



## Indian Policy to isolate Pakistan at International Forum and the way forward

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ARTICLE DETAILS	ABSTRACT
<p><b>History</b>  <i>Revised format: 30 Nov 2019</i>  <i>Available Online: 31 Dec 2019</i></p>	<p>Bilateral relations of India and Pakistan have been under the shadow of misunderstanding, tensions and wars since the inception of both countries in 1947. India is ambitious to play a hegemonic role in South Asia, but Pakistan is considered a big challenge by the Indian policy makers. To counter Pakistan, India has embarked upon a bi-dimensional strategy towards Pakistan. First, it has intensified its campaign to diplomatically isolate Pakistan through blame game of terrorism. Secondly, it has inclined to use hard force when faced with terrorism and cross old lines. To achieve these targets, India has always used a multifaceted approach to wear away Pakistan's position in the international community. This paper mainly concentrates on the Narendra Modi's foreign policy to isolate Pakistan among the international community.</p>
<p><b>Keywords</b>  <i>Pakistan, India, Foreign Policy, Hegemony, Isolation</i></p>	
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### 1. Introduction

In the modern era of renunciation of war, peaceful settlement of disputes and economic development each country has an explicit foreign policy predominantly towards its neighboring countries but Indian policy makers have plainly been acting upon an ambivalent approach which demonstrates their confused policy towards Pakistan.

According to Indian politicians Pakistan has become most difficult foreign policy challenge. On the one hand, there is a fundamental contradiction between India's status quo and nuclear capability of Pakistan, its approach towards Kashmir and Pakistan's determination to alter the Indian status quo. On the other hand, India's incapability to overcome the challenge efficiently reflects the constraint imposed by major policy choices. Almost seven decades of antagonism between India and Pakistan have not fashioned a clear winner, except for the international armaments manufacturing industry (Sengupta, 2016).

Having traditional rivalry, both countries have a clear unfriendly set of foreign policy for each other since their independence. Both have unfriendly relations due to difference in respective ideologies. India's quest for gaining hegemony in the region is driven by ultra-nationalism ideology where Pakistan is considered an ultimate challenge to Indian ambitions.

In order to get the status of regional hegemony, India needs to deal with Pakistan. The US and its allies are supporting India for their chase to counter the China as an emerging regional power. The prospective of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) has append a new aspect to Indian foreign policy to isolate Pakistan as Central Asia and the West is not under direct access of India; therefore, India has started a two-dimensional strategy towards Pakistan. First, it has intensified its campaign to diplomatically isolate Pakistan through blame game of terrorism. Secondly, it has inclined to use hard force when faced with terrorism and cross old lines. To achieve these targets India has always used a multifaceted approach to wear away Pakistan's position in the international community (*The Dawn*, September 2, 2016). The US CENTCOM Commander General Joseph has also commented that Indian policy of isolating Pakistan internationally is dangerous. Any conflict / war between these two countries will have catastrophic consequences for the entire region (*The Dawn*, March 10, 2017).

## 2. Literature review

The present study deals with the Indian foreign policy to isolate Pakistan at international forums. The main objective of this research is to investigate, analyze and understand the Indian foreign policy to malign Pakistan in international community as terrorist state so that it can be alienated and isolated at global forums. The study, *Mainsprings of Indian and Pakistani Foreign Policies* by Burke (1974) provides a detailed perspective of Indian and Pakistan's foreign policy till 1960s. The author clearly describes early phase of the relationships between the both states and origin of their foreign policies, departure of British, division of India and its consequences on the bilateral relations, Nehru factor in Indian foreign policy and goals of the foreign policies of both countries. Although this study provides a detailed picture of the nature of relationship during the early decades of independence yet its lacks of current data regarding the foreign policies of the both countries.

