Following the Agra summit, terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament in December 2001 once again jeopardised the relationship of both the countries. After this incident both the armies mobilised across the Line of Control (LOC) in Kashmir²⁸ but there were no conflict between the two and both the armies retreated after some time.

After this incident, Indian PM Vajpayee and Pakistani President Musharraf again met at the 12th SARRC summit in Islamabad in January 2004. This meeting began with the process of Composite Dialogue which included issues like: Peace and security issue, Conventional and nuclear CBMs, Water related issues, the issue of Jammu and Kashmir, Wullar Barrage, Siachen, Sir creek, cooperation through the means of joint Anti Terrorism and drug trafficking, promotion of friendly exchanges in various fields along with economic and commercial cooperation etc.²⁹ Though there were no solution to the ongoing problems but at least an era of hope for the development of relationship ushered in the area.

In continuation to these talks in January 2006 there were a foreign secretary level talk which discussed on the issues of Jammu and Kashmir, peace and security including CBMs in accordance with the Lahore Declaration and the Composite dialogue. But soon after this dialogue process the “Samjhauta Express”³⁰ bomb blast incident happened in Panipat near New Delhi and dialogue process once again got derailed from its path. After a lull, again the CBMs between the two rejuvenated. In 2008 India became a part of the framework agreement between Turkmenistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan on a gas pipeline project. Thus once again the normalisation of relations can be seen between the two countries. In the CBM of 2008, the approval of a triple entry permit facility was agreed by both the countries. In September 2008 Pakistan’s President Asif Ali Zardari and Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh officially declared the opening of several trade routes between two countries. Thus 2004-2008 saw some improvements in the relation between

²⁴ Maggsi, Amjad Abbas (2013), “Lahore Declaration February, 1999 A Major Initiatives for Peace in South Asia” in *Pakistan Vision*, 14(1), pp. 184

²⁵ Kargil Review Committee (2000), *From Surprise to Reckoning*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp.16.

²⁶ Lahore Declaration, (2006) [Online: web] Accessed 10 September 2015, URL: www.nti.org/treties-and-regimes/lahore-declaration/

²⁷ Sarma A., Umakantha. (2001), “The Agra Summit and Thereafter”, *The Hindu*, New Delhi, 31 July 2001.

²⁸ Chako Priya (2012), *India’s Foreign Policy: The Politics of Post Colonial Identity from 1947 to 2004*, New Delhi: Routledge, pp. 173

²⁹ Gul Nabiha (2008), “Pakistan India Composite Dialogue”, *Pakistan Horizon*, 61(3), pp. 13

³⁰ In 2007 the Samjhauta Express was a train service started between India and Pakistan for enhancing peace through people to people interaction.

the two. This was mainly because both the countries wanted to have a stabilised position in the region and work for their individual developments.³¹

Post Mumbai Attack Relations

The relation between the two countries though had certain improvements but it again got sunk following the Mumbai Attack of 26/11. After the lone survived terrorist 'Ajmal Amir Kasab' was identified to have roots in the Okara district, Punjab in Pakistan, India once again stopped all the diplomatic relation with Pakistan.³² India demanded from Pakistan that the country should take a strong step against terrorist organisations and should stop letting its ground to be used by the terrorist against India. Pakistan's Authority became reluctant and commented that terrorists are non state actors and Pakistani government has no role to play in it.³³ However, the Mumbai Attack incident changed all the previous equations between India and Pakistan. All kind of talk and activities stopped with the country after this. There were only arguments and counter arguments from both the sides in the name of dialogue. This attack proved to be a direct assault on the India Pakistan peace process. This incident created huge mistrust between both the countries. It made the subcontinent see the wave of terrorism and defamed Pakistan as the "global nursery of terrorism".³⁴ In 2009 the government of Pakistan admitted that Mumbai Attack may have been partly planned in Pakistan but said that it was not aided by the army or intelligence agencies of Pakistan. Afterwards India provided evidence of the attack being planned in Pakistan and demanded for legal action against Hafiz Mohammad, the head of Jamaat-ud-Dawa, an Islamic charitable organisation with ties to Lashkar-e-Taiba from Pakistan.³⁵ Thus this issue of terrorism have destroyed the faith between two.

The Recent Undercurrents

After the coming of the Modi government, with a promise of proactive relations with its neighbours, once again there were aspirations on the front of improvement of India Pakistan relations. The government promised to have a friendly relation with its neighbours by pursuing regional cooperation and connectivity. But all the things will be done keeping in mind the national interest of India. At the same time the government promised to have zero tolerance on the issue of terrorism and illegal migration. Thus Modi's 'neighbourhood first policy' can be marked as a new beginning in the foreign policy of India where the government shows a way to improve its relation with the neighbours which remained neglected for long.³⁶

A stable relation with the neighbours would not only bring peace for India in the region but would also develop a coordinated relationship in the subcontinent on the basis of its economic, political or strategic partnership.

