CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

Democracy is a widely accepted form of government. Today it is a principle which regulates man’s socio-economic, political and cultural life all over the world. Globalization has paved a way for the democratization of world order, and it is now the quintessence of international politics. Political parties play a momentous role in activating political system in a democracy. The progress of modern democracy rests upon various imperatives which include a sound and stable system of political parties. Thus, political parties are *sine quo non* for a democracy.

People's participation is significant for democratizing the process of policy formulation. But the modern States are large nation-states, where people cannot participate directly. So the role of political parties assumes a supreme importance. They are custodians of public interest. They play a vital role in the formulation of both domestic and foreign policies. They perform the task of mobilizing public opinion. They are instruments of interest articulation and interest aggregation on the whole. Political parties are a ligament between the citizens and government. They discuss various issues pertaining to public interest in the parliament and express the people's will and aspirations and contribute to the formulation of a sound domestic and foreign policy.
In the course of the analysis, two functions, or two major systematic roles of parties, have come to the fore: expression and channelment. A third function, communication, needs to be entered for the completeness of the argument.¹

The capability of a country to compete in international affairs rests upon the potency of its foreign policy. A country has to deal with political, economic, social and cultural issues in the ambit of its foreign affairs. The foreign policy of a country should be well equipped and adaptable to the volatile nature of international politics. A country which has more neighbours should be highly cautious while evolving its foreign policy. In this context, a country’s foreign policy should be rational enough to minimize bellicosity and maximize cooperation. “Relations and policy towards neighbours is of paramount importance for any country. All countries want peace and security on their borders and friendly neighbours to live with. Not many have managed to succeed as history and traditions, no less than size and resources, have often accentuated divergences and conflicts among neighbouring countries. But the priority and primacy of place that they occupy in a country’s foreign relations cannot be doubted. This has been equally true of India.”²

In view of this, it may be stated that in a democracy the responsibility of formulating a prudent foreign policy lies primarily with political parties. Foreign policy is influenced by the country’s domestic environment which in turn is influenced by prevailing
international situation. So there is a creative and contributory interdependence between domestic politics and foreign policy. Thus, an understanding of the country's foreign policy needs an analysis of domestic antecedents influencing it.

The Problem

"The partition of the sub-continent, centuries of organic existence, far from ending the rivalry, intensified it. The problems arising out of partition and the problems of neighbourhood between the two countries with memories of the communal holocaust immediately preceding the partition further enhanced this rivalry."

The dismantling of colonial manacles in the sub-continent was followed by the emergence of a political strife, which divided the region into two hostile and ideologically divergent nations. This was supervened by a pathetic course of bitter bilateral relations between India and Pakistan. The triumph of freedom was succeeded by the lamentable partition of the sub-continent subsequently leading to a ruptured bilateral relations between the two countries. The history of Indo-Pakistan relations over the years has been a chronicle of four wars and several ineffective agreements. On the whole, the entire gamut of Indo-Pakistan relations is influenced by contentious issues causing tension between the two countries.

The governments of India and Pakistan attach paramount importance to the issues pertaining to their relations while framing
their foreign policies. The blemished texture of their relations has been a subject of immense interest for scholars, politicians and the media in both the countries. In India the major national parties, which have held the reigns of power, be it Indian National Congress, Bharatiya Janata Party, Janata Party and Janata Dal, have made careful attempts to find amicable solutions to the protracted tensions between India and Pakistan. But all these attempts have proved futile. The desired results are still an illusion. In view of this, the study of Indo-Pakistan relations is significant keeping in mind the following grounds.

a) Indo-Pakistan relations constitute a major element in the foreign policies of both the countries.

b) Indo-Pakistan relations have complex and deep-rooted ramifications to India’s foreign policy.

c) Terrorism is a major source of bilateral tension between India and Pakistan; it has a major bearing on global affairs.

d) Relations between India-Pakistan have become more perilous after both the countries acquired nuclear power status.

e) Kashmir is the main source of conflict between India and Pakistan which has a far-reaching effect on global politics.

Several scholars, journalists and foreign policy makers have attempted to understand the implications of problems of bilateral relations between India and Pakistan. They have made a number of suggestions to resolve them. Foreign policy makers in both the
countries have made strenuous exertions to solve the conundrum though the desired results are not yet achieved.

Political parties, as institutional mechanisms of Indian political system, have contributed significantly in dealing with Indo-Pakistan relations. In this context, how political parties perceive the problems of Indo-Pakistan relations determines the effectiveness of India in identifying remedial measures. In view of this, an attempt has been made in this study to examine the problems of Indo-Pakistan relations from the perspective of India’s major national parties. The political parties selected for this study are Bharatiya Janata Party, Indian National Congress, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of India (Marxist), Janata Party and Janata Dal. These parties, in office or not, have played a crucial role in devising India’s policy towards Pakistan.