Another important study, *Indian National Security Dilemma: the Pakistan's Factor and India's Policy Response* (Budania, 2001) after providing conceptual framework of Indian national security, it gives a detailed account of origin, deternants and objectives of the Indian foreign policy with special reference to Pakistan. It also highlights the problem of Jammu and Kashmir and provides details about the Indian concerns about the dispute, Pakistan's proxy war in Kashmir, India's Kashmir policy and Kargil war. The author comprehensively discusses arms race, neuclear issue and many other non-military issues and disputes between the two countries and role of United States, Russia (Soviet Union) and China in resolving those disputes. However, the book provides a detailed picture of the subject but lacks unemotional treatment. It also ignores the pakistan's view point on various military and non-military disputes between Pakistan and India.

*The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy* (Malone, Mohan, & Raghavan, 2015) provides a comprensive knowledge about the Indian foreign policy. As India has become more involved in the global economy and faces China's strategic competition, it has sought to strengthen its relations with the countries of East Asia, Southeast Asia and the Middle East and to improve its links with the major powers. But as this collection of concise and authoritative essays shows, New Delhi has not been able to establish close ties with its immediate neighbors who would provide a springboard to exert significant additional influence. Nor is it effectively linked to international institutions in the areas of trade, finance, arms control or climate change. The decision-making apparatus of the country is dysfunctional. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has not sufficient staff and works without significant supervision of political parties, parliament, business community, media or academia. The army lacks the strategic direction of the civil authorities and its service branches barely coordinate. The nuclear weapons program is based on autopilot and the national arms agency has not been able to produce high-end indigenou weapons. Covering all of these topics, the book opens up many fascinating areas for future research. Although, the book highlights all aspects of Indian foreign policy yet it lacks information regarding its relations with neighboring countries especially, Pakistan.

Another study, *Indian Foreign Policy in a Unipolar World* (Pant, 2012) projects various features of the

indian foreign policy in contemporary security environment. India's foreign policy, outside the structural limits of the Cold War strategic framework, has become broader in defining its priorities in recent years. With the increase of its economic and military capabilities and strategic interests, India has forged a diplomacy that is much more aggressive in pursuing those interests. Locating the path of foreign policy of India in the 21st century, this book looks into the factors that fashioned the Indian reaction to this emerging global security atmosphere. Including a new epilogue, this updated volume analyzes the main effects that have shaped contemporary Indian foreign policy, in the context of its commitments to strategically important regions around the world and its relations with the main world powers. Although, this book is most important for the students of global politics yet it ignores the Pakistan's factor in Indian foreign policy.

*Changes in India's Foreign Policy towards Pakistan* by Dr. Nitin Prasad (2017) is a comprehensive document which provides a detailed picture of Indian foreign policy. For long times, the central point of the foreign policy of India has been Pakistan. The author asserts that India was the country where the foreign ministry had to split its head most of the time on Pakistan. The four wars and the conflicts like Rann de Kutch and Siachen, the militancy in Kashmir which has caused tens of thousands of lives and terrorist attacks across India cannot be ignored. Pakistan and India divided on the basis of the two-nation theory and the Muslims denied living in India as minority. The dispute over Kashmir emphasizes this division and still arises today. India has fought four wars with Pakistan and since 1980, when the Soviet Union involved in Afghanistan, the Pakistan with United States started anti-Soviet terrorism and Pakistan had the bright idea of using it against India, further worsening relations between the two nations. Narendra Modi's foreign policy refers to the political initiatives taken by the current government towards other states after taking the position of Prime Minister of India on May 26, 2014. Although the book is mostly based on empirical research yet it is not simply a research enterprise. It is also an analytical study aimed at creating and influencing opinion on the essential elements of the decision-making process which would minimize the possibilities of non-rationality in Indian foreign policy.

The research article titled "Pakistan's Foreign Policy in the Changing International Scenario" (Khan, 2006) describes history, objectives, principles, factors and determinants of Pakistan's foreign policy. The author highlights Indian factor as major determinant of Pakistan's foreign policy. The paper covers almost all aspects of Pakistan's foreign policy towards India but it lacks recent developments in bilateral relations of India and Pakistan.

