

## Chapter-6

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUDING OBSERVATION

The basic elements that remains integral in the foreign policy making always keeps on changing in a democratic polity. As it's the ever changing public opinion and national interests which plays a very vital role in the molding and remolding process of decision making, thus the foreign policy of nations varies and alters from state to state and from time to time. Rather elements like restoration of stability as well as the constant attempts of leaderships to stay in power play a vital role. Though there are various theorists that have brought forth various models of foreign policy decision making, but a single theory would not be able to successfully determine the nature of decisions taken by a developing country located in one of the most important global strategic hotspots. Western theorists have laid stress more on the institutions of decision making than on the decision makers. It has been applied in developed nations like the United States where the democratic establishments are developed enough to institutionalize foreign policy decision-making mechanisms, compartmentalizing the duties and responsibilities of various elements within the decision-making units. But, in developing nations, like Indi and Pakistan having nascent or semi democratic setups, finding such developed foreign policy decision-making institutions is difficult. Broadly, the entire decision-making setup either depends on a single decision-maker or a small coterie of decision-making units. The pattern of decision-making entirely relies on the behaviour and perception of various decision-making units, which one must underlie, showing considerable variations from country to country

South Asian history has been more of mutual mistrust and animosity and has been a witness to one of bitter rivalry and enmity between India and Pakistan. It can be stated here that the logic on which Pakistan was created, face a significant rational crisis with the presence of a Muslim population in India, which is around the total population of Pakistan. India's mighty size double of Pakistan, democratic and economic stability, financial prowess, military strength, quality of human resources, and many other features remain reasons that are perceived to be serious insecurity for the Pakistani administrators. The conflict has affected all key dimensions of inter-state and societal relations of the two neighboring states with so many commonalities that could have been used for mutual benefit. However despite occasional peace overtures and periods of détente, it shows no signs of a permanent settlement in the near future. Though the birth of Pakistan was out of the 'two nation theory',

the process of nationalism came out less from the creation of the nation and more on the issue of Kashmir and India. 'Kashmir' has been central to the 'Pakistani identity' and its occupation by India is deemed as a dream unfulfilled in the Pakistani psyche. Pakistan treats the Kashmir issue as the "core" issue which is a symbol of India's 'duplicity' and intransigence and must be wrested from India. The leaders from the very beginning, suffered from insecurity about the creation and they blamed the insecurity more on conspiracy theories and less on their lack of governance. The partition in 1947 was just the beginning of these misunderstanding, which laid an uncertain path for the future relations between the two countries. The retreat of British from the sub-continent and the hastily negotiations for the transfer of power played a major contributory factor in the chaos that accompanied Partition. It seemed that Mountbatten and the British were far more interested in dividing India and retreating than in saving the lives of the inhabitants who had been entrusted to their custody. It was perhaps because of this that when Sir Cyril Radcliffe was made the Chairman of the Boundary Committee to demarcate the borders of India and Pakistan, the sub-continent witnessed some fourteen million peoples fleeing each away across the border when they discovered the new boundaries left them in the wrong countries. It is estimated that around One million died in the violence that accompanied the independence and the mayhem that occurred, which made a very deep and ever lasting impact on the minds of the native on both the side of the borders for years to come.

Apart from subjective factors the secular stand of India, its mighty size and power, uneven trail of partition, geo-strategic advantageous location of India, Pakistan's fragile democratic set up and weak oligarchy; there are objective factors like Kashmir, Water sharing nuclear arms race which remains as vital irritant factors in straining the relations between India and Pakistan. Moreover admits these the entry of super-power especially the US interest in the South Asian region since from the cold war era for its geo-political and geo-strategic goals and the entanglement of the two South Asian nations especially Pakistan have further complicated the relationship.

Although from time to time world leaders, analyst and scholars has tried to suggest multiple options of choices for an amicable end to the long drawn animosity but yet almost every time things have lost in vain. The present study has thus made an impartial endeavor to not only highlight the contours of Indo-Pak relations in a conventional way but has projected the relation through the prism of a third party the role of United States in the duo. The historical retrospect of India Pakistan relation, reasons and rations of US Pakistan closeness,

perceptions and future realities of Indo-Pak nexus and the impact of rising China in the trio is projected in this study in an unbiased way.

The first section of the study tries to theoretically project the very existence of India and Pakistan relations in the realm of international politics and the role United States has been playing in the zone. Through various theoretical explanations like the Realist, Neo-Realist, Game Theory and Decision Making Theory study here has tried to make an attempt of bringing out a theoretical perspective of disputes between nations which has taken birth with the end of the colonial era. It is tried to understand how history and behavior of leaderships have been a basic impediment in coming to a process of mediation. It has also accessed the disputable role of a mediator who has complicated the dispute more than resolving it an example of which is Palestine and Israel.

The second section of the study is an attempt to project the historical retrospect of the relations between India and Pakistan. The second section is historical retrospect of the long seven decades of relationship between India and Pakistan. The chapter has dealt with the genesis of the India-Pakistan which was mainly shred with lack of trust and misunderstanding. The section begins with a detailed outline of the birth of Pakistan out of the Indian subcontinent on the ground of Jinnah's 'Two Nation Theory'. Gradually the study provides an analysis of the dispute centering on the accession of the three princely states and examines in depth the outbreak reason and rationale of the first Kashmir war sponsored by Pakistan and its non-state elements. Moving ahead the chapter gives an analysis of the Indus Water dispute resolution and Rann of Kutch issue that took place between the two nations centering on sharing the Indus river water and showed the example of how goodwill and co-operation among the policy makers can overcome obstacles to achieve their common goals. The section also highlighted Pakistani role in destabilizing the peace process by hampering the relationship in the region in its involvement in the 1965 Kashmir War through Operation Grand Slam and Operation Gibraltar. Moving ahead the section makes an impartial attempt to show how despite India trying to make a desperate attempt to maintain the goodwill and bonhomie has been indirectly dragged by Pakistan in the 1971 Bangladesh War which led the signing of the famous Tashkent and Simla declaration between them.

