

## Challenges of Foreign Policy Making with Special Reference to Indo-Pakistan Relations

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### ABSTRACT

*Foreign policy is an instrument which enables a country to realize its national interest. The nation's security and economic progress largely depends upon the potency of its foreign policy. The tumultuous character of international affairs compels nation's states to device a rational and meaningful foreign policy, which will enable them to cope up with the turbulence of world politics. Foreign policy making, thus, appears to be a very challenging task to the ruling establishment. Policy makers have to face both internal and external challenges while formulating the country's foreign policy. In the present context, the external challenges of foreign policy mainly emanates from globalization. It has brought in phenomenal changes in the ambit of internal affairs of a country. There are numerous challenges that decision makers in India have to counter, while devising the country's foreign policy. For the purpose of this paper, upsurge of terrorism as an unconventional mode of conflict in the ambit of the already strained relation between India and Pakistan has been selected. It has been assumed, rise of terrorism in India has presented serious challenges to the foreign policy makers. Despite the emergence of globalization that contends to have drastically transformed the texture of international affairs and claims to have redirected the course of world affairs from a chronicle of political conflicts economic cooperation and cultural integration. It seems that, the waves of transition have not hit the shores of South Asia; the countries of the region are still reeling under complex internal and external conflicts. Terrorism has been one of the major sources of tension in the region. Although there has occurred qualitative changes in the sphere of human life, thanks to globalization, but it appears that, it has not been able to make any impact on the problem of terrorism, which preserves relentlessly.*

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Human life has witnessed profound changes in the socio-economic, political and cultural aspects due to the emergence of globalization. But nation state still remains as a key component in man's life. Anyhow, even beyond the bounds of the nation-state, there have occurred certain significant changes that have transgressed the boundaries of nation states. These include rapid transnational movement of capital and technology, growth of knowledge, increased socio-economic and cultural interactions among people facilitated by the communications revolution. Hence foreign policies of nation states have acquired a new dimension due to this qualitative change. Coping up with the dynamics of globalization has emerged as a primary challenge for foreign policy makers. Apart from these external challenges there are some internal variables which considerably influence the process of foreign policy making. National security which is an integral part of foreign policy always draws added attention of the actors in the domestic arena. The national security paradigm of the nation state is by and large conditioned in accordance to the demands emerging from the internal environment of the policy. Public opinion, political parties, pressure groups, the media and academia, all visualize the nation's security and foreign policy from the prism of their own perception.

The greatest challenge to foreign policy makers will be to harmonize these diverse interests. In addition to this, globalization seems to have redoubled the complexities of

domestic environment influencing foreign policy making. Therefore, Mayer Frederick says that,

...when nations negotiate, often the toughest bargaining is not between nations but within them. For international negotiators, the necessity of dealing with conflicting domestic interests comes with the territory. Experienced negotiators almost invariably insist that the more difficult part of their job consists not in dealing with their adversary across the table but in handling interest groups, bureaucrats and politicians at home. (Frederick, 1992, p.793)

The process of decolonization was accompanied by the democratization of world order. The post-world war II history is characterized by the birth of new nations India was one among those newly liberated state. Establishment of national identity, propelling socio economic progress, preservation of national security and maintenance of internal stability, were the fundamental challenges faced by policy makers in India. These challenges had to be countered by evolving healthy domestic and foreign policies. Formulation of a prudent foreign policy became a formidable task for the ruling elite in India.

The chequered history of South Asia has been a witness to an unending a spate of violence caused by various factors. Terrorism of different kind has been a dominant and common cause of violence in almost all the South Asian countries. India

appears to be one of the most horrendous victims of terrorism emerging in diverse forms.

During the last five decades, many policies as well as political changes have taken place in South Asian countries. The degree and intensity of violence and unrest has escalated dramatically, particularly in the last decade. These societies have faced an upsurge of ethnic violence, communal tension, militant activities, [and] misuse of political powers, insecurity and criminality. Thus the South Asian region has been marked by different kinds of internal conflicts. (Rupesinghe and Mumtaz, 1996)

