

INDIA AND PAKISTAN: BORDERS & BILATERAL RELATIONS

Shreesh K. Pathak¹ Sujaan S. Negi²

As the concept of nation-state is relatively new, obviously undivided India was not a nation-state in the modern sense. But in 1947, with the partition, two countries, India and Pakistan came into being with full sovereignty from a single British ruled India. Now, both nations are independent and sovereign state like any other modern sovereign and independent nation-state. Both the nations shared same colonial legacy and troubled inception. Due to this troubled and shared history, the relationship between India and Pakistan, right from the inception was not in a comfortable fervour. Though, the people across the troubled and wounded borders shares almost same culture and social fabric, but political and historical tensions always create sturdy barriers between them.

“There are few examples in the history of relations where two states have stagnated in a confrontationist mode, despite their civil societies having intense and wide-ranging commonalities” (Dixit 2002:10).

The scenario often becomes worse due to irresponsible political elites and establishment of Pakistan and short-lived policies of the Indian political class. India and Pakistan both came into being after the British colonial masters left the continent. With grave pain of partition, the subcontinent witnessed a severe bloodbath. Amidst everywhere spread chaos, India and Pakistan started their journey with mutual distrust, disharmony and an adversarial mess which until today has not cleared unfortunately.

“After decades of unfulfilled promise, it now seems to be inching ahead, with more rapid economic growth, new attention from the major powers, and the development of a modest nuclear arsenal. Adding these developments to India’s traditional strengths—a unique and persistent democracy and an influential culture—it is no wonder that many have predicted the emergence of India as a major Asian power, or even a world-class state” (Ganguly 2005:36).

¹ Faculty, School of Liberal Arts (SLA), Galgotias University, Greater Noida

² Dean, School of Liberal Arts (SLA), Galgotias University, Greater Noida

Pakistan is still struggling to achieve a stable status economically due to political upheavals, slow growth rate, poor foreign investments, fragile institutions and underdeveloped infrastructure. This has led the country towards increasing unemployment, poverty, dissatisfaction and unrest. This dissatisfaction and unrest among the people of Pakistan can be easily exploited by the extremist and terrorist organisations against India. That's why emerging India cannot afford to take its neighbour Pakistan for granted for unhindered growth of the nation. Failures of policies and governance often are covered by the government of Pakistan to raise voices and allegations on India. India understands that a better, developed and self-content Pakistan is much better for the country. Prime Minister Narendra Modi has reiterated many times that India and Pakistan should be allies in the war on poverty (The Telegraph, 2014). This understanding makes India, often to show its readiness for peace and talk process even after many security violations and assaults. In his oath taking ceremony, Prime Minister Narendra Modi invited all his counterparts of South Asian countries and Prime Minister of Pakistan too, accepted the invitation and attended the ceremony in a very good atmosphere along with other leaders of the nations. This shows the readiness of India for the prospects.

The India-Pakistan conflict is of grave concern because it has wide implications for the international system itself. On the soil of Pakistan, various terrorist outfits are flourishing and continuously creating problems not only for India and the rest of the world but also now in Pakistan. After the Osama episode, the International fraternity has no doubt at all that Pakistan has been the source of some of the world's major terrorist groups. Aside from Al-Qaeda, these include a number of group based, operated in and even bore by Pakistan. Including domestic, trans-national and extremist groups, Pakistan has nearly 48 terrorist outfits which are continuously undermining the sovereignty of the country and are a source of global terrorism. Tehreek-e- Taliban, Lashkar-e- Omar, Muslim United Army, Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, Harkat-ul-Ansar, Lashkar-e- Toiba, Al-Rashid trust are the prominent ones (South Asian Terrorism Portal 2014).

India too has multiple internal security problems which are originated, though due to various reasons, but primarily because of marginalisation and underdevelopment. But these problems definitely get fuelled and worsened when neighbour like Pakistan mostly is failing to

contain those terrorist outfits. India and Pakistan have fought three wars and a limited war and their unresolved conflict has the fear of containing the seeds even of a nuclear holocaust.

