

PREFACE

Even after seven decades of independence, India and Pakistan remain at odds. Given both countries' de facto nuclear capabilities, their continued rivalry flirts with disaster. Yet to date Indo-Pakistani nuclear competition has remained within limits, direct war has been avoided for a generation (as Kargil was not a full war), and both countries have adapted policies that could pave the path for significant economic growth. U.S. interests in South Asia, although not vital, its importance altering time to time, have slowly gained much more prominence in the last one and half decades. These interests include preventing major war and further nuclear proliferation; expanding economic growth, trade, and investment; promoting robust democratic institutions; and cooperating on issues ranging from enhancing stability across Asia to combating terrorism and drug trafficking.

The relationship between India and Pakistan can be characterised by periodical ups and downs, hot and cold diplomacy and intermittent breakdown, had thrice brought them into full fledged wars- 1948, 1965, and 1971, besides once a mini-war- 1965 (Rann of Kutch); once in a major military skirmish 1999 (Kargil) and once a near war (January, 2002). The present condition that prevails, after India went ahead with a surgical strike, eliminating terrorist launch pads in Pakistan occupied Kashmir, after intermittent terrorist attacks in Pathankot, Gurdaspur and Uri, the relations between India and Pakistan faces severe new challenges.

The United States has been a significant factor for the nations in the third world countries in the cold war and the post cold war era. For the sake of their global and strategic policy of the world the United States sought to have an equal stake in the Asian and south Asian subcontinent. India and Pakistan too had been significantly influenced by this United States global policy. If observed carefully one can find distinct phases in the relationship between India and Pakistan with the United States controlling the levers and influencing the policies in the Indian Sub-Continent. To contain communism from Soviet Union, keep a close watch on nations building relations with Soviet Union, actively participating in controlling wars while making diplomatic and strategic moves to keep disputes alive and later the Afghanistan imbroglio, kept South Asia important for the US.

In the post-Cold War era, though war was not eliminated, the number of actors multiplied, bringing many non-state actors in the scenario. US left South Asia and became more engrossed in changing the equation in the Gulf and Eastern Europe, when Pakistan, started getting finesse over its strategic tool of terrorism, which they had previously used in Indian

Punjab in the 80s. Declaring a proxy war on India, Pakistan started sponsoring terrorists not only in Jammu and Kashmir, but also in the Northeastern states of India, creating a large network of terrorist institutions functioning in Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Afghanistan. This phase also saw the growth of China, which kept itself isolated during the Cold War period, making rapid economic and infrastructural growth within itself, as well as aggressively but 'peacefully' expanding economically in most of the nations in Asia. The phase ended with the nuclearisation of India and Pakistan, which changed the level of conflict that existed in South Asia.

International political scenario took a major shift after the World Trade tower terrorist attacks in New York in September 2001. Terrorism which was also a strategic tool for US many a times boomeranged on them, forcing them to declare a 'war on terror'. As Afghanistan again became the theatre of conflict, United States had to force Pakistan join the war, though knowing fully well the role that Pakistan played in the past and the manner in which it still supported and sponsored terrorism. This indeed has had a negative impact on the bilateral Indo-Pak relations. However, relations between India and United States have improved significantly, as Pakistan today is more of a necessary evil, than a long standing ally. The role of United States have increased with the growing bon homie between China and Pakistan, and the fast changing role of China in the Asia Pacific, Africa as well as Europe.

Given the above background, the proposed study seeks to describe the intricacies of the India-Pakistan Relations with particular reference to the post-Cold War relationship and explore and diagnose the role of the United States in straining and strengthening the strained relationship between the two countries. As have been observed in the preceding section that United States had justification for promoting the cause of Pakistan in the Cold War period as part of its global strategy of containing the further spread of Communism and after the Cuban Missile Crises, of ensuring the roll-back of communism; but in the post-cold war period substantial change in the international scenario characterised by the rising role of United States while increasing its sphere of influence on the one hand and substantial change in India's Foreign Policy pattern, rising role of new state and non-state actors, challenging peace and stability of regions as well as in international politics.

The study has adapted various research questions while carrying out the research. Trying to understand the factors – subjective and objective – that strained the relationship between India and Pakistan, there has been an attempt to understand the factors behind the closeness between Pakistan and United States, the reasons and manner in which agreements were made

between India and Pakistan, while having intermittent frictions between the two nations, the reason why United States cannot fully alienate Pakistan, and keeps it close fully knowing the various flaws that the Pakistani state continuing to nurture, the manner in which and the various institutions within US that maintains relations between the two nations. While analyzing the role of China, the study also made an attempt to analyse the future trajectory of relations between the nations.

