

**INDO-US RELATIONS IN THE POST 9/11:
IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN**



By

Haseena Sultan

Registration # 50-FSS/MSIR/S15

Supervisor

Dr. Sadaf Farooq

Department of Politics and International Relations

Faculty of Social Sciences

International Islamic University, Islamabad

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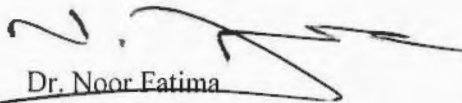
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Supervisor:



Dr. Sadaf Farooq
Assistant Professor
Department of Politics and International Relations,
International Islamic University, Islamabad

Internal Examiner:



Dr. Noor Fatima
Assistant Professor
Department of Politics and International Relations,
International Islamic University, Islamabad

External Examiner:



Dr. Noman Omar Sattar
Director Area Study center
Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad



Prof. Dr. Amna Mahmood
Chairperson
Politics and International Relations
International Islamic University Islamabad



Professor Dr. Samina Yasmeen Malik
Dean
Faculty of Social Sciences,
International Islamic University Islamabad

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations	i
Declaration	iii
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgement	v
Abstract	vi
Chapter 1	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1. Introduction	1
1.1 Statement of the Problem	3
1.2 Objectives of the study	4
1.3 Research Questions	4
1.4 Significance of the Study	4
1.5 Research Methodology	5
1.6 Operational Definitions of major Terms	5
2. Theoretical Framework	6
3. Literature Review	8
4. Organization of the Study	11
Chapter 2	12
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	12

2.	Introduction	12
2.2	Indo-US Relations in the Cold War	13
2.3	Indo-US Relations in the Post-Cold War	17
	Chapter 3	22
	INDO-US RELATIONS IN THE POST 9/11 AND AREAS OF COOPERATION	22
3.	Introduction	22
3.1	Relations in the Post 9/11 Era	29
3.2	Areas of Cooperation	30
3.2.1	China Factor	30
3.2.2	Indian Ocean Security	30
3.2.3	Economic Force	32
3.2.4	Democratic credential of India and US	33
3.2.5	War on Terror	34
3.2.6	Military Cooperation	35
3.2.7	Nuclear Cooperation	37
	Chapter 4	39
	FACETS OF INDO-US STRATEGIC RELATIONS	39
4.	Introduction	39
4.1	The Indo-US Nuclear Deal	41
4.2	Defense Cooperation	43
4.3	Maritime Cooperation	49
4.4	Missile Defense Cooperation	51

4.5 Space Cooperation	53
Chapter 5	56
IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN	56
Chapter Six	66
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	66
REFERENCES	71

List of Abbreviations

CPEC	China Pakistan Economic Cooperation
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
FT	Foreign Trade
FBR	Fast Breeder Reactor's
GWOT	Global War on Terror
IAEA	International Energy Atomic Agency
ISRO	Indian Space Research Company
ICBM	Intercontinental Ballistic Missile
MTCR	Missile Technology Control Regime
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NSS	National Security Strategy
NSSP	Next Step for Strategic Partnership
NPT	Non-Nuclear Proliferation Treaty
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PRC	Peoples Republic of China
PSI	Proliferation Security Initiative
RC	Republic of China

RAW	Research and Analysis Wing
SA	South Asia
SCS	South China Sea
SC	Security Council
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organization
US	United States
UNO	United Nations Organization
USSR	Union of Soviet States of Russia
WWII	Second World War

Declaration

This thesis is submitted as a requirement of MS degree in International Relations to the department of Political & International Relations. I solemnly affirm that this research is originally my work and none of the facts and data has been plagiarized. Any material taken from any source has been properly cited.

HASEENA SULTAN

50FSS/MSIR/S15

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my beloved parents and Siblings. I believe that all success in my life is due to their prayers.

Acknowledgment

This study is the part of my MS programme. It was a great challenge for me to accomplish this research specially to find and arrange relevant material from different sources. I am grateful to Allah Almighty who gave me enough wisdom and vision to complete this work. My heartiest praise is to the Holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad “The Greatest Reformer of the World” who enlightened the world with his wisdom.

I feel proud to express my thanks to my father (Sultan Khan) and mother, my father being an Administrative man took a special interest in this research and always suggested me to develop this work.

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Abstract

South Asia has remained one of the important regions of the world in all periods of history. Pakistan always remained most allied ally of US in the history but India had not been good friend of US in the past. In the Post-Cold War era USA started coming closer to India, which was not in the interest of Pakistan. The new US tilt and its security policy in South Asia in Post 9/11 period and its strategic partnership with India is not a sudden development but the result of a gradual convergence of interests between New Delhi and Washington after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. In order to meet the new challenges of security and trade and to pursue its core and national interests, the US has changed its policy towards South Asia in Post 9/11 period and reshaped its policy to achieve its goals and is re-examining its political, economic, military and strategic partnership with India. Though India – US bilateral relations have materialized into nuclear deal and some ten-year defense pacts, which was a direct threat to the existence of Pakistan and it became a great challenge for Pakistan's security, yet on a parallel front the rise of China has opened issues for US. The study mainly focuses on the growing Indo-US relationship in post 9/11 and how it has affected the prevalent balance of power in South Asia. The study also analyses the implications of the US strategic tilt towards India for Pakistan. The study concludes that the strategic developments between Indo-US have long term implications for the security of Pakistan. India wants to isolate Pakistan and make it irrelevant in the region with the help of US, which is a direct threat to Pakistan's security and can create instability in South Asia.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Prior to 1947 India was a colony of Great Britain; She got independence in such a period when USSR and US had started a Cold War to acquire supremacy in the whole world. India played a highly diplomatic game by making strong ties with the USSR on the one side and adopted the ideology of west particularly the US, which was capitalism. On the other side, United State and Indian relations in the history have not been strategic in nature but some events like United states favor of India during Sino-India war shows strategic relations in the past. Since 1991, turbulent Indo - US relations started developing and there has been an attempt on part of both, the US and India to strengthen these developing ties covering all domains including security, terrorism, trade and economics, science and technology.

India has adopted the policy of non-alignment after her independence. Nehru was the leader of India. He tempted USSR and United States to support her, through this policy. In the Cold War period, India created personal associations with the Soviet Union while kept up normal association with the Western countries particularly with United States. With the changed geo, political situation and Post 9/11, US desires have changed the global settings and pressuring USA to offer need to relations with India.

The emergence of China as new strategic and economic power house, strategic partnership between Russia and China, American venture in Iraq and Afghanistan, nuclear issues and War on Terror and alliance amongst the big powers of the world are some major concerns for the United States think tanks which have compelled US to find new alliances in the world and India has emerged as the most suitable option in this region (Tellise, 2015). The economic and defense ties

between US and India are product of the growing Indian size, its strong democratic government. Such associations have effects for the international politics.

India on the other hand, found an opportunity to side with the sole super power to serve her strategic interests in the region promoting her hegemonic designs and increase sphere of influence in Indian Ocean. Indian willingness to serve greater US objectives in the region and act as policeman on her behalf has given new dimensions to the emerging Indo-US collaboration in the region. President Bush called India as “natural partner” (Javed M. , 2007).

The strategic and military ties of US-India like The ‘Next Step for the Strategic Partnership (NSSP) 2004, the signed of India and USA a ten years strategic partnership pact on 28th June 2005, the nuclear cooperation on July 18, 2005 on civilian nuclear energy, the visit of President Bush to India, to sign a civilian nuclear cooperation pact, the US and Indian agreement on the terms and conditions of a civil nuclear cooperation deal known as the 123 agreement despite her non-signatory status of CTBT give some strong signals for Pakistan and other regional powers like PRC that this cooperation can generate a new type of Cold War Scenario between China and India. Pakistan has strengthened its strategic and military ties with China in the Post 9/11 scenario which is viewed in Washington as a counter weight to Indo-US cooperation. In 2002, Dr. Stephan P Cohen, has stated:

“The United States sees its relations with India as central to maintaining long-term stability in Asia and in fighting terrorism. The transformation of our armed relationship is essential for achieving these goals” (Cohens, 2002).

US aim of making India a major power in the South Asia to counter China have given the chance to India to urge for a permanent seat in the security council. India is now having missile program together with its nuclear program have disturb the balance of power in the South Asia. India’s

defense and civil nuclear deals with US is apparent in Pakistan as a hostile and challenging strategy; which would consider as an arm race between India and Pakistan but it also creates strategic uncertainty in the region.

Although Pakistan is a frontline ally of US in South Asia against the War on terrorism but still US can quit friendship with Pakistan in this scenario but it cannot do the same with India because India is much associated with the interests of US in the region. Apart from strategic cooperation, India has a huge business relation with US. Being a greatest democracy of the world, India has created a soft image in the minds of Americans and it has strong ties with US in every field.

In this background this study discusses the relationship between India - United States Strategic partnership. It has further examined the potential of Indo-US cooperation to disturb the Balance of Power in South Asia.

1.1 Statement of the problem

India and Pakistan are having uneasy relations since inception. These are marked by periods of uneasy peace and conflicts. Growing Indo-US relations in Post 9/11 has affected the prevalent balance of power in South Asia and the US strategic tilt towards India has implications for Pakistan.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

- To analyze the Post 9/11 Indo-US strategic relationship and identify the patterns and dynamics of this relationship.
- To examine the changes in the foreign policy of India in Post 9/11.
- To explain the changes in the foreign policy of US in Post 9/11.

- To evaluate the implications of the Post 9/11 Indo-US strategic relation for Pakistan.

1.3 Research Questions

Main question

What are the Implications of Indo-US strategic partnership for Pakistan?

Subsidiary questions

1. What are the dynamics of the Post 9/11 Indo-US strategic relationship?
2. What was the Rationale behind the US strategic tilt towards India?
3. How the Indo-US relationship will affect the balance of power in South Asia?

