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## Modern Bilateral Relations Between India and Pakistan – Difficult Neighbourhood

### *Współczesne stosunki bilateralne Indii i Pakistanu – trudne sąsiedztwo*

**Streszczenie:** Celem artykułu jest analiza skomplikowanych relacji między Indiami i Pakistanem oraz głównych przyczyn trwającego konfliktu między tymi państwami na tle różnic religijnych, etnicznych, sporu o podział terytorialny i polityczny. Napięte stosunki wynikające także z rywalizacji o wpływ w regionie w sferze militarnej, gospodarczej, technologicznej, nuklearnej doprowadzają do wzrostu zagrożenia bezpieczeństwa w regionie Azji Południowej.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Indie i Pakistan, konflikt międzynarodowy, bezpieczeństwo państw Azji Południowej, Indii, Pakistanu

#### **Summary:**

The aim of the article is to analyse the complicated relations between India and Pakistan, and the main causes of the ongoing conflict between the two countries on grounds of religious and ethnic differences, territorial dispute and political division. Strained relations resulting also from competition for military, economic, technological and nuclear influence in the region lead to an increase in security threats in the region of South Asia.

**Keywords:** India and Pakistan, the international conflict, the security of states, the region of South Asia, India, Pakistan

## 1. Introduction

India and Pakistan are two countries very active politically in the South Asian region, different in many respects, including political, cultural, linguistic, ethnical, social and religious. They are two sovereign legal entities competing with each other for political influence in the region. They also differ in terms of military force potential, economy and technology.

Relations between India and Pakistan are very strained on many levels. There is a lack of trust in the bilateral relations between the two countries. This problem relates primarily to the territorial division of those countries and political rivalry for influence in the region<sup>1</sup>. An equally important reason for the instability is terrorism. The tension in relations between India and Pakistan is also caused by problems associated with illegal immigration, the risks associated with the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, social problems, corruption, instability in the functioning of state institutions, organised crime and poverty<sup>2</sup>.

International relations in the South Asian region are changing very rapidly, and the direct relations between the countries of the region are turbulent and may result in armed conflict<sup>3</sup>. The interest of the international community in the situation in the region is mainly focused on the relations between India and Pakistan, their military, economic, nuclear and religious rivalry, for all of these problems may threaten international security, especially the security of other countries located in South Asia<sup>4</sup>.

The aim of the article is to analyse the complex relations between India and Pakistan and the main causes of the ongoing conflict.

## 2. The Origins and the Nature of Conflict

In 1600, Queen Elizabeth I of England founded the English East India Company, which had a monopoly on trade with eastern India, including Mumbai, Madras and Calcutta. In addition to the economic dimension, the Company had also a political function, as it held not only political, but also administrative powers. Only in the nineteenth century were the English able to completely conquer India.

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<sup>1</sup> K. Rasler, W. Thompson, *Strategic Rivalries In World Politics. Position, Space and conflict Escalation*, New York 2007, p. 21-25.

<sup>2</sup> S. Tokarski, S. Bhutani, *Nowoczesne Indie. Wyzwania rozwoju*, Warszawa 2007, p. 68-69.

<sup>3</sup> P. Diehl, G. Goertz, *War and Peace In International Rivalry*, Detroit 2000, p. 143-220.

<sup>4</sup> K. Sathasivam, *Uneasy Neighbors: India, Pakistan, and U.S. Foreign Policy*, Burlington 2005, p. 10-15.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the national consciousness of Indian society began to grow; the people began to think seriously about independence and creation of their own state. Before gaining independence, Muslims and Hindus led a fierce fight against each other to gain influence in the colonial administration. From the very beginning Pakistanis could not accept the colonisers; they regarded them as occupiers and they did not want to learn either British culture or the English language. The Muslim society thought that it had its own culture and did not need to accept the British culture which was perceived by them as foreign. Pakistanis were distrustful not only of the colonial authorities, but also of Hindus involved in the colonial administration. The economic situation of Muslims in India was worse than that of Hindus. In India, Muslims were considered a second-class society without the right to social advancement, and, therefore, they could not practice certain professions. They had also no access to education. The situation of the Indian society was much better. In addition, the Hindus adapted quickly to the British culture, were better educated and had a better command of English, which made it easier for them to find work in the colonial administration. The Indian society has always considered the Muslim community as more backward, confrontational and hostile. The conflict between India and Pakistan is fuelled by a lack of trust between the two countries.

Another reason for the partition into two states was the lack of understanding between the Muslim League, representing the interests of the Muslim minority and striving for the division of India into two countries, and the National Congress, representing the interests of Indian society and opposing the division of the state.