The present study attempts to analyse Indo-Pakistan relations in the light of major issues which may be considered as the primary sources of tension between them. They are: (1) Kashmir and (2) nuclear issues. They have a bearing on foreign policy and defence strategy of both the countries. The unsatisfactory process of partition led to the emergence of protracted tension between India and Pakistan over the issue of Kashmir. Both countries strongly claim the territory of Kashmir to be theirs. Their geo-political interests depend upon their control over Kashmir. The region’s strategic importance for both has been illustrated by Sisir Gupta. He argues, for India Kashmir is: “Vital
for the security of the country as a whole in the face of growing military pressures from the north and the threat of a co-ordinated military adventure by two hostile neighbours. For Pakistan the stakes were equally weighty. The relative status of India and Pakistan would be changed in Pakistan’s favour, if she were to secure Kashmir.\textsuperscript{4}

The tension over the issue of Kashmir gave birth to a policy of proxy war on the part of Pakistan and it started sponsoring terrorist outfits. This ultimately had serious implications on Indo-Pakistan relations and terrorism has become a premier source of conflict between the two. The gravity of the issue has been spelt out: “Pakistan’s sponsored cross-border terrorism since 1980’s ‘in flagrant violation of international delegations’\textsuperscript{5}, ‘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 and 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’.\textsuperscript{6} Another important antecedent which has brought structural changes in Indo-Pakistan relations is the declared nuclear weapons status of both the countries. After India and Pakistan gained potential nuclear weapons capability, their relations have reached an ignition point. It is considered: “Until India and Pakistan successfully embedded their nuclear weapons in robust command, control, communications and intelligence infrastructure, the risk of inadvertent or, worse,
unauthorized usage will persist."7 "Ironically, American non-proliferation policy, in its single minded zeal to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, also prohibits the transfer of certain technologies that might mitigate the dangers of accidental nuclear war."8

In this context, it can be said that the precise understanding of the nature of India's foreign policy towards Pakistan needs a comprehensive analysis of the position of major national parties on the above mentioned issues. This study is confined to national parties and does not cover regional parties due to constraints of time.

Review of Literature

"Traumatic birth of India and Pakistan in August 1947 decisively influenced, at time even determined the relations between them in the subsequent periods. They never have had a mutual relationship that could be regarded as being correct, instead, their relations have constantly been characterised by deep-rooted mistrust and hostility."9

The unfortunate partition of Indian sub-continent marked the emergence of India and Pakistan. The partition and communal cleavage tarnished the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan. This became a significant subject of contemporary relevance to scholars.

A study in Indo-Pakistan relations involves socio-economic-political-cultural-commercial-historical-geographical and psychological
dimensions. The primary objective of this study is to investigate the root cause of differences between India and Pakistan and to suggest possible amicable solutions to unravel the entanglement. Many scholars have made eloquent contribution to understand the problems and issues of Indo-Pakistan relations. Many of these studies do not analyse Indo-Pakistan relations from the perspective of major Indian national parties. In this study, an attempt is made to examine Indo-Pakistan relations from the perspective of Indian national political parties. This endeavour is very essential because political parties constitute a major determinant of foreign policy making process. In view of this, it can be stated that a study of the approach of political parties and their responses to the issues of Indo-Pakistan relations will determine to a great extent the pattern of India's foreign policy towards Pakistan. Hence, it will facilitate our understanding of the foreign policy position of the Government of India towards Pakistan. The policy position of a political party will go a long way in deciding how a country is competent to handle its major compulsions in international arena. There is much emphasis on the study of Indo-Pakistan relations because it is not sufficiently studied from the perspective of political parties. Thus an overview of literature is essential to understand Indo-Pakistan relations and explain how this study distinctively contributes to the international studies with special reference to Indo-Pakistan relations.
Bimal Prasad's book, *India's Foreign Policy*, is an enquiry into the foundations of India's foreign policy which can be traced back to the pre-independence era Indian National Congress. The Congress alone spoke of India's national interests in that period. Its reactions to the developments in world affairs formed the roots of India's foreign policy. Prasad's book puts forth a historical analysis, and the reaction of the Congress to world affairs while providing a valuable understanding of the policy involvement of political parties in the pre-independence era.