“The India-Pakistan conflict has taken a nuclear turn, making South Asia one of the most dangerous places in the world. The Kashmir dispute is only one aspect of the larger struggle between the two states. Their conflict is hard to manage, and may prove impossible to resolve, because it is a ‘paired minority’ conflict in which each side views itself as threatened and vulnerable, and thus resists negotiation and compromise (Cohen 2002:218)”.

The conflict between India and Pakistan started since the two states gained independence in 1947. The nature of the conflict between these two historical adversaries has seldom been studied from the border-territory-identity perspective. The growing literature on territorial on territorial disputes and border theory offers interesting ways of looking at the India-Pakistan conundrum by understanding the nature of the dispute and identifying ways in which the conflict can be transformed and perhaps even resolved.

India’s borders with Pakistan are diverse and complex. It has snow, rock, water, sands and sea water. Right from the top, borders run through the mountains which are grappled with snow in Jammu & Kashmir. Then the borders go through the rich fertile dobs of Punjab. Soon, it runs through the sands of Rajasthan. And finally going through the marshlands of Gujarat, it concludes its journey after touching Maharashtra’s littoral line. Under the realm of Political Geography and Geopolitics, India has two sorts of boundaries with Pakistan; first, it is the International Border and another one is the Line of Control (LoC). Generally, International borders are peaceful, not violated by either side and formalities are performed daily almost hassle free. But on the Line of Control (LoC) several infiltrations are evident and this long 700 Km boundary line is always in the limelight for almost all the times for the wrong reasons. Likewise a stretch of 199 Kms in the marshlands of the Kutch sector in Gujarat also attracts intrusion and infiltration as the demarcation process of this boundary is yet to be completed (Ananthachari 2000).

At the minimal functional level, the contemporary breed of terrorism implies organised use of violence for political ends and it is directed primarily at non-combatants. The organisation of such violence is often attributed to varying non-state actors of diverse ideological persuasions

(Bajpai 2002:6-8). The on-going menace of cross-border terrorism that is acting as a stumbling block to the Indo-Pak peace initiatives have to be located in this context (Harshe 2003:3621-25). Even if normative yardsticks are constantly shaping notions and acts of terrorism in the two countries, it could be argued, quite convincingly, that the phenomenon of terrorism has struck root and gained pervasive presence in Pakistan.

India is facing direct threats of cross-border terrorism against the unity, integrity and sovereignty of the country. The recorded incidents of infiltrations on the borders with the vicious purpose to destabilise India as a state are though decreasing but could be retained at any time in future (Economic Times, March 2017). Cross-border terrorism is planned, sponsored and backed by cross-border hostile centre of terrorism. They often use anti-national elements to perpetuate the terror around the country. The problem of cross-border terrorism in India is more severe, especially in three regions- Punjab, Jammu & Kashmir and North-East. After independence, the government of India could not able to deliver what was generally expected for the essential development. The people of these areas got marginalised and often felt alienation. Across the border anti-Indian forces have exploited this situation in their favour to propagate destabilising activities in the country.

India-Pakistan Relations: Cooperation amidst Conflicts

Strategic atmosphere and weather of borderland areas of India and Pakistan is definitely directly proportional to the temperature of the relationship between both countries. A comfortable relationship would bring an easy border approach from both countries, but troubled relationship as history suggests always brings various troubles on borders.

The partition of 1947 made them two sovereign states and unfortunately, since then, the relations between them have been far from being satisfactory and since 1947 there have been four wars between them. With growing threat perception, India and Pakistan both has maintained their military strength. Nuclear weapons, missiles and arms are continuously prepared and purchased by the both nations. The legacy of the Partition still determines some of their relations. The peoples of the two countries have strong emotional, cultural and historical links and yet, unfortunately, the political relations between the two have almost continuously been tense, strained and tends to various sorts of conflicts. The trade and economic links continue to be

limited. Pakistan's continued support and help to the forces of Islamic fundamentalism and cross border terrorism has been straining and damaging the Indo-Pak relations as well as threatening the regional peace and development. One of the most crucial parts of India's foreign policy has always been the conducting of relations with Pakistan.