The role of Pakistani army and policy makers played in Khalistan and Kashmir during the pre-90 and their misadventures in Kargil have been depicted in this section of the study. Finally the chapter giving an objective assessment of the long seven decades of relationship between the two South Asian neighbours try to access the role that Pakistani sponsored non-

state actors played in the 26/11 terror attack in Mumbai and the changes that have taken place with the advent of the civilian government in Pakistan with that of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

The third section of the study tries to analyze the perceived compulsions and realities that centers around with regards to the birth of the US- Pakistan Relationship. It begins with evaluating the factors that led to the birth and closeness of the two nations in the wake of the international events marred by the Cold War animosity between the two super-powers. How the Pakistani fear psychosis, Indian threat to Pakistan's Security and the American need of containing communism in the region was the need of time that brought the two nations closer to each other has been explained in this section in details. The subsequent section of the chapter shows how blindly and partially just for its geo-strategic benefits in the region US has been strangely supporting and backing Pakistan in almost all international foray with regards to Kashmir and nuclear armament. The subsequent phases of the section deals with how Pakistan for the sake of building up its arsenal and maintaining its status quo with India went ahead of openly get itself associated with almost all the US sponsored and backed defense and security pacts in the region whether it may be NATO, SEATO, CENTO or MEDO. Moving ahead the chapter gives a detailed analysis how once a most allied ally of United States gradually turned into its terrible terror. The section again in details analyses the partial and one sided role that US played in support of Pakistan in the 1971 Bangladesh Liberation war and how in order to sabotage India it employed all its strategic and political means and mechanism. The blind eye that US took in sponsoring and protecting the building up of Pakistani nuclear arsenal and rising state sponsored terrorism in the Afghan War has been analyzed in details. The chapter also examines the nadir phase that evolved between US and Pakistan in the post the Kargil issue and the Abbotabad incident followed by the 9/11 terror attack that marks the concluding section of the chapter.

The fourth section of the study is an attempt to examine the perception and realities that led the birth of the India and United States relationship. How during the initial years Washington evolved its interest in the South Asian region because of the post-war world scenario and how the pragmatist stand of Nehru and his ideology of NAM, the Indonesian Crisis led a bad start in the relationship marks the beginning of the chapter. The section deals the role the US played in the 1962 Sino-Indian war; its attitude toward India in the P1-480 aid has been projected in a detailed and impartial manner. The pro-Pakistani stand that the US adopts in the 1971 Bangladesh Liberation war and the highly anti-Indian Nixonian attitude which

marked the all-time low in relationship between India and United States is what proceeds in following parts of the chapter. Then the section examines the Indian Nuclear tests and the sanctions that it received from the different sections of the US policy makers. The period of bonhomie that emerged with the emergence of Rajiv, Crater and Regan and the closeness that for the first time in years was observed in the Indo-US relationship has been again discussed in the section of the study in details. Finally the event of the Kargil crisis, the episode of 9/11 terror attack and the landmark Indo-US Civil Nuclear deal that opened a new realm in the two countries brings the section to its conclusion.

The fifth chapter of the study centers on the place of China and its role in the India, Pakistan and US policy making. Initial part of the chapter starts with the beginning of a strong relationship between India and China and the remarkable Panchsheel treaty that marked a zenith in the relationship between the two. The section then gradually moves on explaining how because of issues like Tibet, Boundary controversy finally led the two neighbours for the first time into full-fledged war in 1962. The succeeding portion of the study gives a detail analysis of the Sino-Indian détente phase that started during the end of the 90's and how with the incoming of statesman like Moraji Desai, Atal Behari Vajpayee, Rajiv Gandhi and Deng Xiaoping the two nations moved in the path of normalization. However it cannot be lost sight of that China's manifest as well as tacit support for Pakistan made the things worse confounded, may be due to China's perception of potential threat from a growing India to challenge China's regional position- a single sun in the Asian sky. The next phase of the section deals with again the sharp downfall of the relations which marked with the test of India's nuclear bomb and the following era of peace process that got initiated since 2000 and has been flourishing with the rise of Modi's neighborhood diplomacy. The next part of the chapter deals with explaining the Sino-Pakistan relations which traces back to its origin since 1955 which gradually turned into an 'all weathered ally'. Next section of the chapter deals with the common determinants and objective factors like geo-strategic location, territorial and security perspectives etc which actually led the birth of such a strong relationship in a detailed manner. The pro-Pakistani and anti-Indian role that China has played in the Kashmir, 1965 and 1971 wars in every regional, international and global platform and the military, economic and logistical support that China provided to Pakistan in every possible way has been dealt in depth. The section also highlights in depth the upper hand that Beijing provided to Pakistan for building up its nuclear arsenal and capabilities. The ongoing dynamic economic and infrastructural relationship that is taking place between Sino-Pak centering the

One Border One Road (OBOR) and China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) policy of China concludes the chapter.

The study initially adopted multiple research questions before initiating the study. Thus the study has made an attempt to subjectively as well as objectively identify the factors responsible for the long strained relationship between India and Pakistan and the role that United States has played in it.