1.4 Significance of the Study

The study is of great importance because it is analyzing the strategic alliance between India-United States and its threat for Pakistan's security. It opens new avenues of thought to think about the relations of great powers in a nuclear world. In the 21st century USA is playing very important role over the world. The growing strategic relations between India and United States has put pressure on the States like Pakistan and China. The rise of the relations between these both states is in fact a vital question for the researchers and writers of the international politics. This study focuses on how United States cooperation with India in the civil nuclear and defense projects has disturbed the balance of power in South Asia. This study will be helpful for the upcoming researchers in the field of international relations and especially it will be helpful for the academic researchers.

1.5 Methodology

This study examines the strategic relationship between India and United States and the implications of this partnership for Pakistan. Qualitative research method is used to explore

descriptive and explanatory dimensions of Indo-US strategic alliance. Both Primary and Secondary sources are used. Among primary sources online government documents, Organizational reports and newspapers are consulted. Among secondary sources books, articles from national and International journals are used. With that online sources are also used in the study.

1.6 Operational Definitions of Major Terms

1. Balance of power

Definition	Operational definition	Measurements	Data sources
The distribution of power among countries so that no one nation can seriously threaten the fundamental interests of another. (British Dictionary).	One country might have fewer nuclear weapons than its rival, but that the system would still be in balance as long as the weaker country retained a guaranteed second strike capacity (David Robertson, 1985).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pakistan and Russia Military cooperation in the Post 9/11 • India and US defense and civil nuclear deal, 2005 Post 9/11 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data has been taken from the website

2. Containment

<p>The action of keeping something harmful under control or within limit.</p> <p>The action or policy of preventing the expansion of a hostile country or influence. (Oxford Dictionary)</p>	<p>Containment is or was (the correct tense to use as unclear) the official US foreign policy doctrine, from 1947 onward, how the US reacts to the expansion of communist influence. (political Dictionary)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The policy containment policy toward Russian communism During Cold War • The US strategic alliance towards India to contain the china's hegemony in the region. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political Dictionary has been consulted a data source
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3. Theoretical Framework

The research is steered using the theory of neorealism. As philosophies, notions, concepts and models are created and adapted with the passage of time, hence their consequence and analysis is comparative and diverse in logical deviation. That is why this research is effective relatively to appealing complications. In command to understand federation interest, their security and fears, realist methodology has been pragmatic in the contemporary investigation. The study applies neo-realist school of thought which is symbolized through Kenneth Walt.

States are deemed similar in terms of needs but not in capabilities for achieving them. The positional placement of states in terms of abilities determines the distribution of capabilities. The structural distribution of capabilities then limits cooperation among states through fears of relative gains made by other states, and the possibility of dependence on other states. The desire and relative abilities of each state to maximize relative power constrain each other, resulting in a

'balance of power', which shapes international relations. It also gives rise to the 'security dilemma' that all nations face. There are two ways in which states balance power first is internal balancing and second external balancing. Internal balancing occurs as states grow their own capabilities by increasing economic growth and increasing military spending. External balancing occurs as states enter alliances to check the power of more powerful states or alliances.

United States is neither an everlasting friend nor does it rests as a continuing ally of any state. In the Indo-US dealings in the post 9/11 era, United States represents that it is highly worried about the rising of China in the region. US friendship with India is an effort to counterbalance China in Asia. United States want to create a balance of power in Asia. USA always charted a realist foreign policy in the past. Machiavelli is still alive in the minds of foreign policy experts of USA and he is also suggesting as a supervisor of think tanks of United States. In 2005 USA made a "civil nuclear and defence agreement" with India, a state which was a non-signatory CTBT and non-nuclear proliferation treaty (NPT).

Neo-realism is applied to this study because all the three states i-e; Pakistan, India and the United State are following neorealism in their foreign policies. The world view of neo-realism is that allies can make the security of a state stronger but they cannot be trusted. Pakistan is an ally of US but United States has no trust on her ally. United State is making relations with the traditional foe of Pakistan despite considering it a threat for her ally, Pakistan. Pakistan increases her cooperation with China to increase her security capabilities against India and US cooperation in security. India is cooperating with US to increase her security against China and Pakistan and to compete with China. Both India and Pakistan are cooperating with US to strengthen their security against each other in a broader perspective.

The core concern of the neorealism is struggle for power and position under anarchy, India want to be a powerful state in Asia by competing China and Pakistan with the cooperation of US. US want to maintain her supremacy in Asia by creating India a counterbalance to China. Pakistan joined China to compete with India and US cooperation.

The motive of neorealist actor is to gain relatively, India want to gain relatively from US in its cooperation with US, and US want to serve her own interest through India. United States, India and Pakistan all are making military might stronger to secure their national interests in an anarchical order. India and Pakistan are cooperating with the US to increase their military capabilities and US is cooperating with Pakistan to fulfil her strategic objectives through Pakistan and India. All the three states are using nuclear deterrence to counter their enemy.

4. Literature Review

US and India came closer with the end of the Cold War. The disintegration of Soviet Union gave chance to Washington and New Delhi to improve their strategic relations. The enhancement of the nuclear technology has lesson the strategic relationship between Pakistan and the United States which were good before the nuclear test. Pakistan and India has experienced the nuclear test in 1998. United States Sanctioned both India and Pakistan. But Soon with the end of the Post-Cold War era, Washington has taken off the sanctions from Delhi, because she felt India as a major player of the South Asia and is helpful to fulfill her interest in the Asia. But the event of 9/11 Pakistan again got the strategic importance in the interest of United States. The US and Pakistan relations faced up and down according to the strategic interest of US (chou, 2003).

India and United States has good relations since 9/11, they have good military to military, space, maritime and defense relations and have seem continue in the future, both the States have private

relations, these two countries have good economic and anti- terrorist relations. United State is exporting high level of new technologies to India, which serves Indian interest in the field of economy. On the other hand, United States is giving add to Pakistan and were the close friends but this friendship is disturbing because of the political opposition and terrorist attacks on US interests creating in Pakistan (Bukhari, 2011).

It is on a very basic level about changing the strategic relationship between the two nations by cooperating to accomplish the vital links. India and United States in 2005 began the procedure of atomic agreements which was settled in 2008, US president Barak Obama at long last ticked the enigma in the arrangement and India guaranteed that the uranium will be utilized for financial and business purposes (Ferguson, 2006) .

India-US economic and security ties specifically put pressure on Pakistan. It has condemned India for attempting to aggravate U.S. Pakistan ties, accordingly reinforcing its overwhelming position in South Asia. Pakistan does not need the developing India-U.S. multi-layered vital relationship to happen because it trusts that the developing relationship would debilitate its long-term partnership with United States that holds the way to deflecting India. Without the backing of U.S, it sees that the current expected weapons irregularity would be broadened accordingly, bringing about India accomplishing its local government. Pakistan fears losing the United States support that has dependably turned out on India's side on the Kashmir issue (Hussain, 2011).

Pakistan's outside strategy in the large portion of the most recent three decades appears to have been ruled however its security worries against India. In Pakistan's risk discernment, India has always figured as the main threat. It is seen to have had issues grappling with Pakistan's presence. The two nations have gone to war on three separate occasions; 1948, 1965 and 1971. Pakistan considers India's prevalence regarding size, labor, assets, weapons, financial instances,

industrialization and instructive and innovative advancement a risk for her serenity. India's importance as a dominant state in the south Asia makes issues for Pakistan. India is politically and economically strong as compared to Pakistan. In twenty-first century, the nearby reciprocal relationship between Indo-US postures another security danger to Pakistan (Dwivedi, 2008).

United State has an enthusiasm for adjusting any future Chinese development in Asia, and the Indo-US vital organization could assume a vital part in this appreciation. The Indo-US strategic relationship, regardless of the strategic relationship in the central of Pakistan and the United states, could expand the unsettling influence in a critical position of force between India and Pakistan, which may bring down the atomic starting between the forceful neighbors. The hedge organization, compelling players were communicating their fears about Chinese improvement, terming it the greatest danger to American interest. United States need to influence on china, through building cozy relations with India (Jaspal, 2007).

American interests in counterterrorism and general provincial soundness will supplant its profound backing on Pakistan for logistical bolster identified with the U.S. war in Afghanistan. America's security foundation will rather commit significantly more regard for the ascent of China and the persisting insecurity in the Middle East. Inside South Asia, India will be the vital player because of its claim to the rise of China.

The change in Indo-US relations in the Post-Cold War world is established in the conviction that a solid law based India will serve US intrigues in saving the equalization of force in the Asian mainland and maintaining peace and strength in the Indian Ocean (Raja C. Mohan, 2008).

President Bush and his group considered India a stabilizer and not a Counterweight, against China. Condoleezza Rice declared that the United States would encourage India's journey for worldwide

status. Bush was putting forth more than a hand of friendship; he was quick to make India a vital collaborator of the United States. The US National Security Strategy 2002, proclaimed that "the United States had attempted a change of its reciprocal association with India considering a conviction that US conspiracies require a solid association with India" (Mansingh, 2006).

If the Civilian nuclear and defense deal between India and Pakistan stay unchecked, it will give chance to Indian government to enhance its nuclear arsenal which is dangerous for Pakistan's security. It is the perception of Pakistani mass that such deal could be harmful for the stability of South Asia, which further damage relations among the States because Pakistan is geographically an important country lies in between the sensitive neighbors. Pakistan, India and potentially China, hence destabilizing the whole region (Muhammad, 2006).

5. Organization of the Study

Chapter one give an overview of the whole study and it also includes theoretical framework.

Chapter two discusses a detail history of Indo-US strategic Alliance from 1947-2000. Chapter three addresses the strategic relations between India and US from 2000-2015 along the factors of cooperation between the two states. Chapter fourth discusses the facets of Indo-US strategic Relationship. Chapter five is followed by conclusion with some recommendations.

Chapter 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF INDO-US RELATIONS

2. Introduction

The interest of countries did not converge for a long time because of the end of the Soviet Union and the rise of the unipolar world. India and US had slowly moved nearer which in the end led to the forging of Indo-US strategic partnership. The visit of the US president Bill Clinton in 2000, showed a warming up of mutual relations. The connection became strongest throughout the Bush administration, while America envisaged a strategic partnership with India and expected India as its natural ally. This chapter discusses the Indo-US relation from 1947-2001.