Trust building should be the primary concern for any sort of negotiation. Trust deficit can make every negotiation a failure. Both sides need to highlight their accomplishments and also reiterate support for continued dialogue. The dialogue process can be maligned by any side. From Indian perspective, if violent attacks by rebels were to increase in Jammu and Kashmir (with support from Pakistan) or if Pakistan were to pressure India to a rigid time frame and push for agreement on Kashmir problem, it would work to unravel earlier achievements. It would build more trust, if Pakistan acted to prevent cross border terrorism and to promote economic relations and people to people contact while negotiating on the Kashmir conflict (IPCS, 21 October 2004).

“It is a source of bitter disappointment to the people of the subcontinent, who expected peace and progress, that partition has brought warfare, vituperation, frustration, and fears” (Choudhury 1968:03).

Due to animosity of both nations, a large chunk of the budget goes to defence purposes instead for the development programmes. Although the sub- continent was divided by mutual consent, the mistrust, antagonism, and fear between the two successor states of the British Empire persisted. For both the governments of the nations, there is lots of work to do for the advancement of its people, but their main focus is often diluted due to security concerns. In the wake of Mumbai terror attack on November 26, 2008 attacks, India breaks off talks with Pakistan (IPCS Issue Brief 2009). The Pakistani government admits that the Mumbai attacks may have been partly planned on Pakistani soil, while vigorously denying allegations that the plotters were sanctioned or aided by Pakistan's intelligence agencies (The Guardian 18 October 2010). In August, India gives Pakistan a new dossier of evidence regarding the Mumbai attacks, asking it to prosecute Hafiz Mohammad Saeed, the head of Jamaat-ud-Dawa, an Islamic charity with ties to Lashkar-e-Taiba (SATP 2012).

In May 2010, Ajmal Kasab found guilty of murder, conspiracy and of waging war against India in the Mumbai attacks case and he sentenced to death. In 2012, the Supreme Court rejected the plea of Mohamad Ajmal Amir Kasab and upheld the sentence (India Today 29 August 2012). On May 1 2014, Pakistan's then Army chief General Raheel Sharif called Kashmir the "jugular vein" of Pakistan, and that the dispute should be resolved in accordance with the wishes and aspirations of Kashmiris and in line with UNSC resolutions for lasting peace in the region (Hindustan Times 1 May, 2014). This shows the classic temperament of army of Pakistan, which is a major obstacle in the path of peace between the two countries.

Confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs) are made of pragmatic actions to build positive attitudes. To generate confidence among rival countries is the prime objective of this initiative. It stresses that cooperation is far better than the confrontation. In the long run, for the development and prosperity of the citizens, cooperation is the only solution and only option. Scholars working in this area argue that national interests can be promoted when two countries use political and diplomatic means to defuse mutual tension and that conflict can be avoided if fair steps are taken by both sides and that a win-win strategy is better than a zero-sum game, where the gains of one party result in losses for the other. In a common parlance, CSBMs are instruments for the prevention of war and conflict and for the resolution of existing conflicts between regional neighbours or parties (Barcelona Declaration November 1995).

“The utility of CSBMs is perceived to derive from their gradual creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust, transparency, and predictability in slow and incremental steps in order to provide alternatives to confrontation and conflict where differences between states recur or have been inflamed or where new points of contention have arisen (Hilali 2005: 191)”.

A process through which a transformational change occurs in the beliefs of policy makers to build the ropeway of cooperation is called a confidence-building measure (CBM) (Rauf 2005:179-80). Apart from the loud rhetoric from both sides, there have been processes at work to ensure a basic continuity in relations. For India, the pursuit of better relations with Pakistan complements its stated objective of maintaining rapid economic growth. For Pakistan, India is a hegemon that will not stop at merely dominating South Asia and the smaller countries surrounding it but will intrude upon their domestic political processes, seeking to shape events to suit India's interests. For Pakistan's policy makers, India's global aspirations and economic

growth of the last decade are inherently destabilizing for the region. Over time, it is thought, India's rise would have the effect of making the rest of the region quiescent and complicit in India's quest for global-power status (Lodhi 2001:118-24).

Thus, India-Pakistan border is the most complicated border of India. The dark history of partition of India, which resulted into the most dreadful example of communal riots in the world history, is in the root of the evolution of this border. This border has caused wars and several conflicts between India and Pakistan. Due to this border, the distribution of river system got disturbed which again offered water disputes. Approaches of Limology (Border Studies) focuses to use the social-economical-geographical constants of the border and to avoid the variables particularly related to politics with simple argument. The simple argument is that- political variables are dependent of political milieu and often tends to change, but geographical-social constants are not changeable. They carry the original nature of that border which is utilized in policy making and border negotiation.