A section has been entirely dedicated to assess misunderstanding taking birth out of sharing of resources and the manner in which countries, institutions as well as the two parties in conflict have either resolved it or in the process of finding a solution. The section has also dealt with wars that India and Pakistan has fought with each other, the issues that led to such conflict and the impact that it made on the bilateral relations. The study has also made a historical analysis of the Kashmir conflict, the attempts that were made in the UN to resolve it, the global power politics associated with Kashmir, attempts of both the leadership of India and Pakistan to find an amicable solution to the issue and the role of non-state actors which went against the process. The study however has stressed on the strategic and political perspectives rather than on the economic and social dimensions of the disputes between the two South Asian neighbours.

A separate section has been entirely dedicated to the relationship Pakistan had with the United States, the different strategic perceptions that brought both these countries together during different timelines and the manner in which the American leadership has increased as well as decreased Pakistan's stature in its decision making procedure. The relationship sometimes has been of a natural ally, a strategic one during the period of SEATO and CENTO and sometime patronizing when other global regions have become important for the US. On the one hand US have been instrumental in strengthening Pakistan's nuclear programme and military modernization as well as have penalized Pakistan for mistakes that it was in cohort with.

The study has also tried to understand and access the rationale that has been behind the minds of the policy makers in US regarding India and Pakistan in regard to cold-war politics, global politics, and regional politics as well as with the rise of China. The study depicts a separate section to understand the role of China amidst the relations between India and Pakistan, Pakistan and United States and India and United States.

Some of the major understanding that the study has been able to evolve with the passage of time when India and Pakistan gained their sovereign identity and the manner in which international players along with major regional ones developed or strengthened the conflictual situation can be assessed or summarized as follows:

- Post Partition Pakistan's Security Dilemma:

Since its independence as an independent nation Pakistan has suffered from an anti-Indian psychic. Although it had outstanding border issues and domestic problems with its neighboring nation Afghanistan, but those problems were considered as mere irritants to the Pakistani ruling class. India was and still is been considered as the only major threat to Pakistan. From the very initial years of independence the Kashmir disputes regarded as a major bone of contention between the two countries. Pakistan's strategic environment has been conditioned by such a perception of a security threat from India as it feels that there is a covert attempt by the Indian leadership and intelligence organization to breakup Pakistan into many pieces which would lead to the end of Pakistan's continuation as an independent state. However the bloody events at the time of the partition created certain problems for Pakistan which played a significant role in the development of its defense and security policies, which were mainly because of the apathetic and early desire and departure of British from the subcontinent. The desperate withdrawal of the British left various issues unsettled which exacerbated the mutual distrust between the two nations like refugee rehabilitation, financial and military assets, princely state dispute, Indus water sharing etc. Some of these incidents remain to be fissures in between relations between India and Pakistan even till date. In this regard, relations between India and Pakistan have turned into having an obsessive antipathy toward each other. Apart from these the subjective factors like India's adoption of secular stand after the partition, the comparatively huge geographical structure of India, the division of Pakistan in two major halves (the east and the west) and the attitude of the Indian leaders toward the newly independent state Pakistan further reinforced the security dilemma of Pakistan. And thus post Partition Pakistan, because of these subjective and objective factors, was in the perception that India, somehow or other, will one day rule out the very essence of Pakistan by merging it within itself, or disintegrating the nation similar to that of East Pakistan with the creation of multiple new small states.

The rootedness in its religious identity and its intertwining with a chequered history has been central to the understanding of the conflict in the Pakistani psyche. The centrality of

‘differentness’ or rather ‘opposition’ of this identity to that of India has been the pivot in the sociological understanding of this narrative.

Soon after independence, Pakistan’s policy of antipathy towards its larger neighbour developed some resentment over western powers’ preferential treatment towards India, which was reflected in Commonwealth decisions to let India remain a member regardless of its Republican character, and the invitation of US President Harry S. Truman to India by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. However, for Pakistan, it was very much compelling to enhance her importance for the western world and the Soviet Union intended to exploit this situation to bring Pakistan out of the Western orbit but unfortunately this hope was short lived and it came as a major disappointment for Pakistan. Among the several multidimensional and heterogeneous factors and reasons which brought Pakistan so close with the international regime since the time of its birth, one of the prime important factor was its ‘search for security’. Its major focus on the international community has been security against internal and external challenges to its nation’s identity, territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence. The internal problems stem from the fragility of the politico-economic institutions and process and their inability to command a widely shared legitimacy. The deepening cleavages based on the feudal nature of the civilian political leadership, ethnicity, language, region, economic disparities and religious sectarianism caused alienation in the body-politics, undermining the ability of the domestic political system to perform its requisite function in an efficacious manner.

Moreover, it was not only the Indian standpoint and Pakistan’s feeling toward the situation rather there were also some other factors which were playing a very important role during the period of time which led Pakistan to stick to its ideals of search for security. During this time period Pakistan kept on making aggressive strategic postures to undermine the geographic and economic might of India at every possible opportunity which led them overlook their own internal problems. One should not overlook the fact that the civil war in East Pakistan was due to the mis-governance of West Pakistan which ultimately led the birth and creation of a anew sovereign nation-Bangladesh, which till date the Pakistani leadership fails to identify or agree with. These developments were further more aggravated with the emergence of a new and a more threatening dimension to its security problem which was the Soviet military invasion in Afghanistan in December 1979. The buffer between Soviet Union and Pakistan disappeared which accentuated the latter’s security predicament. The increased Soviet pressure through the deployment of its troops on Pakistan’s border and its overt and

covert support to the pro groups in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan looked more credible than ever. Beside this spillover of civil strife in Afghanistan to Pakistan in the shape of influx of over three million Afghan refugee and the use of Pakistani territory by some Afghan resistance groups had a threatening ramifications in the socio-economic development of Pakistan.<sup>851</sup> So it can be stated that Pakistan's civilian and military decision makers will not be able to look over the India Factor even if there remains to be interment lull of peace or super imposed attempt of breaking the ice.