When the second global war came to end, there was a drastic situation of sub-continent. British rulers decided to make the sub-continent independent, it was a defining scenario to gain freedom as a united India but the sub-continent needed to be divided into two parts. The reason of partition became bitterly occurred because of difference of religious ideology.

After world war II the sovereign nations and western powers realized the issues of worldwide disputes and peace. They got together on a board and passed a resolution for international forum such as League of Nations. League of Nations was not able to provide forums for the global issues. The United Nations Organization came into existence on October 24, 1945. However, the international disputes along with Kashmir are still unresolved. The sub-continent partition happened the same time when the power game of cold war was begun by the world powers of two strong groups one was the western bloc led by United States of America and the other was eastern

bloc led by USSR. Western bloc also referred as capitalist or right arm and the alternative became socialist or left bloc. As the new born country, India had to be part of a bloc but at the contrary she declared herself a sovereign nation and joined an impartial forum of non-alliance movement. It turned into the platform of numerous sovereign states.

Indo-US relation were not very close throughout the Cold War and Pakistan was the member of American bloc. When Russia entered in Afghanistan, United States of America had an opportunity to stop the access of USSR and break its strength. It was very difficult without the help of Pakistan. During this era of ten years 1979-1989, United States and India couldn't have built good relations however soon after the end of Cold War USA enhance her arms of relation towards India and the relations have become stable after time to time with other westerns countries, however Pakistan effected by using volatile political situation and the terrorism which is a gift from right bloc and their forces in Afghanistan. In International Relation, the relationship between the India and United States is known to be the world's oldest and biggest democracies. The relationship become thick and thin on different basis including the conflicts between the communism and capitalism, global wars, trade and investment and for the international safety matters.

2.1 Indo-US Relations in the Cold War Era

The phase discusses the Indo-US relations during the Cold War era. The start of the Cold War shaped the Indo-US relations in the years immediately after the independence of Indian 1947. After Indian independence and till the stop of Cold War, the Indo-US relations were cold. This was because of the closeness of America towards India's arch-rival Pakistan. Pakistan was the member of the US-led western bloc in 1954.

India was endeavoring its earnest tries to task itself as a pioneer of the non-aligned movement. The very nature of the Indian independence movement meant that India had an empathy with such aspiring moves in Asia. India saw itself as a model for rising nations. Nehru turned into one of the founding members of the non-aligned movement (NAM). He coined the term "non-alignment" itself in the speech in 1954 in Colombo, Sri-Lanka. On that speech Nehru described the five principals to be used as a guide for Sino-Indian relations, those standards would later serve as the pillars of the non-Aligned Movement. The five principals were: mutual appreciate for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in domestic affairs, equality and mutual advantage, and non-violent co-lifestyles.

The reason of NAM was to navigate the perils of global politics, which was dominated by Cold War competition between America and Soviet Union. NAM consisted of the 1/3 world countries which did consider themselves, formally aligned with or against any major power bloc.

Throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, non-aligned movement became a major force in international relations. Through this policy, Nehru sought to acquire the status of a regional strength for India. Which means NAM was not a policy but a mean to obtain country wide objectives. It sought to build bridges among developed and developing worlds (Hessian, 2001).

Therefore, India moved in the direction of the Soviet Union and US cultivated Pakistan as an ally. It was simplest when US disappointed with India that America turned towards Pakistan. Since then Soviet Union started out supplying aid to India, and US to Pakistan. This caused a further divide between India and the US.

US took over the containment against the developing soviet communist extension through the association of navy partnerships, NATO, SEATO, and CENTO and so on the Panch-Sheel doctrine.

Nehru favored the Non-Alignment-movement during the Cold War and wisely got the money from both the super powers via adjusting India with Soviet Union at the same time as retaining up cordial relations with US which empowered India to get financial and monetary backing from the US and navy assist from the Soviet Union.

In the year 1962 US-Indian relations in the middle of the Cold War become at the height, when the US emphatically strengthened India politically, strategically and militarily during the Sino-Indian conflict. The 1965-1971 period denoting the bottom point in US- Indian relations. Nixon administration, dependence on Pakistan as the mediator in its opening to China, reinforced Islamabad against New Delhi despite the Pakistani junta's brutalization of its eastern areas, which brought approximately rebellion against Islamabad that ultimately extended a summed-up Indo-Pakistani war that bolted India and the US on inverse sides.

The relations between both the nations prospered after Indo – China struggle. US had to manage and control the spread of socialism crosswise over Chinese borders in this way, advanced and developed full collaboration in overhauling the Indian military. US pressured a financial and military ban on Pakistan and India in 1965 war with an angle to constraining both nations to acknowledge a ceasefire. Indo US relationship stayed at its most minimal during 1971 war. Indian government suspected that the Nixon Company sent a plane carrying warship to Pakistan.

The years 1971-1982 have been a cold period in the two-sided relations as the US endeavored to address its own annihilation in Vietnam and its revolutionary loss of impact in South Asia brought

on both by the thrashing of its associate, Pakistan in the 1971 war and the pointy increment in Soviet impact as an after-effect of the Indo-soviet treaty that was finished up only before 1971 war. The 1982-1991 period, along these lines, noticed cautiously bit by bit warming US- Indian relations, the warming turned into symbolized by new American endeavors to oblige Indian longings for double utilize excessive innovations with a give up aim to stop New Delhi far from over the top reliance on Moscow (Sultan, 2008).

India's first detonation of a nuclear device in Pokhran in 1974 attracted an excessive degree of public support. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that arguments for a non-nuclear-weapon policy continued not only from civilian officials, but also from military officials who warned that the costs of this type of policy would exceed its real advantages for Indian protection. Indian atomic tests of 1974 restricted US to actualize restraint measures against India and in the intervening time the western suppliers through the formation of the London club in 1975 requested full degree protection over any future.

Soviet's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 modified the global governmental issues. During 1980s, at the same time as the Pakistan-US relations have been on the peak, the Reagan Doctrine emphasized exchange of relations with India. It was the Rajiv duration (1984-89) amid which the main transactions amongst Indian and US arrangement creators were completed with appreciate to the exchange of barrier associated technology to India. (D.Ferguson, Reshapping the US-Indian Nuclear Deal to lessent the Nonproliferation losses, 2008).

The Kashmir question becomes possibly one of the biggest irritants in Indo US relations within the early years of the cold war. Initially, America did not want to get involved inside the Kashmir trouble. However, as the US and Pakistan drew nearer into alliance, the US till towards the Pakistan stance over the problem of Kashmir. The USA backing of Pakistan's principled stance to keep a

plebiscite in any respect international forums angered India. The US stance Kashmir changed into the one of the main factors that soured Indo-US relations within the cold war era. The nuclear issue was another source of Indo-US differences. According to Indian, the NPT turned into a discriminatory act; however, US refused to accept her arguments. This also creates difference between India and US.

United States close relation with Pakistan and India's close ones with Soviet Unions in the cold war. There cool relations were a product of divergent global views. The USA desired to include the Soviet threats and believes in politics in alliance, while India propagated the policy of nonalignment. Because of those diverging views they did not see eye to eye on political issues. They had diverging interests that avoided the relationship between India and US in this era.

2.2 Post-Cold War Era

The phase explores Indo- US relations after Cold War era. It argues that the collapse of the Soviet Union and end of a world dominated by two super powers changed the entire dynamics of the global politics. After the end of the Cold War, India-US relations in the principal half of the Nineteen Nineties have been portrayed as one of the 'missed possibilities and opposing approaches'. US and India kept on having contrasts on different kind of problems together with the expansion of the non-proliferation treaty (NPT) and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).

India-US financial and political, military relations have bitter for the duration of intense, Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) plan in 1995-1996 and a US ban at the Indian Space Research Company (ISRO) in 1992-1994 (McMahon, 1949).

The US considerations concerning the setting in the late Nineties become primarily based at the 3 occasions. Within the first place, India and Pakistan blasted an aggregate of eleven atomic devices

in May 1998. Secondly, at the two forces clashed in Kargil from May to July 1999, which introduced approximately a bloodless navy upset in Pakistan in October 1999. Third, President Clinton's visit to South Asia in March 2000, completed off a re modelling US South Asia procedure with a warm Washington-New Delhi rapprochement. The bush administration kept on changing the United States-Indian relations (Gushing, 2008).

India-United State relations have seen several ups and downs from the developmental period in their relations to the nuclearizing of south Asia. The security environment of South Asia has dependably been portrayed by the conventional contention amongst Pakistan and India; the key states in the South Asia (Bukhari, 2011).

India and America's relationship is strategic in nature, as it is driven by the economic and security compulsion. India shows the splendid vital image of 1971, when India could beat Pakistan because of the failure of Pakistan's strategic agreement. There was an agreement between army takeovers in Pakistan and its collusion with America. Dreadful that army coup infection that tormented Pakistan might also spread to India, the first Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, at the command of his counsellors, craved that military to military affiliation with United States of America ought to be lost.

The United States have become the unipolar military and political force after 1990, the breaking down of the Soviet Union in the Post-Cold War. The long - term US agreement appears to aid and support a superior position in South Asia. To be trying to find after its center and country wide interests and meet the greater up to date problems of security and exchange, the USA has changed its approach towards South Asia.

It became truly after the end of the Cold War and coming to force of the Narasimha Rao's legislature in India in 1991 that Indo – US relationship began to enhance. Rao's official's visits to the United States in May 1994 marks the onset of improved relations between the two nations. He highlighted the India interest in developing economic, investment and trade relations with America. In 1994 president Clinton set the objective of improving relations with India as one of the predominant outside strategy objectives of his regime. Clinton administration's policy goals towards South Asia was design to meet three goals; retaining the lid of proliferation of nuclear and ballistic missile technology, pushing US-India relations forward and maintaining aid and support for Pakistan as a quasi-democratic, incredibly pro-west Islamic states. In 1996 and 1997 the Indian and US naval forces held joint activities inside the Indian Ocean (M. Shiri, 2009).

May 1998 nuclear tests by India and Pakistan brought about a chain of sanctions being imposed on both countries. This position modified in the short time, urging India and Pakistan to maintain their nuclear forces non-deployed and at the lowest possible levels (Cohen, 2010).