Despite bans and repression by the colonisers, the Hindus did not lose enthusiasm; they created more and more new civic movements acting against the colonial authorities. Members of these movements were representatives of different backgrounds, from intellectuals by workers and farmers to physicians, who were discontent at the fact that the colonisers sought to create their own state in India. In order to resist the British, the National Congress was established which forced the colonial authorities to hold talks with civic movements, to improve the financial and living situation of the citizens of India, and to recognise that state as independent. To alleviate the situation, the British authorities began to make internal changes in the colony, giving the Hindus a chance to become independent of the colonial administration and the local people a chance to participate in the public life of the country. Then started the

investments of public funds in the economy, industry, railway, construction and agriculture. These efforts, however, did not stop the aspirations of the Hindus to create their own independent state. The conflict was bloody and claimed many lives. Based on the decision made by the British Government in 1946, British troops were withdrawn from India. The interim Viceroy of British India was Louis Mountbatten, who was to carry out the partition of India into two states. The plan failed and Pakistan has been independent since 1947. However, this did not resolve all the problems. On the contrary, it caused subsequent conflicts between India and Pakistan. Under the act of independence, India was partitioned into two states – India and Pakistan. Due to religious conflict and other internal conflicts, after the British colonisers declared India an independent country, Pakistan separated and became a sovereign state. Even during the colonial period the financial situation of the Indian society was better than that of the Muslim society. The Hindus held administrative positions; unlike the Muslims, they did not see the colonisers as occupiers and enemies.

The main reason for the conflict between India and Pakistan is dissatisfaction with the boundaries established when these countries gained independence. In addition, the tension is caused by differences in mentality of the societies of both countries and by problems connected with relations of Pakistani fundamentalists both among Pakistani Muslims and Hindus in India<sup>5</sup>. The main accusation of India towards Pakistan is ineffectiveness in the fight against terrorism. In many cases, the Pakistani authorities do not react properly, turning a blind eye to the activities of terrorist groups linked to al-Qaeda and of other separatist and fundamentalist groups operating as part of international terrorism structure in Pakistan<sup>6</sup>.

The state of Pakistan in the South Asian region was to provide shelter to the Muslim society, the protection of rights and interests of Muslims in the region – it was one of the main reasons for its creation<sup>7</sup>. Pakistan is one of the largest Muslim countries and Islam is not only the foundation of law and the moral code, but also a fundamental element defining the culture and identity of every Muslim. The importance of Pakistan on the international arena is evaluated differently<sup>8</sup>. After the terrorist attack of al-Qaeda on the United States in 2001, the government of Pakistan offered to help the US government in the fight against international terrorism. Of particular importance is the involvement of

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<sup>5</sup> S. Percival, *India, Pakistan and the West*, London 1949, p. 190-198.

<sup>6</sup> B. Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, Cambridge 2006, p. 136-140.

<sup>7</sup> M. Alagppa, *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influence*, Stanford 1998, p. 25-30.

<sup>8</sup> A. Jalal, S. Bose, *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy*, New Delhi 2004, p. 131.

Pakistani authorities in the fight against terrorism in Afghanistan, which consisted in providing the territory of the country for logistics purposes, as well as for the deployment of US troops and the coalition of military forces of NATO countries<sup>9</sup>. Despite that, Pakistan is described as an unpredictable country that has no control over the internal political situation. It is also hard not to notice the lenient treatment of terrorist groups by the Pakistani authorities. The Indian authorities are strong opponents of terrorism and are not willing to similar compromises, moreover, they firmly demand from the Pakistani authorities that the persons guilty of the assassination carried out in Mumbai in 2008 be punished. India feels threatened by Pakistani terrorists who often choose their victims from among Hindus<sup>10</sup>.

The conflict of India and Pakistan, lasting until today, has also a historical background. The point of contention is the desire to have influence in a region particularly important economically both for China, India and for Pakistan – the region of Jammu and Kashmir. This region is strategic for internal interests and economy of the aforementioned countries<sup>11</sup>. Brits' dream of creating a common state that existed before the partition of the colony into two countries proved impossible to fulfil because of a sharp conflict arising from cultural, religious and ethnic differences between Muslims and Hindus<sup>12</sup>. Reconciling these differences was impossible; India and Pakistan could not exist as one coherent state<sup>13</sup>. The analysis conducted by Indian historians is different – it is stated there that it was the United Kingdom that was the main party responsible for and guilty of the partition of British India<sup>14</sup>. The political project of dividing India into two sovereign states had a big impact on the course of rivalry between India and Pakistan. Already at the very beginning India received much more favourable conditions than Pakistan, which determined a better internal and international situation of the former<sup>15</sup>. As the undisputed economic leader in the South Asia region, India has a huge advantage over Pakistan, its competitor. Pakistan is a state that is weaker than India in every respect, which does not mean, however, that it should be ignored<sup>16</sup>. Pakistan forms various coalitions

<sup>9</sup> T. Paul, *The India-Pakistan Conflicts: An Enduring Rivalry*, New York 2005, p. 3-4.

<sup>10</sup> P. Lyon, *Conflict Between India and Pakistan: an Encyclopedie*, Santa Barbara 2008, p. 140.

<sup>11</sup> S. Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, Washington 2004, p. 22-25.

<sup>12</sup> E. Sridharan, *International Relations Theory and the India - Pakistan Conflict*, New Delhi 2005, p.103-124.