- US- Pakistan Friendship- a Relation of Necessity and Mutual Benefit:

In the Post II World War international politics the world was divided clearly into two dominant regime - the Soviet and the US and the international system was marked by the cold war and an intense super power rivalry. The dynamic spread of communism in Europe and Asian continent made American policy makers realize the fact that now it was the time to have a strong ally in the Asian region. Gradually in order to curb the rise of communist threat United States entered into security arrangement with, provided economic and military assistance to, Western Europe, Turkey, Iraq.

Meanwhile the external dimension of Pakistan's security pertains to its immediate geostrategic environment, often described as troublesome if not hostile. The distrust and acrimony that developed between India and Pakistan in the early years of independence, reinforced by later developments, created a fear in Pakistan that India wanted to use its size, resources, technological advancement and military superiority to reduce Pakistan to a status of vassal state, if not eliminate it altogether from the comity of nations. There were mainly three major factors which intensified Pakistan's feeling of insecurity and led the birth of the fear psychosis dilemma in it. Firstly Pakistan suffered from a number of security handicaps in relation to its neighboring nation, India. There are no natural barriers on most of the Pakistan-India border which makes it relatively easy for the troops, especially heavy armors of either side to cross the frontiers. Pakistan lacks territorial depth and the main communication line runs parallel to the Pakistan- India Border. Even some of the cities are situated so close to the border that both the nation's troops have to be confronted right at the border. This geographical contiguity was further more serious and handicapped in the pre-1971 period. Secondly, the clear-cut traditional military sheer and superiority of India over

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<sup>851</sup> Rizvi Askari, Hasan; *Pakistan and the Geostrategic Environment: A Study of Foreign Policy*; MacMillan Press; Great Britain; 1993; pp 10.

Pakistan in terms of manpower, weapon and equipment, industrialization, area, location and especially defense industry made Pakistan realize the fact since independence that India might someday over-throw it. Thirdly, was the leadership potential and pretensions the India always exhibited in South Asia in the tune of regional peace and stability through India's preponderance gave Pakistan leaders the feeling of insecurity with them. Pakistan's security problems were also intensified by Afghanistan's irredentist claim on its territory and Indian and Soviets support to such claims. However, as Afghanistan lacked sufficient military potential to mount over a major offensive, India continued to be Pakistan's major and principal security concern. Thus Pakistan's security dilemma maintained two major targets; first augmentation of security against external threats primarily from India and secondarily from Afghanistan and second was the counterbalancing of India's military superiority and maintaining the status quo by strengthening its defense arrangements with a back up of active diplomacy. Thus to achieve its basic foreign policy objectives and to secure its national interest Pakistan began a desperate search to make fast and firm friend.

It first turned to Britain and other members of the Commonwealth, hoping that these might be particularly helpful in pressurizing India to settle Kashmir and other outstanding disputes with Pakistan but when things didn't turned out favorable for Pakistan it had to loom out for other alternatives. In this situation Pakistan sought security mainly through the alignment with the West. Apart from the willingness of the United States to offer security related support, Pakistan's ruling elite perceived their insecurity to be of such a dimension that they could not cope with it alone. By the 1950's the weak civilian leaders and the top assertive brass of military were convinced that Pakistan must have a powerful ally to help to overcome its security predicaments. This led to Pakistan's participation in the US- sponsored defense pacts like the SEATO, CENTO etc. which made it possible for Pakistan to obtain weapon and economic assistance. The United States initially poured money into Pakistan in hope of building a major fighting force that could assist in defending Asia against communism. Meanwhile with the rising interest of the Soviets in Asia, especially Middle East and Central Asia, and Washington's dream of containing Communism to turn itself and as the champion of the world US changed its perception on Pakistan, turning it into a country that would act as a conduit in the process of containing communism. Thus it was the relationship of necessity that brought both the nations closer to each other in the post war period and gradually it was this bonhomie which played a very crucial role in straining the relationship between India and Pakistan.

- India's Non-Aligned Stand and Nehru's Socialist Outlook- Thaw in Indo-US Relations:

In the decade immediately after independence India adopted the policy of Non-Alignment under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru and decided to follow a policy of peace and friendship with all nations. But the two great powers of the world did not accept this stand of India as a good gesture and they looked on India with suspicion. While the Soviet Union under Stalin treated India as still not free and under the dominance of imperialist nations, the United States viewed it as potentially rich for private investment, and a source of minerals and other materials of strategic use in the American development of Atomic power.<sup>852</sup> Meanwhile the US had an expectation that India will play a decisive role in the world politic against the rising communist threat and the PRC, but it was Nehruvian socialist outlook along with his commitment to not aligning itself with any of the power blocs brought a thaw in the relationship between the two and it was very evident when Nehru made his first diplomatic trip to US followed by the visit of Eisenhower. The American policy makers by this point of time was keenly in search of an Asian ally in the region and the closeness of US and Pakistan was one of the other vital reason why the Indo-US relationship could not make a strong start although sharing the common spirit of democracy, liberalism, human rights and ideological affinity. Another important reason which may be labeled as a thaw in the relationship between the two was perhaps the fact that during the post war period US sole aim was more strategically manipulated to curtail the rise of the communist power and to have a check in the region by having a strong military base and ally which Pakistan was serving more than India.