The Clintons visit to India was an endeavor by India and joined states to put behind the frosty battle hindrances to building another relationship. President Clinton's five-day visit to India turned into additionally seen by some as acknowledgment of India's newly discovered status after its atomic tests. The USA is India's largest business sector and its biggest outside financial specialist. Both the states have decided to jointly work on different sectors. The institutionalization of a bilateral economic dialogue, the creation of joints consultative group on clean energy and the environment and the setting up of America-India Science and Technological forum to promote research and development and the transfer of technology was the point of discussion.

Prime Minister Vajpayee's visited to the USA in September 2000, was the intensification of the Indo-US relationship. The joint Clinton- Vajpayee exchange of visits statement stated that "closer

cooperation and stronger partnership between the two nations may be an important aspect in shaping a future of peace, prosperity, democracy, pluralism and freedom of this global.

The two leaders agreed that India and the US need to construct upon this new momentum of their relationship to further beautify mutual understanding and deepen cooperation across the full spectrum of political, economic, industrial, scientific, technological, social, and international problems. The truth that most of the Vajpayee joint statement treated non-navy issues.

In early 2000 Condoleezza Rice, the national security advisor to President Bush stated: "the USA ought to pay a close interest and attention to India with local stability. There is a strong, tender conceptually to connect India with Pakistan and to suppose handiest of Kashmir or the nuclear competition between the 2 states. India isn't always a superb power yet, but it has the capability to emerge as one".

Under the Bush government Indo-US relations have created at a pace that few should have predicted. It must be known as interest to that whilst politico-military bands have stored on developing. Numerous bureaucratic limitations remain, and improve on privatization has moderated. The two countries in the fields, such as statistics innovation, rural biotechnology and restorative innovation and pharmaceuticals have commenced an exchange in financial matters and in the zones of exchange, fund, environment, energy security and force. (M. Shiri, 2005).

The Indian Prime Minister Mr. P.V. Narsimha Rao and the American President George Bush and his successor Bill Clinton too extracted this new temper of world politics determined to re-orient their respective foreign policy for evolving a new ground of cooperation.

2.3 CONCLUSION

The chapter discussed the Indo-US relationship from 1947-2001. Indo-US did not enjoy friendly relations due to difference in worldwide and regional issues and troubles. During the Cold War era India accompanied the policy of non-alignment, through which it obtained the support of both the superpowers (US and Soviet Union). Collection of sanctions has been imposed on both countries after the 1998 nuclear explosions. American security strategy in the direction of South Asia can essentially be partitioned into three phases of equalization of force in the driving rain battle duration, past parity of force after the end of the Cold War, and new adjust of force after September 11, 2001. The Cold War noticed a partnered US and-Pakistan and close relations between the Soviet Union and India within the subcontinent. South Asia became a low need in the US.

The end of the Cold War has taken approximately a paradigm shift in India's approach to world affairs in general and the US. The emerging role of the Indian American community in building a social tie between the two nations, the exquisite scale of strategic engagements between the two countries are the pillars of a new flourishing Indo-US partnership. America of course, has overtly said its intention to facilitate India's emergence as a major global player.

Chapter 3

INDO-US RELATIONS IN THE POST 9/11 AND AREAS OF COOPERATION

3. Introduction

This chapter discusses the affinity between India and US in the post 9/11 era. It gives information about the factors which played the role to bring the two nations closer to each other. The visits of leaders of both the states and their close strategic, economic and anti-terrorism efforts, remains the part of this chapter.

In terms of technology and wealth the US becomes the world's leading country. India and United States are the two major democracies in the world and both share common standards of human liberty, respect for human privileges, equality and impartiality, respect for human civil rights, equality and justice. The United States and India are adoring increasingly close relations in the Post-Cold War. This implies a transformation of the two countries past relationship which was reflected by doubt and distrust. This change which was in progress with the termination of the Cold War has led to from a conjunction of organizational, internal, and individual direction factors. Indo-US relationship was categorized by contradictions but appeared as a new strategy. In the 21st century, the close relationships between the two countries are the result of convergence of interests at bilateral regional and global level (Ganguly, 2007).

Subsequently with the end of the Cold War the world political agenda has completely changed and United States supremacy was built up. In Post-Cold War era, the momentous change in exchange context, radical economy and forms of investment carried new connections between the countries. Varying the world condition, the United State is stressed to set up a structure of various leveled control, in which little states are viewed as responsible to more elevated amount and this component is more imperative in the current state System. United States turned into a world superpower and indicated by the liberal belief systems and its safety provisions.

The activities of Osama bin Laden rumors experienced this situation and gave another method for contemplations to comprehend the world political agenda. Because the world political system was totally changed after attack of terrorists in sept 11, on the world trade center. United States agreed the one-sided arrangement on the way to the global legislative issues and moved her consideration from atomic non-multiplication to psychological warfare, and vitality security for keeping up the territorial solidness. The policy of deterrence strikes and maintaining a strategic distance from the tenets of the United Nations turned into the real subject of its approach. The time which was more importance in both relations is the selection of Clinton as new president and when the BJP regime came into the power. The relations were so good among the two states; India has welcomed the Clinton Organization and disposed of the approach of 'offense.

The 9/11 attack against the US in 2001, has been an occasion of extraordinary retribution as it has marked an incredible change in the impression of the United States toward India. This had the impact of President George W. Bush to effectively consider teaming up with India for keeping control over highly essential Indian ocean path from the Suez to Singapore, which can secure US interests. Both the leaders had communicated a solid and standing enthusiasm for changing the US-India reciprocal relationship. After a high-profile meeting and links between the two nations

in the post 9/11, the U.S and India commonly concurred for propelling of the Next Steps in Strategic Partnership (NSSP), which was welcomed as both a turning point in the change of the respective bond and an outline for its additional advance.

3.1 Relations in Post 9/11 Era

The September 11, assaults grew close and exceptional connections between the US and the South Asia. Pakistan was a very powerful counter in the South Asia, India always keep an eye for the check and balance. India always tries to play its greater role in the situations like war on terror but Pakistan has a great importance and is the close friend of United States in the war on terror in Afghanistan. India has always tried to divert US attention towards her, especially in a case related to Pakistan. During the terrorist operation in Afghanistan India has offered her grand help to the US, but the purpose was somehow in her own favor. The purpose was to get peace in the back yard of Pakistan, therefore it was considered a security threat to Pakistan.

Indian officials were much concerned about the US policies towards Pakistan in the war on terrorism, US lifted assents and gave monetary guide and gave legitimacy to the Pakistani government (Mohan, 2002). India gave a promise to United States to coordinate fully in the war on terror after 9/11 yet this announcement was not reliable for US about Indian non-alignment approach amid the long stretch of Cold War. India surveyed that convincing minute in the worldwide issues has come and ought to be seized unequivocally. Another source was to inspire support to announce the Kashmiri prospect development as fear based domination.

The Bush administration policy pre-emptive were not in the favor of the Indian government as well as the closeness with Pakistan against the War on Terrorism. India and United States have different views about Pakistan regarding the ongoing War on Terrorism according some analyst, India was much afraid about the extremist groups prevailing in Pakistan and put the pressure on

Pakistan for being a terrorist state. On the other hand, America considers Pakistan a very important and a force to tackle the destruction coming from the extremist groups. India always blamed Pakistan for the destruction in the regional and global level.

In September 2001, United States expanded the national Security Agenda in search of terror located in Afghanistan. The series of the technology transferred took place between the India and United States. Before a year US president Bill Clinton has visited the India. This was the first time, when he visited to the India in the Government of Atal Bihari Vajpayee. The tour was based on numerous agendas but the important one is to build the strategic alliance between both countries. During his visit, some formal speeches, statements as well as few agreements were signed by the officials of both countries. This was a step forward to establish a new bilateral partnership. (Nayan, 2000).

The expansion of the relationship was based on the interest of both Washington and New Delhi. Both India and United States have a goal to secure the world from global terrorism, to bring the peace at the international level, improving and re-establishing Afghanistan, and to secure energy supplies all over the Indian Ocean basin (Fair, 2005).

As the coming of the republican party power led by Bush strengthened the Clintons opening to India. At the inauguration of George Presidency, he avowed that, with so many years US did not have any close associations with India but it's the time to get closer to each other. They celebrated an inevitable reality that they are destined to have a cognitively different and better relationship. George W Bush strengthened Clintons opening in India and labelled India as one of the biggest democracies of the 21st century and an alleviating force in Asia. New Delhi and Washington inaudibly started a continued two-year dialogue that would eventually, which was the strategic

initiative in 2004 called the Next Step in Strategic Partnership and in the same year Pakistan was labelled as US non-NATO partner.

President George W Bush, has visited India for a three-day trip. This trip was also important for both states because they have agreed to engage in a Civil Nuclear Cooperation Agreement. US agreed to provide civil nuclear cooperation and India agreed to Separate its civil and military facilities. This was a great opportunity for India to have close ties with a superpower. The Indian civil facilities would have checked by the International Atomic Energy Agency. The Agreement was important both for the India and United States. President Bush has stated on the Event, that the deal was not easy to be signed between the two states but they hoped it would be help full for both nations.

This Agreement was signed in 2005 which gave chance to the Indian nation to free from the sanctions over its rejection to sign the nuclear non- proliferation treaty. Both leaders understood the strategic cooperation will be helpful in dealing various issues.

While dealing with the strategic relations different opinions came from opposition parties but United States lift all the sanction from India. India got freedom to exchange nuclear technology with different nations, giving India a way for the Nuclear Supplier Group. Future historians may conclude that the most successful achievement of the Bush presidency was the formation of a new U.S. concern with India. The Bush regime was highly appreciated by the India because of the civil nuclear and defense deal. The agreement gave a new status to the India to became a major power of the Asia (Labott, 2009).

At the July 2005 summit, president Bush affirmed that “common security objective” would make India a diplomatic and strategic companion, spelling out Americas strategic actuality. It will

essentially look beyond its historical supporters such as Britain, Europe and Japan to face the challenges. In September 2008, the US Congress has allowed to sign the deal of strategic alliance between India and the US. Mostly nations believe on the market value which is Important for economic growth. The global and regional requirements provided them the basis for political and security collaboration. The merging of interest between the India and United States provided an opportunity to forge long term and long-lasting relations.