<sup>13</sup> P. Calvo-coressi, *Polityka międzynarodowa po 1945 roku*, Warszawa 1998, p. 485-487.

<sup>14</sup> A. Misra, *India-Pakistan coming to terms*, New York 2010, p. 25-30.

<sup>15</sup> J. Modrzejewska-Leśniewska, *Konflikty indyjsko-pakistańskie 1947-2004, w: Konflikty kolonialne i postkolonialne w Afryce i Azji 1969-2006*, red. P. Ostaszewski, Warszawa 2006, p. 391-392.

<sup>16</sup> S. Cohen, *India Emerging Power*, Washington 2001, p. 37.

aimed at reducing the dominance of India in the region<sup>17</sup>. According to one of the prominent Pakistani politicians commenting on the country's nuclear programme, the possession of nuclear weapon is an opportunity for Pakistan to reduce the advantage of India in terms of population and economy<sup>18</sup>. The rivalry of these countries often leads to downright dangerous behaviours, e.g. several Pakistani politicians stated that the nation can be dying of hunger for a few years but Pakistan must possess nuclear weapons anyway<sup>19</sup>.

India has internal problems with ensuring security in the region. It is also struggling with economic problems, differentiated social structure and high rates of poverty, as well as the problem of bureaucracy in state administration<sup>20</sup>. According to Agnieszka Kuszewska, India is a country with population of over 1 billion 200 million inhabitants, growing in economic strength which guarantees the power in the South Asian region<sup>21</sup>. India is also the leader in terms of international aspirations – the country actively participates in global politics and strives to become a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. The federal model of the state guarantees the participation of different ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious groups in the political life of India. As a country, India is diversified but as a nation it is united<sup>22</sup>.

### 3. Terrorism in the Region of South Asia

There is no doubt that terrorism poses a serious threat to the internal and external security of the state. The fight against terrorism is not a problem of individual countries, as more and more terrorist groups operate in a more organised manner, have many divisions, including international ones, and are not bound to one place as legal entities. In South Asia, for the past several years there has been a political battle between India and Pakistan related to counteracting terrorism in the region and reducing the tendency of separatist groups to be established in the region of Kashmir, as well as limiting the actions of Islamic fundamentalists related to terrorists groups<sup>23</sup>. The fight against terrorism in South Asia is one of the priorities of the security policy of India and

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<sup>17</sup> A. Z. Hilali, *US-Pakistan Relationship: Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan*, Burlington 2005, p. 31-35.

<sup>18</sup> T. Paul, *The India-Pakistan Conflicts: An Enduring Rivalry*, New York 2005, p. 3-4.

<sup>19</sup> R. Włoch, *Nuklearny wymiar stosunków indyjsko-pakistańskich*, w: *Konflikty współczesnego świata*, red. G. Ciechanowski, J. Sielski, Toruń 2006, p. 35-36.

<sup>20</sup> D. Brązkiewicz, Z. Śliwa, *Współczesne uwarunkowania bezpieczeństwa Azji*, Warszawa 2011, p. 45.

<sup>21</sup> A. Kuszewska, *Indie i Pakistan w stosunkach międzynarodowych. Konflikty, strategie, bezpieczeństwo*, Warszawa 2013.

<sup>22</sup> H. Bhattacharyya, *Federalism and Competing Nations in India*, w: *Multinational Federalism*, red. M. Burgess, J. Pinder, New York 2007, p. 57.

<sup>23</sup> R. Khan, *Afghanistan and Pakistan. Conflict Extremism, and Resistance to Modernity*, New York 2011, p. 54-55.

Pakistan. After the attack in Mumbai, the Pakistani authorities declared their willingness to cooperate with India in the fight. Looking for the ones responsible for the terrorist attack with the intention of punishing them, the Indian authorities suspected Pakistan as a country that supports terrorist groups<sup>24</sup>.

Terrorism in South Asia poses a serious threat to the internal security of all the countries in the region. This results in huge waves of migration, development of organised crime and drug trafficking. India sees terrorism as one of the threats to the internal security of the state that could lead to the destabilisation of the political situation<sup>25</sup>. Another factor posing a threat in the region is the lack of control over weapons of mass destruction which may become available to terrorists. India's security policy envisages carrying out a fierce war in the region with terrorist organisations. This resulted in the establishment of international coalitions and a close cooperation with the USA, China and other countries. India has a modern army that is able to fight against the terrorists and defend the territorial integrity of the state and its sovereignty in the event of an external aggression.

In addition to terrorism, there are also other problems that cause instability of the political situation in the countries of South Asia. The destabilisation results from the internal problems that have already been mentioned in this article. The war in Afghanistan against the Taliban terrorist groups also has a large impact on the situation in the region. Religious conflicts between Muslims and Hindus also threaten the internal security of India. The aim of the terrorist attacks are government facilities, shopping centres, public areas and buildings visited by many citizens and tourists. These attacks are intended to force the authorities to make concessions on the war against the terrorists and to exclude the countries involved in the war from the coalition<sup>26</sup>.