- US Unequivocal Support to Pakistan (Kashmir, 1965, 1972 etc):

The strong bonhomie between US and Pakistan in the post war era made US an unequivocal ally of Pakistan in almost every matter related to Pakistan's foreign policy. Where it may be the Kashmir Case, 1965 Indo-Pakistan Border war or the 1971 East Pakistan's war for liberation; United States had always proved to be an all weathered ally of Pakistan. It had vehemently not only vehemently criticised India's stand on almost every diplomatic levels but had also supported Pakistan through military and economic aids sometimes covertly and sometimes overtly. Despite cited by India the cause of cross border terrorism sponsored by Pakistan in almost every world stage; US has labeled them as small ethnic and domestic

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<sup>852</sup> B.M Jain; pp-1

turmoil backing the stand of Pakistan. The explicit support of the United States not only led Pakistan have a strong and secure feeling in the international community despite committing the crimes but also further reinforced the process of cross border terrorism by Pakistan in the Indian region of Punjab and Kashmir in particular.

➤ Indo-Soviet Bonhomie (1970's) and the Rise of China:

It was the growing Indo-Soviet intimacy and the consolidation of 'Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation' with the Soviet Union and India in the 1970's, made Nixon administration even more pro Pakistan and a bitter relationship with India grew. The East Pakistan War of Liberation and the strong strategic support provided by USSR to India was an indication of India getting closer to the communist regime than to the West. Gradually the western policy makers came to realize that it's only Pakistan which can play very vital role in supporting the cause of the US in the region and gradually India again went out of the focus of the American leaders. This led to the reinforcement of thawed relations between the US and India and it was Pakistan which was brilliantly taking advantage of the situation again. Meanwhile the nuclearisation of China made the US policy makers desperately realize the fact of the rejuvenation of Communist ideology in the South Asian Region. They feared that Afghanistan and North Korea might play a very crucial role in the upcoming days and the only way to stall the rising power is through guaranteeing unconditional support and aid to Pakistan which will act as the key player in the region as by then Indo-US relationship had reached its nadir. However, the nuclearisation of South Asia and the Kargil conflict changed the US perception towards India.

● 9/11 Mayhem and US Policy on Pakistan:

The 9/11 incident played a vital role in re-molding the power politics in the international relations especially US policy toward South Asia. The mayhem gave US a call for a global war against Islamic terrorism and now it was evident for the policy makers of the international world order that the human civilization will be witnessing the dawn of long predicted 'clash of civilization' as propounded by Francis Fukuyama. For a long period of time India's cry that Pakistan is sponsoring and harboring terrorist was accepted by the world leaders. It was proved that Pakistan was serving a safe haven for the jihadis and various terrorist groups within the region. Apart from this the Iraq war and the revelation of Pakistan sponsored terrorist activities led US to adopt a very strong attitude towards Pakistan. The Abbottabad incident and the killing of Al-Qaeda supremo Bin Laden within Pakistan further

reinforced the fact how Pakistan was using the aid and support from US to settle its scores with India and were harboring the terrorists and their groups within its territory.

➤ ‘China’ an all weathered ally of Pakistan:

China has been a close ally of Pakistan from the 60s, strengthening its relations where various economic and strategic project that it has envisaged through the years. It has played an instrumental role in continuing with Pakistan’s defense modernization program, as the US military assistance that has been relied by Pakistani defense establishment before had been erratic and had significant hurdles. However, China had been more or less consistent in supporting Pakistan in the international as well as in the regional platform. It had played an important role in developing Pakistan’s nuclear program; Pakistan had taken Chinese assistance in curtailing the strategic growth of India in the region, which as per Pakistani assessment would undermine the regional balance of power, which maintains peace and security in the region. China had also made fervent attempts to assist Pakistan to address the energy crisis by developing various power projects in the last one and half decades.

China has also been instrumental in developing infrastructure within Pakistan, which is enhancing the economic as well as strategic position of Pakistan in the region. Development of the Gwadar port, the China Pakistan Economic Corridor Project (CPEC) is such glaring examples of assistance. China has also supported Pakistan’s cause in international forums like that of the United Nations, as well as played an integral role in introducing Pakistan in multilateral institutions like that of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), building itself as a counter to the Indian threat for Pakistan.

### **Findings of the Study and Concluding Observation:**

Today’s society is always the product of its past history and decides its future destiny. India and Pakistan both are the outcome of such intense rivalries, several forces like socio-political and religious which have history of unique relations in the international politics when slavery rule of British raj came to an end and India got its independence in 1947. It has been clear to all decision-makers in the region, as well as beyond, that till the time India and Pakistan rivalry is not resolved, South Asian growth in all its dimensions will remain to be a challenging task. There have been suggestions that when there are hurdles in creating understanding between the nations strategically, they should make attempts of building in ways through other avenues of confidence building like trade and people to people contact. While trade can be separated from politics, they are never completely divorced. That is the reason why, even the SAARC platform has failed many a times to nurture with summits

failing to happen due to constant misunderstanding and leaders failing to attend the summits or failing to achieve targets that had been decided in the Summits. The present international scenario is mingled in various instabilities which threaten not only the security of the region, but if the leaderships of these nations fail to identify the impending crisis, then it might be extremely dangerous for the whole neighborhood. It can be stated that the study after assessing the relations between nations as it is grown in South Asia as well as its immediate and its extended neighborhood can state the following findings:

- India- Pakistan relationship is based on a strange equation of misunderstanding and lack of trust towards each other. This mistrust and lack of faith especially by Pakistan has not only led to the birth of a rat race for status-quo but has tremendously affected and inflicted both the nations in all aspects. There is a strange feeling of suspicion and distrust that both the nations especially Pakistan shares with regards to India, which is being utilized and taken advantage by super powers of the world to settle their geo-political, geo-strategic and economic goals.
- Apart from the various misunderstanding and disputes between India and Pakistan, the Kashmir dispute will remain to be a major bone of contention even in the forthcoming years till it is not resolved bilaterally. Both the leaderships have to forcefully tame, if needed, the various elements that work against the principle of bilateral dialogues and serious talks are the only approach to find a common tangent of understanding.
- In order to have an amicable resolution and peaceful settlement of the disputes between India and Pakistan the decision makers and policy framers of the two nations must initiate multi-track diplomacy apart from the formal track one diplomacy. Areas like sports, movies; social and cultural interaction along with the promotion and study of languages (ancient and modern) needs to be encouraged much more.
- The two nations must understand the fact that most of the time dependence on third party mediation not only brings a feeling of obligation toward the third party, as every nation has their fixed specific agenda, but it has a very scathing affect in the long far run. Whenever a nation in dispute has amicably settled their conflict, there has been long-lasting peace in the region where as where there has been a third party mediation it has led to a far reaching contemptuous affects in the future.
- Pakistan needs to understand the fact clearly that till the time it will have multiple decision making elements like ISI, Army, Judiciary and Civilian Government within its

decision making structure it will not be able to foresee any stable future of the polity in the days to come.

- Unless Pakistan abandons its policies that are harmful for the nation and the region, any foreseeable long standing peace in the future will remain distant. Such policies of Pakistan will not only undermine its own security but will endanger the security of the entire region.
- There remains no permanent ally in statecraft just common and mutual goals. Pakistan and India both needs to understand that whether it's the United States or China their role in their strained relation has been very much tangent and futile in nature. Especially Pakistan need to comprehend the fact that since during the time of Cold War till date just only because of its lucrative geo-political and strategic location of containing communism the United States and China has been an unequivocal supported of it.
- There is no immediate and direct correlation between bilateral trade and dispute resolution, especially something as critical like that of Kashmir, deeper economic ties would help repair the breach between Pakistan and India. The democratic transition in Pakistan is fragile, experiencing a military that is still exercising significant clout over key policy areas, including Kashmir, India and external security. It is more likely that the high command will impede than support the normalization process. Though there have been placements of ex-military officials in positions as high up as the National Security Advisor but that has not brought down the friction between the three major factors that not only define Pakistan's foreign policy making system but also remain to be one of the fulcrums on which the pace of South Asia depends on.
- Indian political system is believed in some quarters to be marred by lack of political will and a dearth of visionary leaders who could guide the peace process in such a way which would on one hand tame and coerce Pakistani civilian and military leadership to an acceptable proposition and as well as on the other hand have a significant political clout which would cater in molding the public opinion for such proposition garnering support of the masses, may that be in the valley or in the rest of the country.
- The role which was expected to be played by the world leaders especially the United States and China to simmer the lingering disputes and tension areas between India and Pakistan has been very minimal and negligible in nature. The reason and rationale for such can be regarded as the geo-political, geo-strategic and economic benefits that they have been and are still receiving in the region.

- Despite the close Indo-US bonhomie in the present days post 9/11 decade has been witnessed and appreciated by scholars and world leaders but the decision makers of India must need to understand the very motive and long term benefits and detriments of the relationship. Securing its national interest and national security and upholding the essence of strategic autonomy regionally and globally must be the sole goal of its policy makers, enhancing its regional and global position.
- It is understandable that geo-strategically Pakistan's location will keep Pakistan as an ally of United States even in the future. There might be ups and downs in such relations but the United States will never abandon Pakistan entirely.
- With the entry of China in the India Pakistan conflict it seems unlikely that in the future China will be playing a role of a mediator in between India and Pakistan, which keeps the importance of United States as well as other international actors important so that it can coerce both the parties to strive for an environment where bilateral dialogue is possible.
- With the continuing instability in Afghanistan, and the lack of tooth in Pakistani decisions being taken to bring all the dialogue partners to the forum, it doesn't seem that one will be reaching any concession on the Afghanistan peace process any soon. Pakistani decision makers have not been able to fully abandon terrorism as a state policy either for Afghanistan or for India that has strengthened non-state actors and extremist elements to have significant ground support among the masses in the tribal and some major urban hamlets in the network of terrorism and extremism intact.
- One should never forget that the birth of ISIS came from Al-Qaeda functioning in Iraq and Syria which has not only challenged state actors in Middle East Asia but has redefined the concept of terrorism in total. Till the time instability exists in Afghanistan, and financial and social conduit of terrorist and extremist network remain active and alive in Pakistan the spread of ISIS in the region or the birth of different version of terrorist groups similar to that of ISIS from such active organizations cannot be farfetched utopia. All the world powers US included are neither in a financial position nor have the political support of their masses to adopt any definitive step to neither nip the bud of such extremism from growing nor have the logistics or support that is required to face such a challenge if it surfaces.
- China while strengthening its routes toward warm water of the gulf is well as strengthening its roots as strategic decision making in the region has developed the idea of the CPEC in Pakistan. Though such a dream project, if completed, would surely be an opportunity for Pakistan to counter the severe energy crisis it faces every year as well as