After Modi became the Prime minister of India he held talks with his Pakistani counter-part Nawaz Sharif in May 2014. But soon after that there were problems of border clashes and also there were cancellation of secretary level talks which were scheduled to be held on August 2014. India said the reason behind the cancellation of talks was Pakistan's engagement with the Kashmiri separatist.

After a pause, the meeting of the two Prime ministers in the side line of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation summit in Ufa, Russia once again showed light in the positive direction. They issued a joint statement which "condemned terrorism in all its forms and agreed to cooperate with each other to eliminate the menace of terrorism from South Asia." The meeting also decided to discuss with the director generals of India's Border Security Forces and Pakistani Rangers on issues of stabilising borders, release of fisherman in

³¹Talbot, Ian (2013), *The Independence of India Pakistan: New Approaches and Reflections*, OUP: Publication, pp. 58

³²Javaid and Kamal (2013), "The Mumbai Terror 2008 and its Impact on the Indo-Pak Relations", in *A Research Journal of South Asian Studies*, 28(1), pp. 28

³³Civil Service Today, Change in India Pakistan Relations Post Mumbai Attack, [online: web] Accessed 11 September 2015, URL: <http://www.civilserviceindia.com/subject/Essay/change-in-india-pakistan-relations-post-mumbai-attacks1.html>

³⁴Chellaney Brahma, (2012), *Asian Juggernaut: The Rise of India China and Japan*, Harper Collins Publishers pp. 16

³⁵Fair, C. Christine (2012), *Fighting to the End: The Pakistan Army's Way of War*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 245

³⁶Pattanaik Smruti S. (2014), New Neighbourhood Policy in the Offing? [Online: web] Accessed 9 September 2015, URL: <http://www.thedailystar.net/new-neighbourhood-policy-in-the-offing-25632>

each other's custody, and also to devise a way which will facilitate religious tourism between both the countries. Again Modi also accepted the invitation for South Asian Region summit to be held in Islamabad from Nawaz Sharif. While discussing about the Summit, Hash Pant (2015) have said "Pakistan's agreement to expedite the 2008 Mumbai terror attack trial and no specific mention of Kashmir was viewed as a major diplomatic victory for India and as sign of a changing mindset in Pakistan." But these issues again got delayed when the Pakistani national security advisor said that more information is required for the trial of one of the mastermind of 26/11 Zaki-ur Rehman Lakhvi. He was also released from jail and Pakistan said that till Kashmir becomes one of the agenda there cannot be any dialogue.³⁷

In the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation Summit in Ufa, Russia, both the Prime ministers decided a meeting with top national security officials in August 2015. This meeting was called off by the Pakistani side as a denial of the "preconditions" set by New Delhi on Islamabad. India wanted to restrict the scope of the talks to the issues of terrorism only as discussed by the Prime ministers in Russia and was not ready to discuss on Kashmir. Again India was against the Pakistani leaders meeting with the Hurriat Kashmiri leaders in India. During the current (Modi-Nawaz) governments tensions have been reaching at new heights which can also be seen through the case of Kulbhushan Jadhav and continuing ceasefire violations on the borders of both the countries. Because of these reasons the talk was called off once again showing the signs of mutual contradictions and distrust between themselves.³⁸

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS: AN ANALYSIS

The India Pakistan relationship is characterised with antagonism since its independence. There were various attempts made in the diplomatic levels to improve the relationship between the two which came up with no positive result. There are various reasons for being so. The colonial past, internal politics, leadership and security issues at the domestic level and power relations, security dilemma in the international level made the states to behave in such a manner. Again as discussed earlier, the dilemma of strong and weak states came to dominate the relationship between the two. There are some issues which still possess a threat perception for both the countries.

In the front of Kashmir there are issues of terrorism which are bothering both the countries. The militant group of Hizbul-Mujahideen declared a unilateral ceasefire against Indian force in July 2000 after covert negotiations between the different stakeholders. It asked India to call Kashmir a disputed land and call for a tri party agreement. To counter this there were several cease fire agreements made. A few progresses were seen before 2008 in the front of trade between borders but the Mumbai Attack incident paused the initiatives in the region. Though some negotiations took place in the region but still this issue remain as a vital bone of contention between the two.³⁹ Connected to the Kashmir issue the Siachin issue also remains unsolved. The harsh climate in the region is creating casualties from both the sides as both have maintained troops in the region. This region is of vital importance to both the countries because of the sources of water and river in the region. Again the issue of Wullar Barrage or Tulbul Navigation Project remains unresolved causing water dispute between the countries. The unresolved Sir Creek issue is creating problems for the fishermen of the region of Rann of Kutch. In the absence of any demarcated water boundary in the region they often fail to understand the border. This issue became a major area of concern for both. Thus a proper solution in this area is required to build a stable comprehensive relation between the two.