India is a democratic country that observes the basic universal values associated with the Charter of the United Nations, pursues a peaceful policy towards its neighbours and seeks to resolve the existing problems in a peaceful manner. India is in various disputes in the region, concerning, inter alia, the ongoing conflict with Pakistan on state borders, as well as ethnic and religious conflict with the Pakistani people. The failure to resolve these problems enhances all kinds of terrorist activities, resulting in attacks by fundamentalist groups operating in Pakistan. The terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament in 2002 was condemned by Indian authorities and by the international com-

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<sup>24</sup> A. Kuszewska, p. 123-124.

<sup>25</sup> M. Zaki, p. 47-48.

<sup>26</sup> T. Naftali, *George W. Bush and the War on Terror*, Princeton 2010, p. 64.

munity as an act of crime against the authorities in India, and caused a strong response and greater involvement in the fight against international terrorism. The primary aim of India's security policy is to guarantee the sovereignty, territorial integrity and internal security of the state. The fight against terrorist groups based on religious fundamentalism is equally important<sup>27</sup>. As one of the largest countries in the South Asian region, with an enormous territorial area and a large population, India has a very diverse society in cultural, ethnic and religious terms. As the country is diversified culturally, it is not free from internal problems. Hindus form the majority of the population – 80%, while Islam is the religion of 11.2% of the population. India is in the vast majority resided by Hindus but the social structure includes also the Telugu people, Bengalis, Marathas, Tamils, Gujaratis and Kannada people, Malayali, Sikhs and others<sup>28</sup>. Such a wide diversity of society results in numerous languages being spoken in India. The official languages are Hindi and English. Apart from these, there are also the so-called “auxiliary languages”. It is estimated that in India there are 800 auxiliary languages that have the official status and as much as 1,700 dialects with the status of regional languages<sup>29</sup>.

Currently, the economic development of India does not go hand in hand with the development of the social life. Unfair distribution of tangible goods in the country result in social and economic disparities<sup>30</sup>. Therefore, most people in India still live in extreme and bad conditions that result in hazards that threaten the security of India's citizens. They lack access to basic health care, education and clean water. The disparity between the rich and the poor, high illiteracy rate, the increase in organised crime, and drug trafficking are major social problems in India. Uncontrolled urbanisation results in the creation of all sorts of slums.

All the abovementioned social problems directly affect the life of the inhabitants. The problem of poverty, which applies to the majority of society, and child malnutrition is escalating. India's social problems inhibit social development. The disparity in social development threatens internal security and poses a threat of destabilising the political situation in the country. One of India's major problems is the huge number of people, which is a challenge for the state in terms of providing security<sup>31</sup>. Another major problem is the high rate of poverty that affects the life of most people in the region. Unfair distribution of

<sup>27</sup> V. Aghai, *Terrorism. An Unconventional Crime*, Washington 2011, p. 67.

<sup>28</sup> *Indie w XXI wieku. Wybrane problemy*, red. A. Potyrała, M. Skobrtal, Poznań 2009, p. 6-9.

<sup>29</sup> S. Wielgus, *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, t. VII, Lublin, 1997, p. 117-118.

<sup>30</sup> J. A. Dhormann, S. Thorat, *Right to Food: Food Security and Discrimination in the Indian*, New Delhi 2007, p. 9-10.

<sup>31</sup> A. Rudra, *Poverty and Inequality in India*, New Delhi 2008, p. 20-25.



income and social disparities occurring between the rich and the poor cause frustration and social conflicts, which are generally used by religious fundamentalist groups. The above proves the weakness of the state that fails to care about the development of the society and the interests of its own citizens.

Life expectancy is another major social problem. Social research shows that it is one of the shortest in the region. Poor quality of life and the high rate of poverty block the society's access to good healthcare. Another factor hampering social development in India is a high rate of child mortality. The middle class in India is still developing. Lack of access to education and a high illiteracy rate also hinder the economic development<sup>32</sup>.

According to the report on the implementation of the program of the United Nations Development Commission and the Asian Development Bank, the biggest social problems in India are as follows: firstly, poverty affecting the entire society, in which as much as 34.4% of citizens live on USD 1 a day, secondly, child malnutrition which reaches 46%, and thirdly, the mortality rate among children. Other problems affecting the Indian society mentioned in the report are the risks associated with persons with HIV and drug trafficking<sup>33</sup>.

The Indian government is not indifferent to the social problems and does everything to reduce these problems and improve the quality of life of its citizens. The above is confirmed by the cooperation between the government of India and various international organisations. Cooperation in terms of counteracting poverty and aimed at social development of India is institutionalised and is established between the Indian government and international organisations that play a huge role in the world. Among them we can name: the European Union, the United Nations Organisation, the International Monetary Fund, the Asian Development Bank, the government of the USA, China, Russia, and other partners in the region. The Indian government does everything within the local policy to reduce poverty rates, solve the problem of social illiteracy (small towns and villages have no access to education), provide access to healthcare and clean water to all citizens, provide the possibility to use different sources of energy, ensure access to decent housing and working conditions, and social development. There is no doubt that India is a huge country with a great potential, and the human potential is capable, out of good will, of changing this unfavourable social and economic situation.