bring economic development in the provinces within the country which can be personified as economically deprived and underdeveloped. However the track record of such major infrastructural projects followed by such huge investment by the Chinese is not positive. One also knows that China in such infrastructural projects neither employs any local labour nor local resources to build such infrastructure. It remains questionable that how much freedom Pakistanis will have in having full control over the corridor if it is completed in the future. One also doubts how much China would provide levy for the local population as well as the Pakistani army to use the corridor for their economic conditions. CPEC remains part of OBOR, which China is visualizing its strategic intent for reaching the warm water of the Gulf, get accesses to the oil fields of the Middle East as well as move beyond the region finding new economic pastures as well and enhancing its sphere of influence over new landmasses. US and TPP may not be fully capable enough to counter such growth and steadfastly stop the strategic growth that China aspires for. Although India vehemently protested the CPEC falling within the Gilgit-Baltistan region which still remains to be a disputed territory. One foresaw such a project in the past when the Chinese started the modernization of the Karakorum Highway and how they sought to destabilize the Uighur terrorist groups functioning from Gilgit-Baltistan against China. One should keep in mind that even though Pakistan is a nuclear weapon county and remains to have a huge ground support mechanism in the name of Pakistani Army, the Chinese leadership has still decided to bring in more than three thousand PLA personnel in the name of protecting the construction o the CPEC corridor.

- For the first time from 1947, the post-independence Pakistan saw a civilian government completing a full tenure leading to a fresh democratic general election which again brought forth another civilian government which seems to have popular support and control for the forth coming general elections in Pakistan. One should not forget the Pakistani Army which had been in the governance seat and is symbolized by strength stability and discipline which poses a major challenge for the legitimacy and longevity of an elected civilian political leadership. In the army itself there are multiple parallel of decision makers who still maintains a feudal mindset who instead of strengthening the roots of democracy challenges the process of nation building in Pakistan. There are analysts who consider that the encirclement of China in the Indian sub-continent of economic projects with hidden agenda as well as plans to spread its peaceful hegemonic economic plans in the Indian neighborhood is fully on the rise. Minor military alliances of patrolling the seas and harping freedom of navigation might not be enough to counter

such massive expansionist policy which is getting wholesome support not only from Pakistan but from many in the Indian neighborhood.

- It needs to be understood that US has not successfully able to convince or influence Pakistani decision makers. While looking at the past it can be seen that it thwarted the judicial killing of Mujibur Rahaman during early 70's but failed to do the same in regard to Z.A Bhutto. Nawaz Sharif was also spared the same fate due to the pressure created by US ad Saudi Arabia and was exiled to Dubai. United States pressure on the Nawaz's Government not to conduct any nuclear tests in retaliation of the Indian Nuclear Tests in 1998 was not given heed to. US have not also been able to convince the Pakistani leadership to completely abandon its policy of sponsoring and sending terrorist groups into Afghanistan and India. In such a scenario, US have been more of a mild mediator in South Asia when their economic leaderships find the region more conducive to step in. With the present economic instability and fluctuations in the price of Oil in the Global market and the forth-coming Presidential elections, US is practically not in a position or situation to actively participate intervene or interfere in the dispute riddled South Asian regions.
- The present global financial crisis also has seriously undermined the fast growing Chinese economy which has slowed down the Chinese economic growth rate to around 3to 4 percents from 10 percent. There has been a major reshuffle of economic policies that is taking place in China which might seriously undermine their long term investment plans in Central Asia, South Asia and Africa. US has more challenges to cater to in the form of North Koreas militarization, South China and East China Sea disputes, rising synergy between Russia and China along with its own economic challenges than to concentrate on Afghanistan and Kashmir. One needs to note that though US Presidents have been frequently visiting India but they have shown serious lack of interests in visiting Pakistan. US is also extremely concerned with the rising friction between Saudi Arabia and its allies with Iran that will further destabilize the oil producing economies having a dampening effect on Pakistan's growth trajectory.
- There have been fervent attempts by various groups to instigate tension and violence against the Central Government. In Jammu and Kashmir however there has been a strange democratic growth which has spread throughout the valley where political parties have been seen taking mature decision through collective bargaining for the development of the region as well as has provided stable political governance. The case has been exactly opposite in Pakistan occupied Kashmir where the nation has not been able to provide the

entire Pakistani Occupied Territories of Kashmir any constitutional status. From 2009 onward there have been puppet governments, rise in sectarian conflicts, presence of Chinese Army, maintain law and order as well as mushrooming camps of extremist and terrorist organization in the more remote areas. The political stability that has been witnessed in Islamabad or Karachi is still a distant dream for people living in POK. It should be understood that any sort of peace plan which may evolve in the future within India and Pakistan for resolving the Kashmir dispute should be futuristic looking forward to bring as much economic growth to the people of POK which the people of Jammu and Kashmir experience today. Since its independence, Pakistan and India's foreign policy is dictated by external factors influenced by the hostility of other states. They had to sacrifice their own relations with their neighbours for others. And countries have utilized such animosity by keeping the nations apart for the promotion of their strategic objectives and goals.