Another article titled "Modi's Foreign Policy fundamentals: a trajectory unchanged" by Basrur (2017) evaluates changes in the principles of Indian foreign policy during Modi regime. The author describes that the advent of Narendra Modi as prime minister has shaped significant argument about the direction that Indian foreign policy could take under his leadership. While there are several ways in which Modi's foreign policy can be assessed against the major powers, three general questions are of fundamental importance. Firstly, having reputation as a loyal Hindu nationalist, to what extent do his ideological inclinations influence Modi's foreign policy, in particular as regards the use of national power? Secondly, how is Indian policy towards the great powers conceived? Are there signs of a classic approach to balance of power that attracts the United States and Japan against China? Finally, how is Indian foreign policy configured to achieve a higher status in the state system? Above all, is Modi considerably different from its ancestors? There is evidence that there is no important change in the use of power derived from "Hindu" content in Modi's foreign policy; that his approach to the great powers reflects continuity (with some variations) focusing on strategic alliances; and that state research is in line with the strategy followed by previous prime ministers. In summary, there is no substantial change in the path of Indian foreign policy and the rise in the future direction of India is likely to remain foreseeable and moderate.

### **3. Objectives of India's Foreign Policy**

There are five main basic constrains on which Indian foreign policy is being driven.

### 3.1 Conventional Security.

The most important objective of the Indian foreign policy is to ensure conventional security of India as a state. To ensure its sovereignty and security, India has strengthened her armed forces especially the military that ranked 7th largest in the world (*The Taipei Times*, May 29, 2017). India is committed to renew its military strength on three principal reasons:

- To oppose China's expansion and quest for hegemony in the region.
- To maintain military pressure on Pakistan because Pakistanis perceived as main conventional threat to India's security. Both states are at conventional rivalry since their independence.
- To ensure the safe and continuous transport of natural resources and other trading items through the Bay of Bengal, in particular the area around the Strait of Malacca which is still very sensitive to piracy and through which approximately half of the world oil flow (*The Taipei Times*, May 29, 2017).

### 3.2 Economic Growth

The Indian government is focusing on increasing GDP growth rate by inviting investors from the developed world, using international resources and markets, as well as internal momentum. Most of their energy and attention is focused on mutual economic plans (Thomas, 2007). It always supports the objectives and functioning of the regional and multilateral agreements like ASEAN, FTA, SAFTA, SAARC, BIMSTEC, TAPI, and BRIC. However, due to its unsuccessful economic relation with South East Asian neighbors, India is now trying to establish economic relations with China on mutually beneficial grounds (Dormandy, 2007).

### 3.3 Energy Security

To achieve the desire economic growth, India has to ensure its energy resources. It has largest lignite coal resources but its utility is not economically and environmentally feasible. To secure energy resources India is focusing on access to oil rich Middle East region particularly on Iran (Madan T. , 2006). It is also expanding its search for energy resources into Africa and Latin America.

### 3.4 Nuclear Potential

Pakistan and China being nuclear powers are major concern for India in the region. In this situation, India concentrates on to its nuclear potential. With the help of discriminative policies of the West, India has been able to build strong nuclear capabilities and weapons to counter the potential threat from both neighborhood nuclear powers.

### 3.5 Prestige Safety

New Delhi's final priority is to search its "rightful" place on the globe (Dormandy, 2007). India, with the help of strong activities on all international forums and the backup support from the US and the West, has apt to achieve hegemony in the region. India, in order to gain regional leadership, in many circumstances, faces presence of Pakistan as a potential impediment. India wants to counter this hindrance of Pakistan to become regional leader that would ultimately pave its rightful position globally.

## 4. Isolation of Pakistan -Major Part of India's Foreign Policy

Based on above mentioned objectives of Indian foreign policy, the main core of India is to desire for hegemony and the leadership of the region. For this purpose, Indian government remains focused on Pakistan as main obstruction for their interest. Indian leadership pay much attention on anti Pakistan activities directly or indirectly to destabilize it.