K. Raman Pillai's work, *India's Foreign Policy: Basic Issues and Political Attitudes*, examines the policy of the opposition parties towards India's foreign policy. It covers four opposition parties, the Praja Socialist Party, the Communist Party of India, the Jana Sangha and the Swatantra Party. The author highlights the importance of opposition parties in the foreign policy making process under a parliamentary democracy. The writer has analysed the impact of pronouncements of opposition parties on the decision-making process in the realm of foreign affairs. After discussing the origin of opposition parties and the Congress and their approach towards foreign policy in pre-independence period, the author discusses the attitude of opposition to various issues like Cold War, India's relations with Pakistan, China, foreign aid, overseas Indians, India's membership of the Commonwealth nations, colonialism and racism. A major finding
of the work is that the influence of opposition parties on foreign policy making process can be seen after 1959.

Mohammad Ali Kishore's book entitled, *Jana Sangha and India's Foreign Policy*, focuses the attitude of Jana Sangha towards India's foreign policy. The author initially discusses the ideology, programmes and principles of Jana Sangha's foreign policy, and, later on, the approach of the party towards super powers, eastern Europe, China, Vietnam, overseas Indians, the Commonwealth, Israel, Pakistan and Kashmir. The derivation of the study based on the party's programmes, manifesto, speeches and writings of Jana Sangha leaders indicates that the party was pro-American, and aggressive. Jana Sangha stressed the cultural similarity and spiritual bonds with Nepal and overseas Indians. The party witnessed India being girdled and petrified by Pakistan in the West and the communist empire across the Himalayan borders and South-East Asia. The author contemplates that there is a very likelihood of Jana Sangha continuing the policy of Nehru, "Goodwill for all and malice to none". The author's first finding proved to be incorrect when Jana Sangha merged into the conglomeration of Janata Party to form a government at the Centre. At this time, a sharp deviation can be viewed with regard to foreign policy of Janata Party and the principles of foreign policy originally spelt out by the Jana Sangha, even after the senior Jana Sangha leader Atal Bihari Vajpayee was entrusted with the Ministry of External Affairs. Another important shift which occurred was, Jana Sangha
regarded China and Pakistan as natural enemies. But Vajpayee’s visit to Pakistan in 1978 and China in 1979 indicates this shift. These are conspicuous developments. If we consider the political processes in a parliamentary democracy in which a party has to shift its rudimentary principles to adapt itself to the broader principles of Janata Party, if it wants to continue in power. Apart from this, the historic visit of Vajpayee was an essential exercise with regard to the improvement of bilateral relations.

T. A. Nizami in his book, *Communist Party and India’s Foreign Policy*, examines critically the programme of the CPI [M] with regard to India’s foreign policy as deliberated in the free independence proclamations of the United CPI and foreshadowed by the post-independent strategy of the two communist parties in the stage of integration and their subsequent decision to separate. The author critically examines the framework of India’s foreign policy from the viewpoint of superpowers, Non-Aligned, Commonwealth, colonialism, racism, UN, Pakistan, Germany, Korea, Congo, Vietnam and the Chinese aggression. Nizami finds the approach of [CPI CPI(M)] towards issues of India’s foreign policy variant of each other which indicates a divide from the international communist movement. Nizami adverts the fact that the attitude of CPI towards issues of India’s foreign policy is based upon the injunctions of USSR or China and the party does not have patriotic sentiments.
M.S.S. Subani's book, *Attitude of Socialists Towards India's Foreign Policy*, sets out the view of PSP towards India's foreign policy. After discussing the origin of various socialist parties, he presents their views towards NAM, colonialism, anti-racism, foreign aid, defence, relations with the West and Soviet bloc, relations with China and Pakistan, West Asia, South and South East Asia. The author winds up by stating the sphere of agreement among the socialists with government. Even while agreeing on the government policies, the party indicates the deficiencies in the policy and presents its connotations for improvement which are constructive but tinged with ideological and patriotic fervour, often unaware of the practical difficulties for their implementation. The book precludes foreign policy of SSP from its study even though its title indicates all socialist parties as a whole. It can be implied that the author does not find much difference in the foreign policy positions of PSP and SSP.

Ashwini K. Ray's book, *Domestic Compulsions and Foreign Policy: Pakistan in Indo-Soviet Relations*, is an excellent interpretation of symbiotic relationship between domestic politics and foreign policy. The author examines the impact of Indo-Soviet relations in Pakistan's evolving of a foreign policy. The author analyses the influence of foreign policy making process of Pakistan on Indo-Soviet relations and the internal developments in India.