### **Summing Up:**

Thus in this present state of affair and the geo-political doldrums, with the strengthening of rightist groups throughout the world, that has been working in among these four major players of the world order India and Pakistan relations stands uniquely unsolved and mysterious. Ironically even as the two countries grapple with their internal issues of sectarian conflict, secessionist movements and high levels of governmental corruption, they continue to spend a very high proportion of their assets in maintaining a huge security infrastructure which pits one against the other. But both the countries know that even a conventional war is something that the region cannot afford in view of its immediate impact on the lives of the poorest of the poor. Such a war is just not an option since it would only harden the attitudes towards each other, further feeding the cycle of hatred. After the end of the Cold War and particularly in the post 9/11 era, many friends have turned as foes and vis-a-vis. India has come closer to the US. Both the countries felt that there is the need for security cooperation and the greatest threats to their security are defined more by dynamics with weak and failing states than by the borders between strong and aggressive ones. However, the US continues to deal with India and Pakistan separately within the framework of its own interests in both the countries. On the objections by Pakistan, India was kept at arm's length as far as the security issue in Afghanistan was concerned. US has not been able to understand the role that India could play in Afghanistan's peace process as well as in the process of democratization. However, Pakistani decision makers have understood that U.S. is a fair-weather friend of

Pakistan. With the emergence of China as a great power, the U.S. has positioned itself closer to India. The US strategy is to promote India as a “counter -weight” to China, disappointing Pakistan. Pakistani regime has provided in the past and still provides pivotal assistance to Washington in securing its interests in Afghanistan- at the cost of turning much of Pakistan’s tribal regions into a war zone. Pakistan, which served as a U.S. Cold War proxy, now finds itself reduced to playing second fiddle to the Indo-U.S. strategic partnership. Pakistan is in fact complaining that the U.S. has encouraged India to play a major and growing role in Afghanistan, including in the training of Afghan security forces. The US relationship with Pakistan has deteriorated significantly, though keeping the channels of military equipment and financial aid open, and has nurtured relations with India more comfortably. But despite all these it cannot be denied that the perceived as well as real threat of Islamic terrorism having global access virtually compels US to keep the option of using Pakistan as the strategic partner, or atleast, to use Pakistan as the base to counter the Islamic terrorist threat.

Considering the lack of clarity regarding a vision in both countries to find a solution that can be acceptable to the defense establishments of both the nations, along with the analytical and academic networks present in the nations as well as in the region, while creating a support base for such a solution amongst the vast majority of people that has grown habituated with the enmity that the two nations has been harboring post independence, the possibility of their leadership agreeing to a solution that might not bring about peace and stability in the medium to long term is highly likely. Any solution that does not take the woes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir as well as those living in Pakistan occupied Kashmir might not bring long-lasting peace to the region.

But the present leadership has initiated a trend where even after incidents like Pathankot, there have been attempts of resumption of dialogue. India and Pakistan have employed different modes and techniques of conflict management and resolution from bilateral negotiations to mediation and arbitration. None of these measures have helped them resolve their differences. However, it has been felt that only through continuous dialogue can the level of misunderstanding and mistrust be reduced between the two nations. There should be clarity in the dialogue process rather than the use of ambiguity and fake promises, and should be marked by consistency in the process of dialogue, even if there is a change of government in either of the countries in dialogue. Here the role of a third party will only complicate the equation, may that be United States, may that be China, though the role of a multilateral institution cannot be fully ruled out. Both the nations possibly have understood that they need

to develop a more objective understanding of issues affecting regional stability. Maintaining lines of communication and taming both the political leadership as well as their respective media can go a long way in strengthening relations during a time of crisis. Both India and Pakistan need to take steps to dismantle the prevalent “us versus them” mentality that pits two neighbours against one another, and instead find an “us and them” where cooperation is actually possible. A failure to build trust between the Indian and Pakistani societies and governments will only ensure that crises in the future invite catastrophe.

However the recent incidents of the Pakistani sponsored terrorist attack at the Uri army base in Kashmir has provoked and aroused hopes as almost the entire world has overtly supported India’s position while condemning Pakistan’s proven support for cross-border terrorism. The United States in particular has come out condemning Pakistan with a warning not to indulge in such misadventures. Had this realization of the United States been there in the past the strained relationship between India and Pakistan might not have gone to what at present it has been after reaching to a phase of no-return situation. The complex geo-political and strategic compulsions virtually made the US complicated the relationship between India and Pakistan. Besides the Pakistani armed forces and the independent ISI over the decades were so habituated to grab the lion’s share of the strategic aid and assistance of the United States that they cannot come out of the psyche of articulated war like situation with India. Moreover the state of affairs sustained again because of the weak civilian government in Pakistan over decade- a kind that suited the interests of Washington most favorably in the past. Infant more of now the entire situation of the South Asian region depends upon how the United States views the South Asian region, India and Pakistan in particular to shape with the policy compulsion of India’s fast growing economy and consequent market potentialities vis-à-vis Pakistan’s strategic location and strategic importance for thwarting and countering the rise of the fundamentalist Islamic terrorism.

With the present instability in between India and Pakistan, the role of larger powers remains significant. With the rising incidents of terrorist attacks taking place in India, tensions have been high in between India and Pakistan. Though all strategic decision makers identify the need of continuous dialogue between the parties, but due to the adamancy of Pakistani decision makers to continue adapting to use terrorism as a strategic state tool, it becomes difficult to have a long term dialogue process with such a nation. The role of larger powers in such a ‘Catch 22 situation’ becomes important to coerce strategically or diplomatically, so that Pakistan abandons the policy of selecting between good terrorists and bad terrorists,

sponsoring terrorism in India and Afghanistan. Not only United States, but larger countries in the neighborhood can play a larger role in maintaining peace and stability in the region.