Pakistan is one of the largest Muslim countries in the South Asian region. The population of Pakistan is large but also very diverse. The structure of the

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<sup>32</sup> R. Radhakrishna, S. Ray, *Poverty In India*, New Delhi 2005, p.10-15.

<sup>33</sup> J. Zajączkowski, p. 136-137.

society is diversified socially, culturally, linguistically and ethnically. The differences apply also to economy.

A numerous and heterogeneous society is a real challenge for the government of Pakistan, especially in the field of social development and ensuring the general unity of the nation. As a country with very large social disparities, Pakistan is exposed to numerous internal problems. One of them, the most harmful to the institutions of the state, is that the fundamentalist organisations show the weaknesses of the state which is not able to perform its basic functions with regard to ensuring the safety of the citizens, social development, the rule of law, observance of law and respect for human rights<sup>34</sup>.

The Pakistani society is also diverse in terms of religion. Muslims constitute 96% of the total population, Hindus – 1.5%, Christians – 2.3%, with others being followers of other religions. The ethnic structure is also diversified. Punjabis are the largest group (about 45%), and other largest ethnic groups are: Pashtuns, Sindhi people, Muhajir people, Baluchi and Baloch people. Each group has people who represent their interests in the local authorities. This is of particular importance for the society because it is often that belonging to a particular ethnic group determines the political advancement and improvement of social position<sup>35</sup>.

The Pakistani society is clearly divided into the rich and the poor. Lack of fair distribution of tangible assets causes social frustration and tensions between the social groups, which can threaten the political stability and internal security of the country for a long time. The majority of population in Pakistan lives in extreme poverty. The following issues are the main social risks for the state: poverty, illiteracy, lack of access to elementary education, lack of universal access to healthcare, lack of access to clean water, lack of basic sanitation and lack of access to energy sources<sup>36</sup>. The problem of illiteracy is particularly difficult to solve, moreover, it has a significant impact on the social development of Pakistan because it leads to the inhibition of its development. According to estimates, 50.1% Pakistanis are illiterate. Pakistan is capable of improving the situation, provided there is good political will within the country to make the necessary changes.

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<sup>34</sup> P. Lyon, *Conflict between Indian and Pakistan*, Oxford 2008, p. 145.

<sup>35</sup> M. Zia, *Present and Future of Pakistan*, New Delhi 2008, p.30-35.

<sup>36</sup> A. Misra, *India- Pakistan*, New York 2010, p.201.

## 4. The Kashmir dispute

The origins of the conflict over Kashmir between India and Pakistan dates back to the partition of British India into two states in 1947. Muslim and Indian societies have always been conflicted. They did not trust each other and were hostile to each other, which resulted in four wars between India and Pakistan. However, they have brought big material and social losses<sup>37</sup>.

The conflict between India and Pakistan over the region of Jammu and Kashmir is one of the longest armed conflicts in history and it continues until today. Even mediation conducted by the international community did not lead to its termination<sup>38</sup>. The conflict over Kashmir is important for the internal situation of both parties. Gaining control of the region is a matter of prestige and is important for both India and Pakistan. Neither party wants to make concessions that would end this dispute<sup>39</sup>.

The Kashmir region is located within the territorial boundaries of three neighbouring countries: India, Pakistan and China, each of which has jurisdiction in certain parts of the region. Kashmir has long been a flashpoint for neighbouring countries because of its location, climatic conditions, natural resources, growing economy and tourism. This region is known for producing many types of fabrics and cashmere products are an important source of income<sup>40</sup>.

Kashmir's territorial area is 222.2 thousand sq. km. The largest part of it belongs to India, i.e. 101.3338 thousand sq. km, covering the eastern region of Jammu, Kashmir Valley, Ladakh, Siachen. Another large area belongs to Pakistan, i.e. 85.846 thousand sq. km. The Pakistan-controlled area includes the western region of Azad, free Kashmir and the northern part of Jammu, as well as the so-called Northern Areas, which until 1947 were a part of Kashmir<sup>41</sup>. China, in turn, has jurisdiction on 37.555 thousand sq. km. The area controlled by China includes the north-eastern region of Ladakh and Shaksgam Valley<sup>42</sup>.

The region of Kashmir is a region of strategic importance for internal and economic interests of China, India and Pakistan. The fight between the countries for political influence has already resulted in significant economic, material and social losses that cannot be made up for<sup>43</sup>.

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<sup>37</sup> T. Tan, G. Kudaisya, *The Aftermath of the Partition in South Asia*, New York 2000, p. 13-15.

<sup>38</sup> S. Ganguly, *The Crisis in Kashmir. Portents of War, Hopes of Peace*, Cambridge 1998, p. 9-15.