The Indian Government found an opportunity to put weight on Pakistan to change its position against the Taliban Government. India rushed to offer a wide range of help to US against her attack of Afghanistan. India felt down and out with the Pakistan, US joint determination against terrorism and systematized a show of the terrorist assault on her parliament on 13 December 2001 and assembled her military and put them along the fringe to Pakistan to put weight on President Musharraf to stop cross actions.

The great military to military exercises and counter insurgency trainings held between the two nations. both states had naval, air and ground exercises. Both countries arranged at least five joint combat exercises. In Jammu and Kashmir both countries have special forces focused on the actions and training near the China India border. Several United States army personnel have undertaken jungle terrain training at the Counterinsurgency and Jungle Warfare (CIJW) School in India's northeastern state of Mizoram. The United States supported to India under the International Military Education and Training (IMET).

The July 2006, psychological militant strikes indicating the railroad arrange in Mumbai shaped extra possibility for respective coordinated effort. India's External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee, depicted the Indo-US civil nuclear personnel atomic arrangement (2008) as 'essential to endure India's development rate, and that atomic power will specifically raise India's

development rate' (Embassy of India, 2008). Prime Minister Modi's visit to USA and Obama return visit to India, was a big signal of change in Foreign policies of both states. Russia has been a Big Brother to India from very long time, but now being deteriorated by the economic disaster. India openly knows that to disassemble safe-heavens of terrorist organizations like Al-Qaeda, India need the help of the USA. On November 6-9, 2010 President Barack Obama visited India. His then visit with PM Manmohan Singh was observed to deepen the economic connections between both States. President Barack Obama stressed the mutual 'terrorist' uncertainties of the United States and India, and the continued strategic interdependence (CNN, 2009). Obama endures to congratulated India-US collective corporations as 'one of the important partnership of the twenty first century (Das, 2012).

The United States declared its expect to bolster India's staged acceptance into the four multilateral fare control frameworks (the Nuclear Suppliers Group, Missile Technology Control Regime, Australia Group, and Wassenaar Arrangement), persisting endeavors started in the Bush organization to bring India completely into the restraint standard. Notwithstanding its part as a potential innovation advocate, India will demonstrate a fundamental and developing political piece of worldwide.

US President Barack Obama visited India and backed its bid for a permanent UN Security Council seat. In 2011, the two countries signed a MoU to promote cyber-security cooperation. India and US have restored a structure settlement for defense agreement for a further 10 years in June 3, 2015. This was proclaimed after talks between Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and US President Barack Obama at the Oval Office in Washington. The two pioneers ensured to upsurge two-sided ties on vitality, essentialness, security and structure during the visits of 2015. Both the

countries currently share an extensive and expanding economic, military, strategic, cultural relationship.

3.2 Areas of Cooperation

There are number of areas where interests of USA and India coincide. Some of them are discussed as below.

The US and India is the world's famous democracies, have identified the significance of promoting democratic standards and organizations around the world. In post 9/11 era, American global objective can be imagined by studying its policy documents. The US National Security strategy 2002 has highlighted the following themes:

- The requirement for dramatic changes in military and US security strategy commonly.
- Replacing the Cold War containment strategy with a policy of pre-emptive military action.
- The requirement to form a range of associations to better cover the whole world.
- Free markets and free trade are the main priorities in the US notion of national safety.

In addition to the US policy creators stress the necessity to form military alliances to implement the military strategies. The US defense strategy 2005 makes this very clear "Our strategic objective is not achievable without the provision and support of accomplished partner at home and abroad". The United States is renovating its security relationship and we are seeking to advance those of our Partners. We want to rise our partners "Capabilities and their ability to operate together with the US." With the beginning of the, dream of the United State uni-polarity was changed in several grounds. The Post-Cold War era paved a transnational period in which new powers arose and new security challenging were encountered such as the incident of 9/11 (Larivé, Foreign Policy Association, 2014).

3.2.1 Rise of the China

The rise of the China in the Asia is a big challenge to the US. It is now vital for the United states to preserve its hegemony in the region. It is important for the security of South Asia to bring peace through alliance. China as a rising power and on the other hand United States as super power had competition for Hegemony. This give an opportunity to India gain a great power status. India to hut its old attitude and reforms its external and safety policies to protect its security and other benefits.

The US allied with India for improving its status quo in the world and India showed willingness to became a regional power in the Asia. This depicts that states fight or cooperate for the interest of the nation (Kronstadt, 2009).

Chinese expansion in the trade around the world put pressure on the United states, for that India support was vital for US. In the history, India had some border tension with China. This partnership is crucial for the both states to build strategic ties. Twenty first century is the era of cooperation not destructions so countries like US and India, Pakistan and China had created the atmosphere of collaborative measures. In the years, ahead at least the matters of peace and prosperity will be decided in Asia (Robert Kagan, 2007).

3.2.2 Indian Ocean Security

In the 21st century, Indian ocean security has been the basic issue. In the east Asia, the Indian ocean connected the Persian Gulf which are the oil rich states. The Indian Ocean has its vital

importance because it links European Atlantic strategy with the Specific Strategy. Indian presence in the Indian Ocean is important. The significance of the Indian sea, which connects the oil rich Persian Gulf with rising vitality in East Asia. From a geological discerning, the subcontinent and Indian sea join Washington-European-Atlantic with its Asia Pacific. The two were incoherent in the harsh elements war and the early years after the end of the Cold War with potential dangers coming from the specific eventual fate of both Russia and China. It is India that could play out a key part in the new way (Lehr, 2002).

Washington has as often as possible promoted the new relationship. A characteristic relationship between the two multi ethnic majority rule governments. However, it is just military matters that India would probably create in its association with the US. The US wants the Indian Navy to help as a barrier against China as it turns out to be more enthusiastic in the Indian Ocean. Likewise, there is a zone where US naval force can't control for example, the Strait of Malacca where the Indian presence may be viewed as less undermining than that of the US. On vitality security, India and China have discovered participation to simple access in Iran, yet as discovering new assets of oil turns out to be risky. This may be a region of contention between them. For instance, China sees the Andaman Ocean of the Myanmar Coast as an imperative wellspring of oil to fuel the monetary development of China's western territories. Notwithstanding, New Delhi sees assembling a port at Dawei, Myanmar as a key calculate its future wellbeing for the area. China's nearness is an undesirable advance for India.

However, one should not forget about the challenges that are still dominant as India aims to be a strong regional performer in the Indo-Pacific. One of the tasks is of course set by China. China's motivation to control the Sea Lanes of Communications (SLOCs) in the Indian Sea and its formation of a chain of friendly island countries only intensifies the existing bilateral pressures

among India and China. Indo-American joint anti-terrorist patrols along the Malacca Strait, straddling Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore, they fear that Washington would use New Delhi's naval asset to block its fleets from entering those waters (Ward, 2016).

3.2.3 Economic Force

Economic forces also played a significant part in the progress of Indo-US strategic ties because India is known to be fastest growing economy in the world. At the domestic level, their country's economic failings made clear to Indian leaders that their socialist development model was no longer tenable, prompting number of market-oriented reforms brought India closer to the US. The struggles towards setting up an Indo-US commercial alliance marked a fresh development in the bilateral connection. United States and India are the real collaborators in respect to economic, science and technology. A Growth rate in the Indian economy has steadily increased in the Post 9/11 period, numerous aspects contributed a strong appearance on the Indian economy (Morrison, 2004).

America is lacking skilled personnel in many professions, not only in research and progress and high tech. As India, economic development gains greater depth it will absorb more and more of her own educated manpower, but it will also be helpful in providing a large part of US manpower requirements. Simply because of India's more advantageous demographic vis-a-vis other populated states. The US will thus fascinate many of India's best and brightest brains, in a wide variation of grounds, including science, technology, medicine, business and management.

As for financial endeavor and science and innovation participation, the United States is India's colleague of decision. India's English-speaking and Western-arranged world class and white collar classes peacefully join forces with their partners in U.S. firms and establishments. The U.S. higher

instructive framework is example of future partnership, with more than 100,000 Indian understudies in American colleges (Neotia, December 2015).

India has strong democracy and is strong economy of the world, but it is not equal to China. US economic cooperation will make it stout enough to counter Chinese rising economy. Pakistan is a weak economy, but it will be a powerful economy through CPEC. Pakistan and China are currently working on many projects to boost up the economy of Pakistan and US is Trying to strengthen India's Economy. This idea creates another avenue of a New Cold War which is economic completion. Pakistan will try its level best to boost up its economy through various projects of china in the region. China will create many obstacles in the way of the development of economy through various conspiracies like the threat of the annulling Indus water treaty.

3.2.4 Democratic Credential of India and US

Democracy is measured as an aspect for stability and the raise of peace in world politics. India's democracy and demographic characteristics are softening assessed in American policy circles. It is the populous nation on earth and will ultimately overtake China by 2025 (W., 2010). India arises as a pluralistic and secular democracy is measured as a model of stability and modernization.

During visit of Prime Minister Manmohan launched "Global democracy initiative" in which both approved that India and the US share an important assurance to equality and trust. They have an obligation to the global community to strengthen values, thoughts and practices of freedom, diversity and rule of law. They distinguish equality as a general detached that surpasses social, cultural and religious boundaries. The practices which they have prefer to do are to re-enforce values, practices of freedom and series and rule of law.

3.2.5 Cooperation in War on Terrorism

One significant side of the increasing association among India and the United States is the issuance of many joint statements on increased counterterrorism cooperation. In the post-9/11 scenario the perceived sense that the two countries are victims of 'terrorism' has reinforced their determination to fight the scourge.

To counter terrorism is the one of important agreement between the India and United States. In the Post September 11, both India and US faced numerous attacks from the extremist groups. These two have determined to fight against such aggression to save the world. In satisfaction of this reason, India and the United States kept up the UN Global Counter Terrorism Strategy acknowledged by the UN General Assembly in September 2006 and have sought after endorsement of the draft UN Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism.