The purpose of Asis Kumar Majumdar's work, *Indian Foreign Policy and Marxist Opposition Parties in Parliament*, is to analyse the
approach of Marxist opposition parties like the CPI, the CPM, the RSP, the Forward Block and the Socialist Unity of India (SUI) towards India's foreign policy. A major finding of the author is that SUI displays consistency in its approach towards India's foreign policy. But unfortunately this party remains unrepresented in parliament.

Lad Kumari Jain's study, *Parliament and Foreign Policy in India*, is an attempt at examining the close liaison and co-operative interdependence between the parliament and executive in the process of formulation and implementing of foreign policy.

S. S. Patagundi's study, *Political Parties, Party System and Foreign Policy of India*, is an endeavour to explain the complex interaction between party system and foreign policy. Here an investigation into the interface of political parties as a system and foreign policy making process is made. After examining the origin and growth of major Indian political parties, the author describes India's foreign policy making process from a "structural-functional" approach. On the basis of three major events Bangladesh crisis, Shimla Agreement and Indo-Soviet Treaty of 1971, the author examines the role of political parties in the process of making India's foreign policy. The author's findings suggest that political parties take considerable amount of interest in the issues relating to foreign policy. But their reactions are normally guided by party interest, principles, programmes and ideology. In spite of differences, political parties arrive at a consensus especially at the time of crisis.
In another study, *Party System and India's Foreign Policy Process in Post-Cold War Era*, S. S. Patagundi has analysed the pattern of interaction between party system and foreign policy making process in the changed scenario in world affairs after the end of cold war. His major finding is that after the end of the cold war, the major emphasis of political parties has shifted from political issues to economic issues keeping in view of the changing international situation due to the advent of GATT and WTO.

Our brief survey of the available literature indicates a research lacuna, as they do not analyse the basic issues enveloping Indo-Pakistan relations like cross border terrorism in Kashmir and nuclear weapons from the perspective of political parties. Hence, the need for studying Indo-Pakistan relations from this viewpoint acquires an importance and it contributes to the understanding of the foreign policy position of India towards Pakistan. The works reviewed deal with Indo-Pakistan relations as only one unit. But this work attempts to carry out a study of Indo-Pakistan relations in a holistic manner. The need to study foreign policy position of political parties is permanent because political parties change their outlook towards foreign policy in accordance with the vacillating nature of international relations. Therefore, the study examines Indo-Pakistan relations on the foundation of two major issues mentioned above.
Conceptual Framework

An examination of the definitions of various key concepts is essential to explain their relevance to the present study.

The Party

The term ‘party’ is derived from the Latin word ‘Partire’ which means to share or to divide.\textsuperscript{10}

Burke defined the party as: “A body of men united to promote the national interest by their joint endeavour upon some particular principles in which they are all agreed.”\textsuperscript{11}

Sartori believed: “A party is any political group that presents at elections and is capable of placing through elections, candidates for public office.”\textsuperscript{12}

According to Webster’s \textit{International Dictionary}: “A party is a group of persons organised for the purpose of directing the policies of government especially by providing the principal political personnel and usually having as a basis for common action one or more factors as principle, special interest or tradition upon they have substantial agreement”.\textsuperscript{13} A political party is an organized group of men firmly intertwined by the ties of common goals, objectives and principles, governing the sphere of politics. The chief aim of a political party is to capture the reigns of political power through a democratic process
and it attempts to proliferate its own ideology and principles. A political party is activated by a strong force of ideology.

**Foreign Policy**

According to the *International Relations Dictionary*: a foreign policy involves a dynamic process of applying relatively fixed interpretations of national interest to the highly fluctuating stimulation factors of international environment to develop a course of action of policy guidelines.\(^{14}\)

Fredrick H. Hartmann opined: "A foreign policy consists of selected national interest presumably formulated into a logically consistent whole that is then implemented, any foreign phases: conception, content and implementation."\(^ {15}\)

The definition by Joseph Frankel explains: "Foreign policy consists of decisions and actions which involve to some extent relations between one State and other."\(^ {16}\) A foreign policy is a framework consisting of goals, objectives and principles stemming from a national interest, and articulated by a well defined ideology. Within the domain of this framework a nation's external affairs are managed.