Most important part of India's foreign policy is to isolate Pakistan among international community. To achieve the desire goal India has adopted a strategy of wide canvas and multi dimensional. It is countering Pakistan on all forums to gain best favorable results. Important elements of the Indian's strategy are as

following:

#### **4.1 Defame Pakistan's Nuclear Capabilities**

Pakistan nuclear program has been a target of extreme criticism since the very beginning. In the aftermath of 9/11, an immense security hysteria and paranoia has been generated to undermine Pakistan's nuclear capabilities. Consequently, Indians on the behest of West has launched a continuous smear propaganda campaign to keep the theme alive that Pakistan's nuclear assets are unsafe and are likely to fall in the hands of radicals/ terrorists or unauthorized elements.

At this stage, India seems like a western paid element and her cover and overt activities in collusion with non-state actors pose a serious security threat to Pakistan's nuclear program. These non-state actors, along with pseudo intellectual, who are eager to sell the interest of motherland for personal interest, can create an embarrassing situation for Pakistan while playing in the hands of their foreign sponsors. Indian intelligence agency Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) along with hostile intelligence agencies is looking for the opportune moments to make the possibility of targeting Pakistan's nuclear program by non-state actors a reality.

#### **4.2 Putting military pressure on Pakistan**

India is planning to pressurize Pakistan by developing modern weaponry and expanded offensive deployment by conducting military exercise to show the power of attack in case of war. India's frequent violation of the Line of Control (LOC) in Kashmir and a false claim of surgical strike inside Pakistan territory is a case in point.

#### **4.3 Cooperation of Afghanistan in anti-Pakistan activities**

The US think tank, in order to maintain the pressure on Pakistan, floated a term with the help of propaganda theory that Pakistan has influenced over Afghan Taliban, nevertheless, Pakistan's security establishments are confronting with the Jihadist groups. Pakistan has done a lot for Afghanistan, yet India is welcomed with open arm and heart in Afghanistan. It is a third important element of Indian strategy. India has succeeded in aligning with both Iranian and Afghans moreover it has built much closer economic partnership with oil rich Arabs countries especially United Arab Emirates (UAE).

#### **4.4 Involvement in Internal Affairs of Pakistan**

The fourth significant element of India's strategy is to involve in Pakistan's internal affairs by supporting some disgruntled persons. The Indian spy Kalbhoshan Yadav who is serving Indian Naval Officer and RAW agent has confirmed that India is involved in terrorist activities in Baluchistan and Karachi. By doing so, India is triggering an inside security threat in Pakistan and propagating Pakistan as terrorist country. The international community knows very well the difference between our fight against the terrorist who challenges our state's writ and those who operates against our adversaries. This is the duplicity that alienates our allies against terrorism and provides ample ground to India to exploit it to his advantage.

#### **4.5 Projection of Pakistan as a Terrorist State**

India is implicating Pakistan as the epicenter of terrorism. He is directly connecting Pakistan to global terrorism with the help of strong propaganda and diplomatic maneuvers. During the joint session of the US Congress Indian PM was quite alarming for Pakistan as it unveils that both India and the US would collaborate on UN terrorist designation. This means India will have complete US backing in putting any militant group on global terrorist list. This is bad news for Pakistan with its current diplomatic efforts and this is what India might possibly be hoping to gain through this terrorist oriented Pakistan specific diplomacy as next step after isolating it globally.

### 5. Has Pakistan been Isolated?

Pakistan has been badly affected by the fallout of war on terror. The cumulative effects of various forms of terrorism and its manifestations pushed Pakistan more deeply into lawlessness and economic degradation. Negative consequences of terrorism on Pakistani society varied from socio-cultural effects that have changed in life pattern, environment of fear and intolerance to economic effects (slow economic activities, flow of capital abroad and significantly poor effects on international sports.

Legislation and implementation of National Action Plan by the Government of Pakistan is considered a major response from the state to crack down on terrorism. Widespread support from Pakistani political, defense and civil sectors and results achieved through launching of “Operation Zarb-e-Azab” and “Karachi Operation” need to be kept in mind. With the commencement of operation “Raad-ul-Fasad” by the Law Enforcement Agencies (LEAs), Indian sponsored terrorist network in Pakistan has been broken. The LEAs have successfully neutralized battle-hardened terrorists, their facilitators and sympathizers. Not only is terrorism rooted out from Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA), urban terrorism in Karachi and Bloch Sub-Nationalism has also been decisively defeated.