India's Geo-strategic position is also a huge factor which affects the management of border-security and the bilateral relations. India is situated amid two countries, with which she fought wars; China and Pakistan. Borders with Bangladesh and Nepal are also a matter of serious concern. Pakistan, China, Nepal and Bangladesh constitute most of borders of India. India is the biggest country in the South Asia region and almost situated in the midst of the region. India has borders with five of the six countries of South Asia, but none of them shares a common border with each other. Most of the serious problems like illegal migration, drug, trafficking, etc., flow towards India and hence affects it more than any other country. This Geo-strategic position makes India's border more vulnerable than any other country in the region.

The regulation of India-Pakistan border has become complex due to over-emphasising of political approaches rather than geopolitical approach. It would be stated that various problems which makes India-Pakistan border complex is actually related to politics. It can also be stated as failure of politics. There are geographical compulsions, but they are true for both countries and those compulsions could be addressed by the bilateral mechanisms. Neither one country could ever be able to overcome with geographical restraints single-handedly. Geographical facts remain unchangeable, but the political constraints could be sorted out. So, if the border disputes

or other issues regarding borders between India-Pakistan persist even today, it's not because of geography but the politics. If geographical approaches rather than political approaches would prevail in sorting the border issues, there are better chances to have better bilateral border cooperation and management.

India and Pakistan are both very important countries of South Asia. For the overall development of the region, their cooperation and coordination is essential. The first thing in the path of their cooperation is necessary to work on their hostile attitudes. These hostile attitudes come due to lack of confidence about the other. The practice of cooperation will then serve as a learning process that will produce a structure of detente based on mutual respect, non-interference, and non-intervention in the internal affairs of each country and the spirit to resolve the outstanding problems.

It is better hoped that through the mechanics of confidence building and by the honest attempts made by both nations, the people to people contact must increase. Both countries must take the resumption of dialogue seriously and address the underlying tensions. Both countries should work on a regional framework to contain the flow of modern weapons and should develop a sense of arms-control. The fact of the matter remains that, in the absence of a comprehensive political settlement of mutual disputes between India and Pakistan, particularly over Kashmir and arms control, there is little hope of permanent peace in South Asia. This is very much true that the security climate of the region cannot be changed until a rigorous multilayered political talk and consensus among the nations, especially in India and Pakistan do not happen and take its own natural path. By their very nature, Confidence- and Security-Building Measures (CSBMs) are modest steps that cannot by themselves transform the South Asian security scene. In the era of global terrorism, now the nations of a region are facing such problems which cannot be curtailed single-handedly at all. So, a combine security complex can be made only if there should be trust among the nations. The role of Confidence- and Security-Building Measures is primarily to distribute the above wisdom and to precede the path to achieve the confidence to build security complex. Finally, in the post-Cold War era, instead of frittering away their resources on mindless arms sprees and sparking unwanted arms races in the region, India and Pakistan should strive to liberate their people from the shackles of poverty, want, and

disease. The real power of a nation lies in the prosperity of its people, not mere the number of arms and ammunition can make a country a powerful nation. (Hilali 2005:194-219).

Given this rather problematic and troubled history of Indo-Pak relations, the “Aman ki Asha” initiative to improve ties by building a better business and cultural relations seemed a gust of fresh air. Aman ki Asha or "Hope for Peace" is a campaign jointly started by the two leading media houses The Jang Group in Pakistan and The Times of India in India. The basic idea behind the campaign is to develop mutual peace and development of diplomatic and cultural relations. The nations of the region already share a common thread of shared culture; the need of the hour is to merely add them in a single string. It started on the 1st of January 2010. The campaign had received warm response from India and Pakistan. Despite this, Bennet & Coleman, the holding company of Times Group has been trying valiantly to keep the campaign afloat through a high decibel media campaign. Aman ki Asha was inspired by the groundbreaking work of Friends without Borders, an International NGO that launched bold, love-based people-to-people campaigns between the children and people of both countries amidst 2005-2007. The Times of India and the Jang group both partnered with Friends without Borders and picked up the efforts after the Dil se Dil Border Concert was cancelled in August 2007. Peace efforts between India and Pakistan are the real need of the hour and only prudence, foresightedness and sincerity can do wonders for both countries. In this people of India communicate with the people of Pakistan. The potential of this initiative to generate a peace dividend through trade and investment facilitation across the border has been fairly revealed by the two day meet organised a few weeks ago by CII in cooperation with the Times Group, the Jang Group of Pakistan and the Pakistan–India CEOs Business Forum. Cooperation in the pursuit of self-interest and profits could be the ideal salve for long strained relations because of the immense clout that business lobbies wield with their governments.