The counter terrorism was not easy job for the states like Pakistan, US and India. India provided it military bases to the United States in case of any urgency they can use Indian bases. India also had facilitated US with satellite images during US-led Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) in Afghanistan (Cordesman, 2002).

India's situation against radicalism and terrorism links with that of the United States. India suffered terribly from terrorism over the last three decades, and the United States is determined to prevent, discourage, and disrupt the terrorist groups that most threaten it. There was no hesitation to India's offer of support to the United States following the attacks of September 11, 2001, because India observed its national benefits as congruent with those of the United States' in uprooting transnational terrorist groups. Also, the United States quickly exhibited law implementation and insight collaboration after the attack in Mumbai that began on November 26, 2008.

In the United States, some scholars think, India as a well-meaning, long haul collaborator for more prominent counterterrorism collaboration, even while critical asymmetries hold on and restrict the relationship. Given India's incomprehensible involvement in counterterrorism, counter-opiates, counter-multiplication, and peacekeeping operations, more prominent interoperability and coordination with the Indian military can possibly help US in her mission (Fair C. C., 2005).

The situation of Post 9/11, was same in India and United States. The path which both states have cooperated was same. United States wanted to eliminate terrorist activities from its root. This was the vision of both states which bought them together with other national interests. The United States and India share the goal of balancing out Afghanistan, keeping in mind the end goal to negate booking for fear based oppressor systems focusing on American and Indian natives and interests. India is at present a key accomplice of the United States in shoring up support for Afghanistan through outside guide and long haul vital concurrences with Kabul. Respective counterterrorism participation has additionally been fortified in issue-regions past those straightforwardly associated with Afghanistan, particularly in the wake of the 2008 fear based oppressor assault in Mumbai (D'Souza, 2008).

The Strategic Partnership which was set apart during the visit of Afghanistan President Hamid Karzai to India on October 04, 2011 was the principle statement that Afghanistan has formally gone into with any country to help guarantee its security and is associated with the drawdown of US forces from Afghanistan. It was proposed to reproduce Afghanistan. In any case, the Government of Afghanistan also observes the strong ties with India as an approach to lighten the sentiment shortcoming and fit for assisting the war-removed nation with balancing the vulnerable nation by excellence of the crippling power fight expected in the power vacuum taking after the withdrawal in 2014 of the US and NATO qualities. It is another estimation in budgetary relations

to enable Kabul to organize more sufficiently with the Indian economy and distinctive economies in South Asia (Raiphea, 2013).

3.2.6 Kashmir Issue

One of the important and existing problem between the south Asian rivals is the Kashmir issue. The UNSC also didn't find the solutions to the issue of Kashmir. United states want to avert war between India and Pakistan. It means that US desires to manage the crises and not solve it by engaging itself as a mediator. There is a vivid reason of US strategic interests connected with India and the popular narrative of terrorism. It can be seen in the perspective of Kashmir issue very clear. US is not going to play its role in UN security council to convince its members for implementation of UN resolutions on Kashmir, nor its willing to perform its part as a mediator. US only give a lip-service of bilateral negotiations between India and Pakistan to solve Kashmir issue. There was a hope of US assertive role in Kashmir case in 1990s during Clinton Administration but faded away by 1998 nuclear tests and 1999 Kargil crisis.

3.2.7 Military Cooperation

India has a firm standing military has good ties with the United States. Both armies of the US and India are carrying out joint exercises in the Indian Ocean. US is trying to improve Indian army to counter Chinese army, it threats Pak army. The Pak Army has many joint schemes with Chinese army to pledge the nexus of US and India. Currently Indian army is not able to dissuade the Chinese army; Pak army is formulated to counter Indian Army. Indian army never defeated Pakistan in three major wars because the Pak Army is famous for its valour. US-Indian Army Support will strengthen Pak China Nexus in the future. Pak Army will be reinforced with the help of China and this situation will create an atmosphere of Cold War in the South Asia.

3.2.8 Nuclear Cooperation

India as a non-signatory of the CTBT while United States has signed a nuclear deal with India; this act of US forms many suspensions in Moscow and Beijing. On the one side US is pressurizing the countries like Pakistan, Israel and India to sign CTBT but on the other side US is ready to sign nuclear and defense deals with India. This openly shows that US is busy in struggling, a new competition with China.

3.3 Conclusion

Twenty-first century is seeming to be very important for both India and United States to bring changes in their foreign policies. United States considered India a most powerful and dominating country in Asia. India is considered as the most potential state to counter China by most of the analyst. Both India and America came closer after the civil nuclear deal but the strategic cooperation was started in 2004, where both states have agreed to cooperate to counter Global War on Terrorism. The reasons of this closeness are the shared values of democracy and laws. These values and convergence of interest bought the two nations close to each other. India and US has unexpected and abundant military. United States is providing large number of weapons to India and proceeding the transfer of technology to use it against the war on terror. These two states are known as the terror partners of twenty-first century.

The second section of the chapter has discussed the cooperative measure of both the states. India and US were the oldest democracies and both know the importance of military capabilities for pre-

emptive strikes. India has a strong hold on the Indian Ocean, for that it was in both countries interest to cooperate with each other. Economic growth is possible through bilateral ties, for this Indian Ocean plays an important role. US naval forces keep their eye on Chinese moves in the Ocean. Another cooperative element is the role of the Indian diaspora in US played an important role in Research and Development. The Indian intellectuals are working in the US Organization which directly or indirectly provide benefit to both states. Terrorism as a most burning issue after 9/11, was also one the most important tool for the India to get closer to the Superpower through her support. After Post 9/11, both the nations agreed on to work closely on the nuclear, defense, space, and technology transfer.

Chapter 4

FACETS OF INDO-US STRATEGIC RELATIONS

4. Introduction

The chapter discusses the Facets of the Indo-US strategic relations. It argues that due to the convergence in Indo-US strategic interests after 9/11, India and the US have developed tremendous cooperation in defense, civil nuclear field, missile defense as well as in space.

The US and India signed their first agreement relating to defense relations in 1995, which provided for joint exercise and a trade programme. The 1998 nuclear tests provided a temporary slowing down of Indo-US relations which later picked up when nuclear tests related sanctions were lifted in 2001. President Clinton's visit to India in 2000 opened a new chapter in Indo-US rapprochement and statement titled "Indo-US Relations: A vision for the 21st century", was signed. The military-strategic cooperation between the two countries reached new heights with the Bush Administration continuing and expanding the framework of this strategic partnership. Indo-US relations took another leap on January 12, 2004 when the two governments announced the "next Steps in Strategic Partnership(NSSP) initiative to expand cooperation in three areas which are the civilian nuclear activities, civilian space programs, and high- technology trade.

Indo-US defense relations received another boost on June 28, 2005, when the two countries signed a "10-year Defense Framework Agreement". Again, on July 18, 2005, President Bush and Indian

Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, in their joint statement, declared their intention to establish a global strategic partnership in fields ranging from economics to nuclear cooperation. The civil nuclear cooperation which was first agreed in July 18, 2005 and the Nuclear Agreement was formally signed on March 2, 2006.

The expansion in Indo-US strategic relations is the growing convergence of interests. The two countries profess to share values such as commitment to democracy, combating the global threat of terrorism, ensuring the integrity of sea lanes of control and securing energy supplies throughout the Indian Ocean. The US sees China's emergence as an economic and military power with concern, a concern that is shared by India, which considers China a military opponent along with Pakistan. For building India's potential as an economic, military and nuclear counterweight to China serves the interest of both India and the US. Moreover, on India's part. The emerging strategic partnership offers a promise of lucrative US technologies. For the US, besides the strategic consideration, India offers a large market for its trade, arms and nuclear and space technology.

The changed global environment marked by "the rise of terrorism and its potential intersection with weapons of mass destruction, the interests of India and the United States known as the world's largest democracy and the world's oldest increasingly converged." These statements indicate how the US perceives India are harbingers ever deepening involvement of Washington and New Delhi.

After NSSP in 2004, US and India has decided to further the relationship. In 2005 US secretary of state Condoleezza Rice visited India. In her visit, she stated that India is not only economic partner but US sees India as a strategic partner with common interest and challenges. She also indicated India to become a world major power in the 21st century.

The emerging strategic partnership between India and US has several dimensions, which are military/defense, the civilian nuclear deal, and missile defense, maritime and Space Cooperation. It is important to study each to determine what would be the Implications of the partnership for Pakistan's security.

4.1 The Indo-US Civilian Nuclear Deal

The Indo-US civilian nuclear cooperation agreement is the most important dimension of the growing strategic partnership between the two countries. According to Nicholas Burns, it has "become the symbolic centerpiece of a growing global partnership between the two countries." The Indo-US deal is also known as the 123 Agreement, was agreed in principle on July 18, 2005 but was formally signed on March 2, 2006 during President Bush's Visit to India. The stated goals of the deal are "Promoting nuclear power and achieving energy Security. President Bush made the proposition in July 2005 when Indian Prime Minister Visited Washington. This presented a new turn in the Indo-US cooperation. Since over 30 years of opposition to India's nuclear status and ambitions, the US was prepared to offer India the full benefits of nuclear cooperation. (Squassoni, 2005).

The deal provided India access to civilian nuclear technology and material from the US and other members of the nuclear Supplier group (NSG). In return, India promised to separate its civil and military facilities, place its civilian nuclear facilities and programs 'Voluntarily' under the IAEA safeguards and adhere to the guidelines of the NSG and the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) (sheet, 2006).

India also undertook to sign and adhere to an Additional Protocol with respect to civilian nuclear facilities; continue India's unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing; working with the US for the

conclusion of a multilateral Fissile Material Cut Off Treaty; to refrain from the transfer of enrichment and reprocessing technologies to states that do not have them and supporting international efforts to limit their spread. All this was meant to bring India into the international non-proliferation mainstream (Hosur, 2010).