<sup>39</sup> H. Zaheer, *The times of trial. The Rawalpindi Conspiracy 1951. The first Coup Attempt in Pakistan*, Lahore 2007, p. 62-74

<sup>40</sup> A. P. Thakur, S. Padney, *21st Century India : View and Vision*, New Delhi 2009, p. 112-114.

<sup>41</sup> E. Margolis, *War at the Top of the World. The Struggle of Afghanistan, Kashmir and Tibet*, New York 2000, p. 121-122.

<sup>42</sup> J. Hewitt, *A Crisis-Density formulation for Enduring Rivalries*, New Delhi 2005, p. 183.

<sup>43</sup> T. Ataov, *Kashmir and Neighbors. Tele, Terror, Truce*, Aldershot 2001, p. 56-57.

## 5. The situation of India and Pakistan in the region of the South Asia

In the region, India is a country with a huge territorial area and a large population, as well as with a large economic, military, technological, social and cultural potential. India is one of the oldest cultural civilisations in South Asia, with big ambitions to play a particular role in regional politics and in the international arena. As one of the largest economies in South Asia, it has the capacity and power to act in the region as a stabiliser and guarantor of national and international security<sup>44</sup>.

India is growing in strength in terms of regional and global economy. As a country, it is developing in the field of technological innovation, computer services, computer software, telephone services, communications and tourism services. It is also a model democratic country in the South Asian region and the example to be followed by other states in terms of development, as owing to investments in economic development and its own human capital, India is making a big leap forward in civilisation<sup>45</sup>. Improving working conditions and attractiveness of remuneration, transparency in labour law, clear tax procedure, ease of starting a business, political stability<sup>46</sup> – all these factors are the strengths of India which make the country attractive for foreign investors, and cause and accelerate the development of the economy, thus improving quality of life of the citizens. The economic position of India in the region is unquestionable; the country aspires to be a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and, thus, a significant partner in creating global policy and ensuring regional and international security<sup>47</sup>. India takes care both to defend its sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of borders, and of access to drinking water and marine waters. As part of military cooperation, India cooperates with the USA, Russia, China and the European Union Member States. In the South Asian region Pakistan is considered one of the most important Islamic countries with nuclear weapons and a large human potential. Pakistan is among the developing countries in South Asia. Its neighbours consider it as an unpredictable, militarised state which constantly competes with Hindus for political influence in the region<sup>48</sup>. Apart from that, it is seen as a state conflicted with Hindus because of an unresolved dispute between the countries over the

<sup>44</sup> A. Kunda, *India's National Security: Strong at Home Engaged Abroad*, New Delhi 2004, p. 32.

<sup>45</sup> G. Perkovich, *Is India a Major Power*, Washington D.C. 2004, p. 139-140.

<sup>46</sup> S. Tokarski, S. Bhutani, p. 116-117.

<sup>47</sup> C. R. Mohan, *India and the balance of Power*, New Delhi 2004, p. 10-15.

<sup>48</sup> P. Brass, *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*, Seattle 2003, p. 231.

territorial division, and also because of the dispute over Kashmir and rivalry of a religious nature between the Hindus in India and the Muslims in Pakistan<sup>49</sup>.

In the region, Pakistan is politically active, while economically it is weak and dependent on external aid. As part of the development policy of international institutions and aid provided in this respect, Pakistan is catching up with development and civilisation, which allows for the use of its economic power and to compete with other countries in the region. Despite the great effort that Pakistan makes in order to improve the economic situation and the quality of life of its citizens, the country is still regarded by the international community as an unpredictable country. In addition, the international community is concerned about the lack of stability and security in Pakistan, which can contribute to an open military confrontation with other countries in the region<sup>50</sup>.

In the context of global politics, Pakistan participates actively in the Global Coalition against International Terrorism, in the activities against Al-Qaeda's terrorist groups and Taliban terrorist groups in Afghanistan<sup>51</sup>. As part of international cooperation against terrorism as the main threat to international peace and security, the Pakistani government has provided assistance to the US government, giving permission for American troops to be stationed in Pakistan and to carry out a military logistics campaign in this country. The significant role of Pakistan in this matter is unquestionable<sup>52</sup>. Pakistani authorities continue to cooperate with the US government, despite the discrepancy on how to get involved in the fight against international terrorism on the territory of Pakistan and in Afghanistan<sup>53</sup>.

Pakistan is currently in a coalition of Western countries in the international mission led by NATO concerning the fight against international terrorism. In the region, Pakistan is trying to find its right place that will give it the opportunity to act and gain trust in the region as a credible partner, capable of maintaining its commitment and observing the rules of international law<sup>54</sup>. The role of Pakistan in the region can change if on the part of political leaders of Pakistan there is political will to cooperate with Western countries. This situation can be an opportunity for Pakistan to improve its political position in the region and to be provided with economic aid allowing for improving the quality of life, development and security of the citizens.

<sup>49</sup> S. Kerr, M. Nikitan, *Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons. Proliferation and Security Issues*, Washington 2011, p. 4-10.