Trade is a very significant factor for border management and mutual relationship. Trade relations have such capacity that it can normalise the over-all relationships. Trade requires flexible and easy access through the borders. This easiness gives momentum to overall trade relations. A very efficient kind of border mechanism is needed to address the border problems

which would help not only in easy access for trade persons and activities, but also would provide robust system of border security for illegal infiltrations.

“According to the latest figures of the Directorate General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, Ministry of Commerce and Industry India, which were released here on May 13, 2013, the volume of bilateral trade recorded a net increase of \$410 million from April 2012 to March 2013. Pakistan’s exports to India grew 28%, while Indian exports to Pakistan increased 19%. Bilateral trade has increased to \$2.4 billion, which may soar to \$6 billion in the next two years if both countries decide to treat each other equally. Currently, most of the trade between India and Pakistan takes place via Dubai and its volume is estimated at over \$4 billion (The Express Tribune-May 14, 2013)”.

According to an official statement released by the Indian High Commission in Islamabad, Pakistan’s exports to India in the last Indian financial year (April 2012-March 2013) grew 28% and reached \$513 million. Metalliferous ores and metal scrap, organic chemicals, raw cotton and leather were among the commodities that contributed significantly to the increase. The High Commission termed the 28% increase in Pakistan’s exports “impressive” when viewed in the context of a negligible increase (0.3%) in India’s overall imports. India’s exports to Pakistan in the same period increased \$300 million, a growth of 19%. Total Indian exports to Pakistan stood at \$1.84 billion, putting the trade balance in favour of New Delhi. “The growth in bilateral trade, especially in Pakistan’s exports to India, reflects the positive effect of a number of steps taken towards fully normalised trade relations,” the High Commission stated. It should be noted that informal trade between the two countries has been estimated by different sources as ranging from \$0.5-\$3 billion (The Express Tribune-May 14, 2013). Such informal trade is obviously undertaken at great risk to involved agents and involves a sacrifice in profit margins born out of measures to escape the official ban on such trade. This restricted trade regime also deprives consumers of their right to choose. A lowering of barriers to formal trade will not only result in the formalisation of current informal trade, but also encourage hitherto unengaged players to access markets and sources of supply across the border.

There are some obvious means to effect the lowering of the mentioned barriers. Pakistan can replace the lengthy positive list for India's importable items with a negative list to enable trade in newly emerging products. Likewise, India can reduce its non-tariff trade barriers towards Pakistan (The Hindu- July 31, 2012). Easing of visa requirements to facilitate more effective exchange of human capital and business travel; and the scrapping of visas restricting stays in a single city and the associated requirement of reporting to police stations are other obvious measures. Flexibility in mode of travel as well as port of entry is another desirable step not only to enhance trade ties, but also to improve people-to-people relations. Roaming facilities to link the mobile networks of both countries would enable business travellers to keep in touch with developments at home and thus make such visits less stressful and more effective. The exploitation of other potential avenues for economic cooperation requires more careful planning and coordination between the two countries. Textiles features in the top three exports of both countries to each other paving the way for potentially beneficial collaboration in terms of research and development and integrated sourcing (RBI Annual Report 2009). A partnership will boost the quality of exports and enable these countries to enhance shares in markets in both EU and US.