The comprehensive review of literature outlined above, though confined mainly to the literature appeared in the post-cold war period, shows that though there have been plethora of scholarly writings based on research of the subject concerning a wide spectrum of areas – historical - analytical survey of Indo-Pakistan Relations, the involvement of big powers in the affairs of the sub-continent and its fall out on the state of affairs in the Asian Continent and in particular the stake of the United States in the Asian Continent in general and the subcontinent in particular but there is found a very little research on the specific role of United States on the sustenance of strained Indo –Pakistan relations. Even if some are found those are small and piecemeal discussions as part of broader perspectives of the researcher’s objective. Thus there still exists a research gap in relation to the specific role of the United States in the Indo-Pak relations and the proposed research seeks to fill the gap. Herein lies the justifications and significance of the proposed research. Given this research gap, the study seeks to unearth some hidden agenda of America’s policy towards Pakistan despite changes in the international environment in general and change in the India’s policy toward United States in particular.

This study will try to bring in fresh dimensions in the contemporary international politics. Similarly the study, within the broad theoretical frameworks of political realism – Classical and Neo, will probe the explanatory feasibility of Game Theory, in line with Herbert Simon’s Behavior Alternative Model of ‘satisficing decisions’, the Decision Making model and the Bureaucratic Politics Model in explaining the policy choices of the three countries- India Pakistan and the United States.

Given the broad objective of the study and the research questions sought to be addressed, the proposed study is going to be a combination of descriptive, exploratory and diagnostic type of historical analytical research. First, the study will accurately portray and describe the ongoing state of ups and downs in the India-Pakistan relations besides describing the involvement of the great powers in general and the United States in particular in this relations. For the purpose, information will be collected from documents, reports, books and

articles from journals. Indeed, these information will be scanned and analysed to present the accurate and objective assessment of the strained relations between India and Pakistan. Besides, since the study purports to explore and diagnose the undesired (from Indian perspective) involvement of United States in sustaining the strained relations between India and Pakistan, the design of exploratory and diagnostic research will be followed. As such, in addition to reviewing the existing literatures, experience survey of the persons engaged in the process will be undertaken. Similarly, efforts will be made to identify relevant insight stimulating cases which will contribute and substantiate the information collected following the historical-analytical design. Finally the insightful observation of the researcher will be of great help in exploring, describing and diagnosing the problems of research with utmost care of maintaining objectivity of the findings.

The study has been divided into six broad sections. The present section has made 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. It has also provided a basic literature review that is present and the study has taken assistance of.

The second section will be a historical retrospect of the long seven decades of relationship between India and Pakistan. The chapter will make an attempt of dealing with the genesis of India-Pakistan which was mainly shared with lack of trust and misunderstanding. The chapter will make an attempt to delve into the historical facets of India Pakistan relations, which has molded the animosity between the two nations.

The third section of the study will try to analyze the perceived compulsions and realities that centers around with regards to the birth of the US- Pakistan Relationship. United States and Pakistan has survived a chequered relation, which had its own ups and downs. The chapter will try to analyse how the relations developed, deteriorated and the manner in which it has impacted India Pakistan relations. The chapter will also examine the present phase of relations, and will try making an assessment of the present status of Pakistan US relations.

The fourth section of the study will make 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, the manner in which India US

relation went through decades long stagnancy and how the present decade has brought in a dynamism in Indo US relations. The fifth chapter of the study centers on the place of China and its role in the India, Pakistan and US policy making. The manner in which China has expanded its role in global politics along with its sphere of influence in South Asian politics will be dealt in detail in this section.

The study will have a concluding section making an assessment of the study, explaining the findings that it will unfurl while assessing the various periods and equations between the nations, and will try to make some prescriptive suggestions for an amicable solution if any. Though there have been various theoretical pretexts that have studied India Pakistan relations, one of the most studied topics in the South Asian region, trying to assess the role of a super power in the bilateral relations of these two countries in dispute will be a challenging task.

The recent dimensions in international politics, along with the manner in which India and Pakistan has failed in coming to a point of mutual understanding and trust, the Pakistani way of state politics, and the role of United States has made South Asian politics more complicated than before. Assessing and understanding the changing dimensions and politics of the region, and the manner in which United States has played in moulding and re-moulding relations between India and Pakistan, in tandem with the role of nations in the neighbourhood as well as in the extended neighbourhood provides more importance to the study.

If it achieves to make a better understanding of how future South Asian politics is headed to along with the role of the larger powers in play, the purpose of the study will be achieved.