**Inter-relationship among Concepts**

"When nations negotiate, often the toughest bargaining is not between nations but within them. 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."17

The convergence of domestic politics and foreign policy is an
inevitable phenomenon for political systems. There is a symbiotic
relationship between the two. The genteel conduct of affairs in both
the spheres depends upon the pattern of interaction between them. A
healthy liaison between domestic politics and foreign policy will lead
to the smooth functioning of a political system. If there is no unison
between the two, the system may have to undergo unprecedented
aberrations. In this regard, it can be said that domestic politics and
foreign policy cannot be understood in isolation. Any domestic milieu
has an immense repercussion on foreign affairs. A nation that is
enshrouded by domestic pitfalls cannot be resolute enough to combat
the rumpus of world politics. The domestic strength of a country
hinges upon three important factors, a sound economy, a just social
order and an internal political stability. In this context, it can be
viewed that one of the very important requirements of a stable
democratic polity is a well-knit system of political parties. Political
parties as well-organised groups play a crucial role in evolving a
nation’s foreign policy. The significant linkage between domestic
politics and foreign policy is eloquently explained by James Rosenau in
these words: "In order to facilitate the development of linkage theory,
we now expand the foregoing into a larger framework in which twenty-
four aspects of politics that might serve as or give rise to outputs and
inputs have been identified along with six aspects or (from a polity perspective) sub-environment of the international system that might generate or receive output and inputs.18

The primary objective of a foreign policy is that it should fulfill a nation's aspirations, to receive global recognition to the nation and to play an effective role in world affairs. A country's external affairs are moulded in accordance with the complexion of its foreign policy. The major challenge of a foreign policy is to protect national interest and to secure to the nation a proper place in the family of nations. In this context, political parties play a significant role. They make policy prescriptions and try to evolve common consensus over policy matters. The achievement of goals and objectives of foreign policy heavily depends on political parties. The attitude of political parties over various issues of foreign policy contributes to the construction of a rational foreign policy. The policy makers are also members of the coterie and are influenced by the party's ideology, programmes, principles and electoral promises. The opposition party which performs the function of a monitor has its own vital role in the process of making a foreign policy. Their criticism and queries form a major source for a foreign policy.

The status of a country in the world scenario rests upon a sound foreign policy. This may be the rationale on the basis of which a foreign policy is evolved and executed by the ruling party. The prevailing international situation has a substantial influence on the
making of a foreign policy. The terrorist attack on the World Trade Center has brought phenomenal changes in the nature of Indo-Pakistan relations. Due to a stark reality the evil link between Pakistan and Afghanistan was unveiled. The situation churned into a grave crisis following inveterate terrorist attacks on India which comprised an attack on Indian Parliament. These brought drastic changes in India's diplomacy, foreign policy and defence strategy. It is pertinent to analyse the approach of political parties towards foreign affairs. National interest being the permanent guide to a foreign policy, it acts as a major determinant of a country's external affairs. So political parties perform the function of interest aggregation and contribute to the evolving of a prudent foreign policy. Overall, in the vacillating international situation a stable foreign policy depends upon a right approach by political parties.

Assumptions of the Study

To give a proper direction, it is essential to conduct the study on certain assumptions, which are:

1. Indo-Pakistan relations figure prominently in the foreign policy approach of major Indian political parties.

2. Responses of major Indian political parties to various issues pertaining to Indo-Pakistan relations determine India's policy towards Pakistan.

3. Foreign policy position of Indian political parties is determined by power politics.
Objectives

1. To analyse the Indian political parties’ perception of India’s foreign policy.

2. To examine the attitude of Indian political parties towards issues and problems of Indo-Pakistan relations.

3. To evaluate the reasons for divergence among Indian political parties on the issue of Indo-Pakistan relations.

4. To examine the extent of consensus among Indian political parties on various issues pertaining to Indo-Pakistan relations.

Methodology

The methodology adopted in the study is documentary. It is based on both primary and secondary sources. The available documents in the headquarters of major Indian national political parties like BJP, Congress, CPI, CPI(M) and Janata Dal were collected as primary sources. The Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha debates were procured from the Parliament Secretariat Library and used as primary sources. Besides secondary sources of information like books, research papers in various journals, articles in prominent newspapers, periodicals and research reports published and unpublished are used.
Outlines of the Study

The present work is divided into six chapters.

The first chapter includes the statement of problem, review of literature, conceptual framework and inter-relationship of concepts. It deals with the assumption, objectives, scope and methodology of study.

The second chapter presents a brief history of Indo-Pakistan relations and the origin and growth of major Indian national political parties.

The third chapter describes the foreign policy position of major Indian political parties within the framework of their ideology and principles.

The fourth chapter portrays the attitude of political parties towards Kashmir issue.

The fifth chapter discusses the position of Indian political parties on the nuclear and its related programmes in Indo-Pakistan relations.

The sixth chapter presents the conclusion and findings of the study.
References


10. Giovanni Sartori, Supra, No. 1, p. 4.

12. Giovanni Sartori, Supra, No.1, p. 64.