The challenge of enhancing food security suggests another such avenue. According to estimates of the Food Security Risk Index by Britain based Maplecroft, Pakistan is ranked 11 with a tag of 'extreme risk' and India at 25 with a label of 'high risk'. SDPI, SDC and WFP recent report, "State of Food Insecurity in Pakistan" estimates 48.6 percent people in Pakistan are food insecure. In spite of large areas under wheat and rice cultivation, India and Pakistan are worse off than China because of significantly lower yields (Maplecroft's New Food Security Risk Index 2010). Technological cooperation between the apex agricultural organisations of both countries might provide a viable solution in this regard. Both the countries can rely on food imports from each other in the time of need, rather than importing from any other country. Food import from neighbouring countries would not only be quicker, but cheaper as well.

Another area of potential cooperation could be in the education sector and facilitate broadening of the human capital base in these two countries which are still marked by lower average education levels and inadequate leveraging of human productive potentials (The

Economic Times 22 May 2017). Such cooperation can take the form of student exchanges which can pave the way for closer relations in other fields such as culture and business and lower the risk of miscommunication between the citizens of these countries. Mutual recognition of academic degrees would not only help in human resource development but would also open up the doors for trade in other services such as health, engineering, and financial sectors. However, the harvesting of potential in all its mentioned forms is crucially dependent on improvements in cross-border connectivity: efforts to bring a formal direct land route between the countries into operation; improvement in flight connectivity between major Indian and Pakistani cities; and enhancement of the capacity of the Wagah border to support large volumes of trade. Pakistan has granted India a Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status but with many hiccups (The Diplomat February 14 2015). It can certainly boost up their trade relationship to a new horizon. The potential benefit from plucking the low hanging fruits of economic and related cooperation between India and Pakistan as well as planned economic coordination is immense. The meeting of minds facilitated by the Aman Ki Aasha initiative promises to generate the necessary goodwill and exchange of ideas that can fast track such economic alliances (Mehta and Suleri 2011:37).

Conclusion

Less than in a year, the term of Modi government would complete but looking over India-Pakistan bilaterals, one must sense the sorry state of affairs. It's all started with oath taking ceremony enthusiasm but not be supported by Pakistan at times and also afterward Modi government has not tried any out of the box measure like Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Modi government has predominantly occupied with unnecessary statements, electoral hawkish phrases and been broadly reactive. Off Course, Pakistan too has responded in a same tone and majorly has been stick to anti-Indian statements and activities. The Modi period would be marked by surgical strike, border skirmishes and tensed exchange of thoughts between. In Pakistan Sharif government and in India Modi government both were in a unique position because of thumping majority their government are enjoying; they both could make the bilateral relations into a new positive domain. But due to Panama papers dispute and civil-judiciary conflict, Sharif had to relinquish in favour of his Punjabi loyalist Shahid Khaqan Abbasi and here in India, Modi government seems that it has lost focus to its neighbours and has confined itself to global affairs more.

In the last leg of Modi government, one can see that India and Pakistan have lost their mutual minimum confidence and even they have shown their disagreements over some diplomatic arrangements in Islamabad and in New Delhi. Some scholars urged that both countries must follow at least the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, 1961 (The Hindu March 30 2018). All the modern countries are involved and use the system of espionage for the smart security system but India and Pakistan behave like a holy cow in this regard and just make allegations to each other in almost seemingly shocked state. Both the countries must understand that they must follow the humane perspective at least as being an immediate neighbour, there is no relief ever. Only smooth and beneficial healthy relationship can yield positive results for mutual developments. Here, India must take initiative. Not because of the fact that India has aspirations to become a world power but also keeping in view the realities of regional and global politics of today.

At the global level, world is watching very carefully USA and its recent adoration for North Korea and India is the part of the strategic alliance which includes Japan, Australia, France and USA to counter the Chinese aspirations on the waters as well as on the land. Whereas, in South Asia, China is increasing its strategic coverage and depth in Indian Ocean following its OBOR policy. All the smart countries of the world never want a big power at its backyards and this is even true with South Korea who is now fixing its terms with eccentric North Korea. India is overshadowed with two power giants in its geopolitics. USA is visible and present in Asia and in Indian Ocean thanks to cold war and China is expanding its wings through the countries of the region other than India. Hence; it is an utmost necessity for India to make relations smooth and based on strategic partnerships with its neighbours sooner or later otherwise, the region would become the battlefield of power giants and India would become just lame, feeble and silent observer alone. India must work on a shared mechanism for relationship in the region with the active partnership of Pakistan, so that USA and China would come in the region only when India aspires and the way it aspires.