There are several contentious issues regarding the Indo-US deal. First and foremost is the separation plan for its nuclear facilities. India has agreed to place 14 out of its 22 nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards. It is highly questionable whether the partial safeguards would be adequate for ensuring that there is no diversion of civil nuclear assistance to nuclear weapons use. Many nuclear power reactors, using Canadian supplied technology, will not be placed under IAEA inspection. These facilities can be used both to produce electricity and weapons-quality plutonium. Moreover, India managed to keep its Fast Breeder Reactors (FBRs) out of the civilian nuclear facilities listed because of their production of weapons-grade plutonium. Moreover, India plans to build at least five commercial-scale breeder reactors and would be free to dedicate this to its military nuclear programme. India made it clear that “it will be the autonomous Indian decision as to what is ‘civilian’ and what its ‘military’ (Esther Pan, 2008).

4.2 Defense Cooperation

The section explores the Indo-US military cooperation. It argues that Indo-US defense cooperation provides a solid basis for the overall bilateral relationship as well as enhances India’s defense capability.

Although India has been a user of US defense equipment produced since the 1960s, the defense relationship never went deeper as the US perceived India to be firmly in the Soviet camp during the cold war. Enterprising defense initiatives like the 1984 MoU on technology transfer, 1987

Lindstrom report, 1991 kickleighar proposals and 1995 Agreed Minute on Defense, kept military relations alive but they lacked strategic underpinning. Today Indo-US Defense cooperation has many dimensions including the scale, purchase and joint development of military equipment, transfer of technology, intelligence sharing and coordination for counter-terrorism and counter-proliferation, cooperation in jointly providing relief in the joint patrolling of sea lanes of communication against piracy and terrorism. A Step toward setting up critical military and barrier relations were taken in the 1990s. The primary such stride was the marking of 1995 Agreed Minutes identifying with barrier relations, which accommodated joint practice and exchange program. The Agreed Minutes imagined participation considering three perspectives. The first activity is having nearer ties at the level of non-military personnel safeguard administration between the formally dressed administrations; and in the field of barrier generation and research. (Sharma, 2008).

The second real activity came as the NSSP activity, dispatch in January 2004. As indicated by NSSP the US and India consented to grow collaboration in three ranges which are atomic exercises, space projects and high technology exchange. This was known as the trinity of issues amongst India and the US. It was later named the quartet of issues when participation was vowed on rocket safeguards too.

Defense relations went closer after the bilateral talks of the leaders of the both states and exchange of visit bought more closeness in the relationship. The elimination of the terrorist active can be guaranteed through the sharing of the shared values. The communicated goal of the watch association was the common security interests of "keeping up security and robustness; vanquishing mental fighting and harsh religious enthusiasm, keeping the spread of weapons of mass destruction and related material, data and propels, and guaranteeing the land, air and sea ways. suit of

accomplishment of these objectives the understanding tried to direct joint and consolidated practice and trades, team up in multinational operations, fortify the capacities of the two militaries to advance security and thrashing fear mongering, upgrade abilities to battle the multiplication of weapons of mass annihilation; grow two-way resistance exchange between or nations; increment openings innovation exchange, coordinated effort, co-creation, innovative work; lead trades on barrier technique and safeguard change; and increment trades of knowledge. The barrier approach Group, framed in the wake of 1995 understanding, was to fill in as the essential system to manage the US-India vital guard relationship (Muhammad, Indo-US Civilian Nuclear Cooperation Agreement: Implications on South Asian Security Environment , 2006) . Again on July 18, 2005 in a joint explanation the pioneers of the two nations consented to additionally harden the reason for extending reciprocal exercises, participation on high innovation, business in space, common atomic vitality and double utilize innovation. This demonstrated a continually developing of resistance relations amongst India and the US (Latif, 2012).

The structure of Indo-US protection collaboration therefore of the Agreed minutes of 1995 and 10 years' safeguard settlement incorporates exercises of five consultative gatherings which help the energy of barrier participation. These incorporate the Defense arrangement Group(DPG) ; the Military Cooperation Group which manages Army-to-Army , Navy-to-Navy, Air-drive o Air-constrain dialog on trade of faculty, joint activities, instructional classes; the Defense acquisition and creation Group which manages issues of co-generation, joint advancement; joint Technical Group manages barrier R&D and collaboration in life science, aviation, and test systems and so forth and senior Technical Security Group which incorporates trades on specialized security.

These gatherings have standard meeting, which have brought about agreement in various zones including missile defense, local security issues, peacekeeping preparing, helpful calamity

alleviation, counter psychological warfare, result administration, natural concerns, inquiry and save, joint maritime watches, uncommon strengths preparing, air battle preparing and joint activities.

A military cooperative arrangement between the US and India that includes the opening up of all Indian military bases to the US, serves the Indo-US shared agenda of keeping China under check (Rizvi, 2016).

4-2. 1 Navy-to-Navy cooperation

A three-year program of substantive activities joined operations, port visits and meetings were propelled in between India and US. The exercises included inquiry and protect operations, antisubmarine fighting, and in addition the continuation of the Malabar series of maritime activities. Both states had conceded to joint utilization of preparing destinations, strategic support, airspace control, individual trades and plans to battle fear based terrorism and piracy. (Yoshihara, 2013). India and the United States had long joint maritime practice in the Arabian ocean. Almost 750 US naval forces work were contributed in what is being portrayed as the biggest ever respective work out, intended to increment operational activities between the two naval forces.

4.2.2 Army to Army Cooperation

The Indian Army is the world's second biggest Army, with somewhere in the range of 1.1 million dynamic work force. A Security participation program for 2002 and a structure for exercises for 2003 to 2004 were started in separate years. These Includes high height and other joint trainings, debacle administration, master and military school trades.

The United States saw the part of technological exchange as happening altogether just inside the setting of a develop safe relationship. The United States suspected that the premise of the

relationship ought to be administration to-administration contacts as opposed to technology agreement. India, while yielding the estimation of such contacts, trusted that forthright innovation exchange was a litmus trial of genuine purpose with respect to the United States. This was a standout amongst the most vital explanations behind past disappointments to set up vigorous Indo-US military relations.

The ties of Indo-US military-to-military ties have declined as of late due to the US-drove military activity in Iraq, which has put a huge strain on the armed force and exceptional powers. As both armed forces, have tried to extend counterterrorism participation and related preparing and have incorporated each other in national, reciprocal, and multinational exercises. First of these activities was held in India in March and April 2004 at India's Counter Insurgency Jungle Warfare School at Variegate. From the U.S side, these armed force to-armed force engagements are significant because they will conceivably shape a situation where India can get the innovation that it desires (Fair, 2007).

From the US viewpoint, extended military-to-military ties will advance better comprehension of each other's frameworks and conventions. This would have liked to empower both armed forces to work better during open possibilities. One of the imperative watermarks in this relationship is accomplishing interoperability, or the capacity of hardware held by both armed forces to talk to each other. At present this does not exist. In any case, it is trusted that the more the armed forces practice together, the more prominent the method of reasoning for furnishing India with good gear, correspondences and advances. This is a charming merging with India's craving to buy such things from the United States through remote military deals. From the US side, these armed force to-armed force engagements are significant because they will perhaps shape a situation where India can get the innovation that it wants. The armed force needs hardware to empower it to bargain

particularly with militancy in Jammu and Kashmir (e.g. AK arrangement attack rifles, lighter and more deadly programmed weapons, lightweight rocket launchers, specific explosives, body defensive layer, shield ensured light vehicles, present day binoculars, compasses, expert rifleman rifles and extensions). Quite a bit of this hardware is expected to improve the capacities of unique strengths commandos who are compelled to battle an all-around outfitted and all around prepared foe with vintage gear (NBR, 2010).

4.2.3 Air Force –to-Air Force

Senior air force officials from India and the United States met in India on 12-15 Dec 2016, to discuss operational concepts, build relationships and chart the way ahead for future training exchanges, visits and exercises throughout the U.S. Pacific Command area of responsibility. During the three-day meeting, U.S. and Indian Air Force representatives developed plans for their common operating platforms like the C-17 Globemaster III and C-130J Super Hercules as well as flying and security exercises, professional development of the IAF enlisted force and subject matter expert exchanges. This would cover ranges, for example, pursuit and safeguard and bolster necessities for airlift forces. The financial plan of universal military instruction and preparing in India multiplied in 2002 to \$1 million and India got subsidizing to improve its peacekeeping training facilities (Das A. K., 2012).

In the past five years, there have been 40 joint exercise including Indo-US forces and US Marines have conducted joint exercises in anti-terror operation in India counterinsurgency and the jungle warfare school. The next, hosted by the Indian Air force, is scheduled for December 2017.

4.3 US Technology to India

In April 2002, in the core U.S-Indian weapon bargain in over 10 years, India consented to purchase 8 Raytheon Co. long-extend weapons finding radars. The radar framework worth \$ 146 million is intended to pinpoint foe long-go mortars, mounted guns and rocket launchers (Mazari, 2005). In December 2004, the US offered India C-130 extended medium-lift transport flying machine, P-3C Orion oceanic reconnaissance planes, and even F-16 contenders. The US has additionally offered Perrey-class frigates and ocean Hawk helicopters, and concoction and organic insurance gear. India did not take (Srivastava, 2003). The offer of F-16s and the arrangement to rent of two P-3C was dismisses by India at last. The US has likewise offered the fire-discovering radars, GE 404 motors or the light battle Aircraft and electronic ground sensors for use on the LOC in Jammu and Kashmir and counter fear based oppression gear for India's Special Forces (Mansingh, 2006). On January 2007, the U.S exchanged a land and water capable transport dispatch, the USS Trenton, to India. The U.S has additionally offered F/A-18 air ship with the likelihood of co-creation courses of action. Designed to meet India's propelled contender stream needs. Additionally, India is hoping to purchase up to 126 new warrior planes esteemed up to \$10 billion in the following decade. US organizations have been more than anxious to vie for stream bargain. On February 2008, US Defense Secretary Robert Gates flew out to India to push for the common atomic arrangement and to push US offers for the 126 warrior planes deal (R.Holmes, 2007).