<sup>50</sup> D. Brązkiewicz, Z. Śliwa, p. 62-63.

<sup>51</sup> M. Chaudhri, *Pakistan and the Regional Pacts*, Karachi 2008, p. 121-122.

<sup>52</sup> S. Nawaz, *Pakistan, it's army and the wars within*, Karachi 2008, p. 93-95.

<sup>53</sup> L. Goodson, *Afghanistan's Endless War. State Failure, Regional Politics and the Rise of Taliban*, Washington D.C. 2001, p. 31-34.

<sup>54</sup> H. Synnott, *Transforming Pakistan. Ways out of Instability*, London 2009, p. 103-105.

## 6. The chances for a stable situation in the region of South Asia

A great chance to stabilise the situation in South Asia was seen in the general elections in Pakistan held in 2013. Changes to the positions of the chief commander of the army and of a judge of the Supreme Court also provided a chance for positive change and development of the budding Pakistani democracy<sup>55</sup>. Pakistan plays a special role in the region due to the fact that on its territory is resided by groups fighting with the new Afghan authorities and coalition forces. In view of completing the mission in Afghanistan and withdrawing NATO's International Security Assistance Force, it was necessary to carry out peace talks and to try to establish good governance in the region. In 2012 the outgoing government of Pakistan rebuilt the strained relations with Afghanistan, there were political and military high-level visits, a few dozen middle-ranking Taliban fighters were released from prison<sup>56</sup>. Nonetheless, it did not bring total peace or stability, incidents still occur, like the exchange of fire at the border areas<sup>57</sup>. Then, the concerns were also related to future actions actually taken by the authorities and the citizens of the two countries towards each other. The changes in the structures of the army were hoped to end a long fight between the Pakistanis and the Afghans. The internal situation in Pakistan in 2012 was very difficult and fragile. The economy was experiencing a deep crisis and there was an increased wave of violence – the Pakistani Taliban carried out a number of attacks, there was an uprising in Baluchistan, and there was increased violence against the Christian and Shiite minorities throughout the country<sup>58</sup>. Therefore, the parliamentary elections were so much waited for – they could change a lot in the situation of not only Pakistan, but also of its neighbours. The Taliban, however, took care to ensure that carrying out a fair election campaign was not possible; they caused terrorist threat and ultimately co-determined the results of the elections<sup>59</sup>. The Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N), of the former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, won the election.

The current situation in Pakistan is still unstable – the Pakistani Taliban regularly carry out terrorist attacks which are aimed primarily at the Pakistani security forces, and the government of Nawaz Sharif holds peace talks with

<sup>55</sup> P. Kugiel, *Wybory w Pakistanie i ich międzynarodowe konsekwencje*, „Biuletyn PISM”, No. 45(1021) of 7 May 2013.

<sup>56</sup> J. Healy, A. Rubin, *Afghanistan Favors India and Denigrates Pakistan*, New York 2011, p. 24-30.

<sup>57</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>58</sup> “In 2012, in Pakistan, there were more than 3,000 civilian victims of terrorist and political violence – the largest number since the commencement of the “war against terrorism” – and approx. 1,000 civilians were killed only in the first three months of 2013”. Ibidem.

<sup>59</sup> Ł. Wójcik, *Triumf demokracji, triumf terrorystów*, „Polityka”, [www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/swiat/1542741,1,wybory-w-pakistanie.read](http://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/swiat/1542741,1,wybory-w-pakistanie.read), [accessed: 04.06.2014].

them which are intended to stabilise the situation in the country and end the escalation of violence<sup>60</sup>.

The chances of the situation being improved or even stabilised in South Asia are slight. The internal instability of the countries in the region and the problems which they must deal with in order to improve the living conditions of the citizens are not conducive to peace. Moreover, the strategies aimed at forcing terrorists to cease their actions are based on negotiations, so it is hard to predict the outcome of the problem<sup>61</sup>.

The origin of the problem of security threats in the South Asian region, posed by the conflict between India and Pakistan, should be traced back to the time of the partition of British India into two states in 1947. The decision taken by the colonial administration in British India was based on the Indian Independence Act passed by the British Parliament<sup>62</sup>.

Geopolitically, South Asia is a region that develops very dynamically and is rich in natural resources but where there is a constant fight for political power between India, Pakistan and China. As the largest countries in this region, they have large areas, large populations, economic resources and military capabilities to react in case of security threats in the region<sup>63</sup>. Those countries operate independently in the region and seek to create their own security system which would give them the possibility of survival, development and would ensure safety<sup>64</sup> in the region. Until now, in South Asia, one of the longest conflicts has not been resolved: the conflict over the establishment of territorial boundaries between India, Pakistan and China<sup>65</sup>.