Pakistan is courageously being made a lot of efforts at international and regional level to continue fight against terrorism through international cooperation. It would not be an exaggeration that Pakistan, over a period of time, has become a frontline state to fight against terrorism. In this regard, following steps has been taken by the government of Pakistan which requires consideration on merit:

- Enactment of various laws for the prosecution of terrorism, their supporters, financiers, planners and even the sympathizers.
- Steps taken against religious persecutions, registration and regulation of religious seminaries / clergy.
- Banning of certain organizations, NGOs and outfits.
- Freezing number of bank accounts of terror suspects thus choking the financing of terrorists and terrorist organizations.
- Efforts to conduct speedy trials of terrorists and criminals by revamping and reforming the criminal justice system.
- Establishment of Anti-Terrorist Courts and political conviction of terrorists proved guilty.
- Political, administrative and developmental reforms in FATA to bring them in the national stream of politics.

With the defeat of terrorists, routine life in Pakistan is fast returning to normal which is evident from the increased participation of people from all walks of life in entertainment and enjoyment activities that includes celebrations of National Holidays, cultural festivals and conduct of PSL cricket tournament final at Lahore. On the other hand, India through her media and intelligence agency RAW along with anti-Pakistan intelligence agencies is engaged in a continuous propaganda campaign to malign Pakistan. Her efforts to distort / tarnish the image of Pakistan at international level needs to be mitigated comprehensively by developing a counter narrative highlighting own strengths and weakness of India especially the state sponsored terrorism being forced upon in various states of Indian union.

Failure of quadrilateral process for reconciliation in Afghanistan, a sharp recession in relation with Washington, a cancelled SAARC summit, a missed signal from Tehran for good relationship and a period of frigidity with Southeast Asian countries, somehow indicate the Pakistan's growing isolation due to lack of effective diplomacy. However, development in the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), a progressive rapprochement with Moscow and the continuing stalemate at the Nuclear Supplier Group over admission of Non-NPT member states, are the indication of failure of Indian's policies for isolating Pakistan.

Despite expending huge amount of its budget, India has failed to isolate Pakistan. Pakistan maintained a very close strategic relationship with China. Although Pak-Iran relations are complex yet that are not as hostile as enemies. It has also friendly collaboration with regional Turkey, Saudi Arabia and G. C. C countries. Isolation faced by the edgy relationship with Afghanistan Bangladesh and the US are solely due to diplomatic failure on part of Islamabad.

With huge economic potential, important strategic location and military worth Pakistan has been able to create positive influence on international community. The tense relationship with India is a historical norm. India's arrogance and aggression towards Pakistan has exceeded expectations, partly due to the apparent weakness of Islamabad, but mainly due to the change in the global and regional strategic environment. India's growing association with the United States in the context of its growing competition with China is also a basis for India's arrogance.

The emergence of US-Indian alliance is encouraging New Delhi's egotism towards Pakistan. It has aggravated security concerns of Pakistan, manifested in US massive assistance in Indian arms built up and wide attempts to hold and neutralize Pakistan's nuclear capabilities, but due to safe nuclear activities of Pakistan, India has failed to do so.

The changing geo-political scenario not only brought challenges, but also helped Pakistan to survive major crisis. Due to the international politics, Indian move to condemned Pakistan at BRICS summit failed and New Delhi's candidature for NSG remained held up despite the best efforts of the previous (Obama) US Administration. The US-India coalition forced Russian government to rethink its relations with Pakistan. The successful joint China-Russia efforts to block India's anti Pakistan efforts at both "The BRICS Summit" and the "Heart of Asia" conference are evidence of realignment in the region.