References

Dixit, J. N. (2002), *India-Pakistan in War & Peace*, London:Routledge.

Ganguly, Sumit (2005, *India as an Emerging Power*, Southgate, London: Frank Cass Publishers.

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/india/10810421/India-election-2014-Narendra-Modi-says-India-and-Pakistan-should-be-allies-in-war-on-poverty.html>

SATP (2001), “Jammu and Kashmir Backgrounder”, South Asia Terrorism Portal, [Online: web] Accessed 11 Sept. 2013 URL: <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/jandk/backgrounder/index.html>.

Cohen, Stephen Philip (2002), “South Asia,” in Richard J. Ellings; Aaron L. Friedberg and Michael Wills (eds.) *Strategic Asia 2002–03: Asian Aftershocks*, Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research.

Ananthachari, T. (2000), “India’s Border management”, *IPCS Articles*, No.351, New Delhi: IPCS.

Bajpai, Kanti (2002), “Foreign Policy in 2001: what’s going on?”, [Online: Web] Accessed 17 Nov. 2008 URL: <http://www.india-seminar.com/2002/509/509%20kanti%20bajpai.htm>.

Harshe, Rajen (2003); “Cross-Border Terrorism: Road-Block to Peace Initiatives”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 38(35): 3621-3625.

<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/127-cross-border-infiltration-attempts-in-jammu-and-kashmir-in-3-years/articleshow/57877156.cms>

http://www.ipcs.org/issue_briefs/issue_brief_pdf/1148397609IPCS-Special-Report-24.pdf

Choudhury, G. W. (1968), *Pakistan's Relations with India, 1947-66*, London: Pall Mall Press.

Jacob, T. Jabin (2009), “Guaranteeing Borders in South Asia: Call for Five Party Talks”, *IPCS Issue Brief*, No.91, [Online: Web] Accessed 20.07.2009, URL: http://www.ipcs.org/pdf_file/issue/379471623IB91-Jabin-FiveParty.pdf.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/oct/18/pakistan-isi-mumbai-terror-attacks>

http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/jandk/terrorist_outfits/lashkar_e_toiba_It.htm

<https://www.indiatoday.in/india/north/story/26-11-sc-upholds-death-penalty-for-ajmal-kasab-114607-2012-08-29>

<https://www.hindustantimes.com/world/kashmir-a-jugular-vein-of-pak-army-chief-sharif/story-0lfKphtQB1OojzeSsb6k0I.html>

https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/barcelona_declaration_27_and_28_november_1995-en-0beb3332-0bba-4d00-bd07-46d8f758d897.html

Hilali, A. Z. (2005), “Confidence- and Security-Building Measures for India and Pakistan”, *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 30(2):194-219.

Rauf, Tariq (2005), “Confidence-building and Security-building Measures in the Nuclear Era with Relevance for South Asia,” *Contemporary South Asia*, 14(2): 179-80.

Lodhi, Maleeha (2001), “Security Challenges in South Asia,” *The Non-proliferation Review*, 8(2):118-24.

<http://paktribune.com/news/Pakistan-India-concert-at-Wagah-called-off-186941.html>

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/548768/trade-between-india-and-pakistan-surges-21-to-2-4-billion/>

<https://www.thehindubusinessline.com/economy/remove-non-tariff-barriers-to-facilitate-indo-pak-trade-cuts/article20477068.ece1>

https://rbidocs.rbi.org.in/rdocs/AnnualReport/PDFs/ORBIAN240810_F.pdf

https://maplecroft.com/about/news/food_security.html

<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/jobs/what-needs-to-be-done-and-is-being-done-to-employ-more-indians-and-to-make-them-employable/articleshow/58767748.cms>

<https://thediplomat.com/2015/02/india-pakistan-the-curious-case-of-the-mfn-status/>

Mehta, Pradeep S and Abid Qaiyum Suleri (2011), “Building Peace through Trade The Future of Indo-Pak Relations”, *Six Decades after Separation, Consumer Unity & Trust Society: CUTS International*.

<http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/time-to-reach-out-across-the-border/article23385307.ece>