Though India is the largest and most developed country in the region cannot claim itself to be oases in the desert. Even though the priorities of India are foreign policy seems to have shifted from political concerns to economic aspects due to globalization. But it is lamentable to note that, the factors that were irritants of India's foreign policy makes prior to the emergence of globalization, rather than being diluted by the systematic changes, appears to have deepened. The paradigm shifts to India's foreign policy to liberalization and globalization appears to be a sham, considering the impact made by terrorism on the civil society in India. Presently, the magnitude of terrorist violence unleashed against India seems to have crossed the precincts of our imagination. What is worse, it has acquired a multi dimensional character, not only in terms of its forms, but also from the geographical point it has attained inconceivable celerity in expanding its tentacles to large parts of Indian subcontinent. Articulating the extent of terrorist activities in India, Arundhati Ghose says,

In addition to terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir, there has been transformation of the patterns of tourism. Gujarat as a communally fragile border state with Pakistan, has also become a centre for the drug trade and more dangerously, terrorist group have linked up with organized crime and their sway today extends from Jammu and Kashmir down the western coast of Bombay and perhaps beyond. On the eastern front, the pattern is also transmuting: terrorist groups have long survived on extortion of the local population. Today we are faced with the real paradox. (Ghose, 2007, p.7)

In the end, the September 11 terrorist attacks on the WTC twin towers in the USA, has brought in a new dimension of tourism and it has assumed to more threatening posture.

Terrorism in the context of Indo-Pakistan relations has become a primary concern for the makers of Indian foreign policy. It has remained as a major challenge to India's foreign policy makers even in an era of globalization. The exasperated nature of Indo-Pakistan disputes has led to the undermining of the positive effects of globalization on the entire South Asian region. Since the rivalries between the two countries are deeply entrenched in traditional biases it has not been able to adapt itself to the swift pace of globalization. Consequently, terrorism has engrossed greater societal space. The problem has been complicated due to the increased inability of the state to deal with specter of terrorism. And Indo-Pak relation is one of the key elements in India's foreign policy. Its agenda seems to be dominated by the issues pertaining to relation between these two sub-continental neighbours. Various issues have played their own part in accentuating tension between the two

countries. Perhaps the most exasperating issue between India and Pakistan is that of Kashmir. The dispute over this territory largely influenced the peace process between India and Pakistan. Hence, Kshitij Prabha has said that,

Kashmir, the land of abundant natural beauty, is the major bone of contention between India and Pakistan. It does not need to be reiterated that India considers Jammu and Kashmir is the integral part of Indian Union, while for Pakistan it is disputed territory. (Prabha, 2000, p.117)

The issue has the dubious distinction claiming centrality in the conduct of bilateral relation between these two extremes brothers. The four wars fought between India and Pakistan and almost all bilateral agreements between them have been captured by on single issue that is Kashmir. All other issues between India and Pakistan are convoluted in the Kashmir issue. Terrorism which has emerged as one of the crucial issues between India and Pakistan has its roots in the Kashmir issue. The failure to find an amicable solution to the Kashmir dispute paved the way for the rise of liberation movement in Kashmir which has been transformed into militancy, with the due to assistance from Pakistan. Since the upsurge of terrorist violence, Indo Pak relations have declined to a nadir. Now it is a prevalent opinion that the resolution of Indo-Pak disputes rests upon ending of cross border terrorism.

Politically through religious symbolism and rhetoric used by the Pakistani establishment has led to the rise of Islamic radicalism within the country. The proliferation of arms coupled with military training of the *Mujahidins* fighting in Kashmir and politicization of *jihad* has raised only the specter of an armed Islamic take over. The social impact of privatization of Jihad has been devastating. (Subramanyam, 2003)

...first in Punjab and since 1988 in Kashmir has remained the most disturbing and dangerous phenomenon drawing serious regional and global attention. While proper co-ordination and the commitment of state its police plus maximum public co-operation controlled insurgency in Punjab, in the case of Kashmir it has taken recourse to proxy war and therefore, it persists. (Choudhary, 2001, p.40)

The causes for the present adversarial relations between India and Pakistan are strongly embedded in the lengthy history of the Indian subcontinent.

...there is a dearth explanation for it, at both scholarly and popular levels. Some have suggested that the conflict has a primordial basis and is rooted in the divergent and essentially antithetical world views of Islam and Hinduism. (Ganguly, 2002, p.2)

It has been considered that Indo Pakistan dispute is entrenched in the traditional Hindu-Muslim animosity which originated in the subcontinent even before the British rule. J.N. Dixit argued:

Indo-Pak hostilities [are] originated in the long period of Muslim rule over India. Which lasted nearly a thousand years before the advent of the European colonial powers? The Hindu Muslim synthesis achieved by the Indian civil society as the Muslim rulers settle down in India adopting India as home was fragmented by the extremist Islamic orthodoxy of Aurangzeb's rule from the about 1658 to 1707. Muslim assertiveness and Hindu resentment [are] dating from

the period of Aurangzeb both the seeds of Hindu Muslim antagonism. (Dixit, 2002, p.102)

The arrival of the British father intensified the enmity due to their policy of divide and rule.