The dispute over the territory is a major problem causing tension and hindering bilateral relations between those countries. The conflict is also fuelled by rivalry for influence in the economic, military, technological and energy sphere in this region. In the South Asian region there are other serious problems that may pose a threat to lives of the citizens and safety of the countries located within that region<sup>66</sup>. The biggest threats in the region include the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, international terrorism, the threat of cybercrime, hacking, whose aim is to destroy the country's communications infrastructure, banking system, transmission networks, power networks, as well as mili-

<sup>60</sup> A. Kuszewska, *Czy w Pakistanie armia przejmie władzę?*, [www.polska-azja.pl/2014/02/14/a-kuszewska-czy-w-pakistanie-armia-przejmie-wladze/](http://www.polska-azja.pl/2014/02/14/a-kuszewska-czy-w-pakistanie-armia-przejmie-wladze/), [accessed: 04.06.2014].

<sup>61</sup> R. Trivedi, *India's Relations With Her Neighbours*, New Delhi 2008, p. 80-81.

<sup>62</sup> P. Kreisberg, D.Kux, *India-Pakistan. The first fifty year*, Cambridge 1999, p.158-159.

<sup>63</sup> W. Wallbank, *A short story*, New Delhi 2007, p.238-239.

<sup>64</sup> A. Varma, *Challenge of Change : Industrial Relations in Indian Industry*, New Delhi 1998, p. 69.

<sup>65</sup> C. Jean, *Geopolityka*, Wrocław 2003, p. 312-313.

<sup>66</sup> U. Bajpai, *India and its Neighbourhood*, Delhi 1986, p. 27-34.

tary and economic information systems<sup>67</sup>. Other threats are of religious, ethnic and separatist nature, are closely related to Islamic fundamentalism and operations of international criminal groups involved in drug trafficking<sup>68</sup>. Actions of terrorists and Islamic fundamentalists are aimed against the authorities, entrepreneurs, representatives of temporary and permanent diplomatic missions, and are based on public intimidation<sup>69</sup>. One of the elements of the strategy of intimidation is kidnapping of diplomats by terrorists. In the region there are also military, nuclear, epidemiological risks, the risk of war, environmental pollution, natural disasters, fraud, poverty and destitution. All these factors posing a threat are accompanied by the conflict over the territorial division of the countries and a poorly functioning institution of a state in the region<sup>70</sup>.

In the South Asian region, India is a modern state growing in strength in the economic field, with its own innovative technology and human resources. As a country with the oldest democracy in the history of the South Asian region, for many years India pursued its policy based on the principle of non-alignment and was striving for peace in international politics and bilateral relations with its neighbours<sup>71</sup>. India has a huge advantage over the other countries in the region in various areas: social, economic, technological, military and economic. The country aspires to the status of a permanent member of the UN Security Council and has a special role to play in international politics<sup>72</sup>. In the region its role is that of a guarantor of order and national and international security. As a nuclear state within the policy of national and international security, India has used a lot of financial resources to strengthen its security in the region, has made a lot of investments in the armament, consisting in modernisation of the army by providing it with new generation equipment. The country has one of the largest professional armies in the region, able to respond to and deter opponents, as well as to ensure the safety of citizens, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Military, political and economic forces of India in the South Asian region are recognised by other countries. As a country striving for peace, building security and cooperation with other countries in the region in international fora, India in the UN is involved in various missions aimed at stabilisation: peacebuilding, peacemaking and restoring security. As an active global player in international fora, India fights against international terrorism

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<sup>67</sup> V. Menon, *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, New York 1956, p.39-45.

<sup>68</sup> B. D Metcalf, *A Consise History of Modern India*, Combridge 2006, p.136.

<sup>69</sup> V. Prakash, *Terrorism in India's North- East: A Gathering Storm*, New Delhi 2008, p.388-389.

<sup>70</sup> D. Rothermund, p. 148-149.

<sup>71</sup> J. Dixit, *India and Regional Developments*, New Delhi 2004, p.39-47.

<sup>72</sup> M. Sondhi, *Reshaping India 's Agenda in the U.N. System in the Post-Cold War Era*, New Delhi 2008, p. 3-10.



which is a serious threat to the lives of citizens, peace and national and international security<sup>73</sup>.

The problem of security in the South Asian region causes tension in the relations between India and Pakistan. The dispute between the two countries results mainly from the lack of trust and means to build security, as well as from historical, cultural, linguistic and customary events and influences. As a consequence, these countries are in constant conflict which directly affects the security in the region<sup>74</sup>.

## 7. Final remarks

The relations of India and Pakistan are complicated since the creation of the two countries. When India was partitioned into two countries, the region experienced great migrations – the Muslims living in India moved to Pakistan, and the Pakistani Hindus settled in India. These migrations have not, however, caused the religious and social structure in India and Pakistan to become completely uniform. These countries, diversified in many respects, have been fighting for the borders, the leadership in the region of South Asia and for the international position for nearly 70 years. Dialogue is hampered by the internal situation of the two countries, especially due to historical events and well-developed terrorism in the region.

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<sup>73</sup> J. Bagchi, *India's Soft Power*, New Delhi 2006, p.40-45.

<sup>74</sup> S. Cohen, *India. Emerging Power*, New Delhi 2002, p.5-10.