In the economic front, though the trade between two countries have increased substantially after 2012 but still it has failed to get its desired goals. In this field, the opening of Attari road for certain commodities by Pakistan in 2005 ushered an era of hope. India has also opened an Integrated Check Post (ICP) at Attari in April 2012, with an enhanced warehousing and screening infrastructure. Although these facilities have

³⁷Pant, Hash V. (2015), "A Seismic Shift in India's Pakistan Policy", *The Diplomat*, [Online: web] Accessed 8 September 2015, URL: <http://thediplomat.com/2015/08/a-seismic-shift-in-indias-pakistan-policy/>

³⁸Panda Ankit (2015), "With Cancelled Talks: India and Pakistan Back at Square One", *The Diplomat*, [Online: web] Accessed 10 September 2015, URL: <http://thediplomat.com/2015/08/with-cancelled-talks-india-and-pakistan-back-at-square-one/>

³⁹Kashmir: Conflict Profile [Online: web] Accessed 8 September 2015 URL: <http://www.insightsonconflict.org/conflicts/kashmir/conflict-profile/>

improved much of the trade between the two sides but still certain factors remain as hurdle between the two. There is still lack of proper infrastructure for trade as Pakistan is yet to provide check posts like the ICP. There is no extension of rail cargo system. Again no transit right is given to Pakistan to access Nepal, Bhutan, and Bangladesh from India. Pakistan has also not given any transit right to India for Afghanistan through its land. There is still no financial assistance for the traders. Though there is an agreement of opening of State Bank of India Branch in Pakistan but still there is no implementation of it. Thus these aspects decrease the trade potential of both the countries which could have been beneficial for both.⁴⁰

In this context it could be said that both the countries are having several issues of contention between the two. Only a successful negotiation with proper implementation can bridge the gap between the two.

SUGGESTIONS FOR A COMPREHENSIVE RELATION

In the wake of twenty first century, the relation between India Pakistan is still standing at the same position without showing much signs of improvement. The mutual trust deficits, security dilemma are causing various challenges in building a comprehensive relation between the two. The dilemma of strong and weak states is haunting the relationship where Pakistan is allying with external powers like China to counter India. India on the other hand to stabilise its relation in the neighbourhood is trying to manage the relation with Pakistan in a manner which will help it in becoming a global player. Thus both the countries are orienting the foreign policy in such a way to gain individual power. In doing so both the countries are neglecting some core issues which remains of vital importance in the relationship between the two. The problems, if solved, can open a new vista in the relationship of the two.

As suggestions certain issues can be pointed out here:

1. India Pakistan should develop a common understanding of the neighbourhood policy, which should be based on mutual respect and trust.
2. India and Pakistan are both big economies in the subcontinent so they have a huge potential to develop their trade relations with each other which will certainly help the countries to reduce their economic problems. Thus more relaxation of trade barriers is required for the smooth functioning of trade.
3. Economic relations should be based on mutual benefits to solve issues regarding economic problems.
4. In the global era the main issue which jeopardise the relationship between the two is the issue of terrorism and other non-traditional threats. So a joint institutional mechanism should be made to deal with the problem of Non state actors and terrorism.
5. Water issues should be resolved on the guideline of World Bank and Indus water treaty to mutually benefit each other.
6. The issues of Kashmir, Siachen and Sir Creek should be addressed according to Shimla agreement and a mechanism should be devised to solve them.
7. Both the countries should promote the educational and cultural exchanges and enhance track II diplomacy.
8. They have to understand their legitimate interest in Afghanistan and pursue that interest without creating problems for each other.
9. India and Pakistan, both being nuclear powers, should not create a hostile environment in the region.
10. They should solve their mutual issues through bilateral relations and enable the proper functioning of the SAARC.
11. The means of transportation such as buses, trains and flights should be increased between the two countries.
12. Both the countries should cooperate to bring all the neighbours together and make South Asia a peaceful and prosperous region.

Thus a proper functioning of the India Pakistan relation will ensure an overall development between the two and the region as a whole.

⁴⁰ Kumar Rohit, India-Pakistan trade relations: Current and Potential, [Online: web] Accessed 7 September 2015, URL: <http://jinnah-institute.org/india-pakistan-trade-relations-current-and-potential/>