Before the arrival of the British in India, Hindus and Muslims lived in a peace with each other. Maybe in some what is a specified social compartment, quit akin to the custom yet, accommodating each other's religious beliefs. (Nanda, 1989, p.21)

Several disruptive policies of the British widened the schisms between Hindu and Muslims which ultimately led to the partition of the subcontinent. This division was not only your geo-political but also brought a profound chasm in the hearts of the people on both sides of the border. Thus, the year 1947 marked the beginning of the new era in the history of subcontinent. Not only India got independence but Pakistan was carved out of a new sovereign state. The communal schism between Hindus and Muslims was transformed into intense political hostilities between India and Pakistan. The two nation theory further separated the two communities and politically divided them into hostile nations.

The post 1947 sub continental history of is characterized by an unending conflict between these two South Asian neighbors. Hence the issue relating to their bilateral relations has acquired paramountcy for the process of formulation and execution of their foreign policies. In this regard it can be viewed here, an Indo Pakistan relation is a significant element of Indian foreign policy. The success or failure of India's foreign policy largely hinges happening its ability to deal with the problems pertaining to Pakistan. Even the government's domestic popularity and international stature considerably depends upon the success of India's Pakistan policy. Any inability to comprehensively tackle the issue in India Pakistan relations may amount to gross domestic criticism and international condemnation. Thus, management of Indo Pakistan relations seems to be litmus test to India's foreign policy makers.

Thus, the foreign policy makers in India make meticulous endeavours to evolve a rational foreign policy in order to tackle issues concerning the countries relation with Pakistan, considering the regional and global ramifications of the conflict. The bilateral relations between India and Pakistan have been flocked by a myriad of continuous issue. Anyhow, the conflict has entirely revolved around, two fundamental issues, the political dispute over Kashmir and terrorism which has been regarded as an offshoot of the Kashmir dispute. Pakistan accords centrality to Kashmir issue, but India on its

parts asserts that Kashmir is its integral part and should not be considered as a disputed territory. Intern India reckons terrorism as a key issue that needs to be satisfactory address. The foreign policy makers in India have to take into cognizance the interlocking dynamics between these two issues and shape India's foreign policy in a manner which will suitably focus on both the issues, in order to find solid and lasting solutions to the waxed India Pakistan conflict.

As already noted terrorism is a significant priority for the foreign policy makers in India. It may be viewed here; terrorism and Indo Pakistan relations are inextricably linked with each other. It is an inalienable component in the realm of the relation of these two hostile neighbours.

Terrorism, secessionism and ethnic conflicts, particularly in multicultural, multi religious and multi-ethnic societies, have assumed a new dimension, both in their sweep and intensity in the beginning of the 21st century. (Chopra, 2001, p.15)

The concluding decades of the twentieth century and the beginning of the 21st century, has witnessed terrorism emerging as a major issue between India and Pakistan.

To conclude I would like to say that, the successive leadership in Pakistan made arduous attempts to dismember Kashmir from the Indian Union through various methods which proved futile. Pakistan can be regarded as one of the major external source for the growth of terrorism. It is the result of the fractured nature of bilateral relations between India and Pakistan. Management of a disturbed relation with Pakistan will considerably depend upon finding practice civil solutions to terrorism that are based on common consensus. In this connection, how foreign policy makers perceive the domestic problems and international situation will significantly determine the effectiveness of the politics to combat terrorism. The major challenge in this regard is management of Indo-Pakistan relations by discovering and amicable and lasting solution to the Kashmir dispute. Only then it may be possible to effectively deal with the problem of terrorism. India's national interest demands cordial bilateral relations with Pakistan which in turn primarily depends upon solution to the problem of terrorism. Until this goal is achieved, globalization cannot become a positive force neither in domestic or international affairs. The fruits of globalization can be effectively utilize only when nation states like India become potent enough to comprehensively deal with the emerging challenge from terrorism. Foreign policy makers in this connection have an added role of drawing of such prudent policy options that may enable the country to access accomplish such objectives.

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