In 2016, India tried to isolate Pakistan over terrorism on the base of Pathan Kot and Uri attacks, but failed to convince any global player to stand with. Myanmar's leader, Aung San Suu Kyi's statement soon after the BRICS moot that what needs to isolated is terrorism rather than countries, is a clear critique of India's isolation attempts (*The Dawn*, April 3, 2016). Pakistan has achieved striking improvement in dropping terrorist bustle within its boundaries. According to the Institute for Economics and Peace 2016, Global terrorism index, Pakistan has perceived a 30 percent fall in terror connected fatalities from 2014 to 2016, due to the operation Zarb-e-Azab in Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA), Baluchistan and other affected areas in the country (Global Terrorism Index, 2016). Events such as the PACES competition being hosted by Pakistan army in Lahore with participation from armies of fourteen countries and Pakistan army winning competition in UK highlight the Indian failure of to that end.

Apart from 58 ceasefire violations since Uri attack, an additional division of the Indian army has been placed on the LOC and a squadron of Russian SU-35's has brought to the forward base. The firing incidents along working boundary in Shakargarh (Sialkot) Sectors also show the Indian aggression. Indian tried their best to provoke but Pakistan remained steadfast on using diplomacy while remaining cautious of any misadventure on the border, as it would inflame tense situation. (*Pakistan Today*, April 3, 2016).

## **6. Measures Required Countering India's Attempt.**

Pakistan can face India's security threats and maintain a credible deterrence (*The Dawn*, March 10, 2017). While confronting regional and global strategic developments Pakistan should try to address Indian efforts in following ways:

- Pakistan has to address the growing US alignment with India and Afghanistan. Pakistan will have to develop policies that can neutralize US positions that are adverse to the important interests of Pakistan, while safeguarding its tactical collaboration with China. This is the main foreign policy challenge facing Islamabad in the context of Chinese-American rivalry. Therefore, Pakistan must

design and implement its external policies in a clear and effective way to guarantee national interests.

- It is need of the hour now that Pakistan should take the initiative to make fresh diplomatic overtures of its own to make our traditional allies in Arab world to identify their mistakes in strategic calculations (Roomi, 2016). Pakistan should run international campaign for its true image and promoting its nuclear deterrence as its principal strategic concern for its defense from any aggression. Nothing is more important than the security of Pakistan.
- Effective measures should be taken to forestall the Indian - Afghan Intelligence sponsored attack on Pakistan's civilian and security forces, from the territory of Afghanistan, conducted under the cover of TTP militants and the Baluchistan Liberation Army insurgents.
- Pakistan should take effective steps to counter India's attempts to create domestic discord in Baluchistan, rural Sind, and Karachi to destabilize Pakistan (*The Dawn*, March 10, 2017).
- It is time for Islamabad to engage both military and civil leadership to conduct a thorough review of India's goals and policies towards Pakistan and also develop a logical and agreed plan to respond to each aspect of the Indian policy directed against Pakistan (Roomi, 2016).
- Pakistan should be clear about the counter measures which can be realistically promoted at this stage in the comprehensive dialogue. Pakistan has no obligation to request a dialogue, while New Delhi refuses to address the central problems of Kashmir, Siachen and Sir Creek, the problems of water distribution (Indus water treaty) and terrorism.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

Pakistan's role in stabilization of south Asia, as desire by global community, is considered important for interconnecting Central Asia and South Asia. India, despite its failure to isolate Pakistan, is arrogantly avoiding dialogue over outstanding issues including Kashmir and still continued with its blame game.

Bilaterally, the two states require constructing a firm political association while promoting trade and building cooperation. Both states should put into effect utmost restraint, recommence dialogue and institutionalize arms reduction mechanism. Under the hub of diplomatic means they should focus on the settlement of the bilateral core issue especially Kashmir. In a nuclear sphere of influence total use of force and full victory is unachievable for both. Both countries have to revisit and rationalize their all-inclusive military plans and adopt budget constraints to avoid any risk of nuclear war in the region. They should set up arms control mechanism that imitates doctrinal precision for the good of the people of both the states.

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