Russia was the biggest provider of military gear to India. Regardless it is the provider of 80% of India's resistance hardware. But India has tried to broaden its providers base, halfway because of disappointment with Russian hardware and incompletely because of cost viability, additionally the problems in its local creation programs have driven India to look for remote sources. According to the International Institute of vital Studies, India's military use developed by 24%, as it has turned out to be one of the biggest purchasers of resistance hardware. India's barrier buys are anticipated

to twofold to more than \$32 billion, climbing to \$85 billion. Also, with a guard spending plan of \$20 billion for simply the year, India is in fact a major business open door for the US arms providers (Louscher, 2002).

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US has moreover offered F/A-18 plane with the probability of co-era approaches, designed to meet India's moved contender fly needs. Furthermore, India is planning to buy up to 126 new warrior planes regarded up to \$10 billion in the next decade (R. Holmes, 2007). US associations have been more than restless to compete for fly course of action. On February 2008, US Defense Secretary Robert Gates made an outing to India to push for the normal nuclear course of action and to push US offers for the 126 warrior planes deal.

4.4 Indo-US Maritime Cooperation

There is impressive maritime collaboration amongst India and the US. They marked the Indo-US Framework for sea security Cooperation, whereby they promised to address sea security issues

like "piracy and armed robbery at sea, dangers to wellbeing of boats, team, and property and in addition wellbeing of route; transnational composed violations in all measurements. The illegal trafficking and weapons of mass obliteration, their conveyance frameworks, and related material; ecological corruption; and regular calamities. They additionally consented to collaborate in avoidance of and reaction to demonstrations of transnational violations and medications. Trade of data and help of specialized help on fighting sea contamination. They additionally consented to the Improvement of their helpful capacities in the sea area through innovation collaboration and protection exchange (Rani.S, 2013).

Both India and the U.S have their individual enthusiasm for sea collaboration. US enthusiasm for sea collaboration, resolve around a few components. To begin with India vital area in the Indian Ocean, straddling the ocean paths of correspondence (SLOC) connecting West Asia and East Asia, makes India appealing to the US military. The US likewise needs to create elective alternatives in Asia, ought to its relations with other customary partners like Japan, South Korea and South Arabia vacillate. Second, the US Air Force (USAF) is looking for access to Indian bases and military foundation. Thirdly, the US Navy needs a moderately unbiased domain on the opposite side of the world to give ports and support to operations in West Asia. India has the fundamental framework; the Indian Navy has demonstrated that it can repair and fuel U.S ships. India is a feasible player supporting all its maritime missions, including escorting and reacting to local emergencies. As a component of Operation Ending Freedom, Indian maritime boats escorted dealer vessels from North Arabian Sea to the strait of Malacca, speaking to the most dynamic component (Jakhu, 2008).

The Indian Navy is as of now the fifth largest on the planet and the biggest in the Indian Ocean district, and as of now has a hostile sea security principle. Indian sea participation with the US and

the arrangement of best in class, sea advances of the last would additionally fortify Indian Navy. It would permit India to practice dominion in the Indian Ocean. This, thus, would undermine Pakistan's security. Given that 97% of Pakistan's exchange are ocean borne since there is no framework for exchange over the land borders with India, Iran or Afghanistan. An imposing Indian Navy can possibly truly undermine Pakistan's ocean paths and damage its economy.

The US is likewise sharp that the Indian Navy, which has a considerable nearness in the Indian Ocean area, ought to formally join the US-drove multiplication security activity (PSI), which looks to prohibit vessels associated with conveying weapons of mass obliteration and related equipment's (Bhaumik, 2016).

With the enormous barrier spending plan to spend, and a craving to develop its resistance capacity, the U.S is ready and anxious to give India the most recent cutting edge weaponry and innovation. This would guarantee that India would develop as a noteworthy maritime and military power in the following couple of decades to match its desires of significant force to be reckoned with.

4.5 Indo-US Missile defense cooperation

The section discusses of Indo-US cooperation in the field of missile cooperation. It opposes that this collaboration would keep on strengthening India's security in the field of missile defense as the US partners would similarly bolster India.

The US is the pioneer of the idea of creating and conveying across the country missile resistance. The possibility of it across the country U.S. hostile to rocket agenda backpedals to the 1980s, when president Reagan imagined a rocket barrier shield for mainland America, named Star Wars, and set down arrangements to manufacture the shield to ensure territory against ballistic rocket assaults. President George Bush Administration that chose to give it another force. In December

2002, the US annulled the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. It denoted an adjustment in the US approach from an attention on discouragement of a move towards a blend of offense and guard (Bishoyi, 2011) .

The Indo-US-Israel nexus is additionally a critical one and it has brought about supply of a few missile protection parts and weapons innovation to India throughout the years. The Arrow was together created by Israel and the U.S. Bolt 2, an advanced variant of Arrow, is intended to block short and medium-range 500 km away. Ballistic missile, can identify and attach up to 14 rockets at the same time at separations as far as India has likewise indicated enthusiasm for the Israeli Arrow ballistic missile security framework. The Arrow framework could conceivably be utilized by India to counter Pakistan's atomic skilled Ghauri and Shaheen rockets. Till date the US has not given the authorization to deal Arrow, since she contributed similarly in assembling (kanwal, 2016).

Israel marked a \$1.1 billion arrangement to offer three Phalcon Airborne. Early threatening order and control frameworks in India. Once utilized the Phalcon framework would give India observation over quite a bit of Pakistan's domain. Join with the rocket framework, Phalcon would upgrade India's capacity to counter a first strike by Pakistan. In 2008, India and Israel have built the air –craft and spent \$625- million to build anti- air-craft missile for the Indian Navy. This provided the India the capability against the Pakistan aircrafts.

India had two indigenous missile defence, interceptor missiles, Prithvi Air Defence (PAD) missile for high altitude interception and Advanced Air Defence (AAD) missile for lower altitude interception. PAD was tested in November and AAD in December.

4.6 Indo-US Space Cooperation

This part examines the Indo-US space participation. It contends that Indo-US space collaboration would firmly upgrade Indian security through in a tilted way supporting India's ballistic rocket program.

India has been enthusiastic about getting to US space innovation for quite a while. Such mechanical gets were constrained since the 1980s because of US worries over such help profiting India's military rocket programs. Similarly, with the Indo-US collaboration taking off, Space innovation is another range where the two nations are cooperating. The US and Indian space participation goes back to the 1960s with the exchange of Space rockets and preparing given to the Indian personnel's. Through the 1970 and 1980s the US kept on participating by sharing media transmission and climate estimating satellite information (Maharaj, 2011).

Since the Bush Administration took office, Indo-US space participation has grown once more, under the system of a few agreements. The US official has depicted both the atomic participation and space collaboration as a component of a " glide way" that it has sanctioned to enhanced relations with India. It was in the joint explanation of November 9, 2001 that President Bush and Indian Prime Vajpayee, consented to start examinations on common space collaboration. The NSSP of January 2004, promised extended collaboration in common space agreement. In July 2005, both nations construct nearer ties in space investigation, satellite route and dispatch, and in the business space field.

The participation has brought about advance on issues like transaction fa Memorandum of Understanding to place two instruments gave by US NASA on India's Chandrayaan-I lunar

mission, arrangements of space dispatch agreement, and discourses on advancing interoperability amongst Indian and US common space based situating, route and timing frameworks. In March 2006, amid President Bush's visit to India, the two nations resolved to advance with agreements that will allow the dispatch of US satellites and satellites containing US parts by Indian space dispatch vehicles, and respected the consideration of US instruments in a planned Indian lunar mission. In March 2011, India successfully tested a ballistic missile defense system (Gopaldaswamy, 2011).

Consequently, Indo-US space participation would directly associate India's ballistic missile program and help India in building up an ICBM. The partnership in space cooperation simply like the Indo-US common atomic arrangement would propel India's military projects. This influences Pakistan's security since they participate in one good turn deserves another missile improvement.

4.7 Conclusion

The chapter discussed the Facets of Indo-US strategic relationship. The Indo-US strategic cooperation is deep rooted which goes beyond just defense and nuclear trade. The Indo-US strategic partnership was forged due to the convergence in the US-Indian military, missile, societal and economic cooperation. It is cemented by the US willingness to build up India as a regional power, and India's eagerness to seek US high technologies and military/defense systems. The Indo-US collaboration in the nuclear, military, missiles and space fields would significantly enhance India's security at both the conventional and non-conventional levels.

The Indo-US strategic partnership has a direct threat on Pakistan's safety. The deal is a de-facto gratitude of India as a nuclear weapons state and aims to de-link India's nuclear status from that

of Pakistan. The partnership would also result in qualitative and computable progresses in India's nuclear arsenal.

The Indo-American deal has permitted Washington and Delhi to board a moving train and fast-track its expedition to a common destination, forcing other interested witnesses to seek to catch up with it as well, in case their vital interests be significantly harmed. Indeed, other powers' awareness of this partnership is help them to reward India substantially even as they complain about it. Therefore, this agreement is strategic in the highest sense, i.e. it transforms the playing field and introduces a new dynamic that everyone must reckon with. But that calculation and the widening consequences of this partnership are immensely of benefit to both Washington's and Delhi's, if not to the larger security of Asia as whole.

Chapter 5

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN

The Post 9/11, Pakistan has once more risen as a basic partner in the US-drove operations in Afghanistan, given its geostrategic area and linkages with the Taliban, giving the US access to bases, ports, air space and the tribal zones. The danger from the Taliban and Al-Qaida consolidated keeps on posing a potential threat and Pakistan's capacity to contribute emphatically to the war on fear remains an irresolvable test for US strategy creators. The Pakistan element will keep on being a restricting element in Indo-US relations. Given the United States dependence on Pakistan in its GWOT, the procedure of 'De-hyphenation' in Indo-US relations will be dominated by advancements in Pakistan and Afghanistan. (Mansingh, 2004) .

More declining security circumstance in Pakistan compelled her to work with the United States in the GWOT. The issue of rising militancy because of Pakistan's permeable fringes with Afghanistan, and expanding outside impedance inside Pakistan has gravely affected the inner progression of the state-society structure in Pakistan and Afghanistan. US hostile system in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and increment in US ramble assaults inside Pakistan's region, bringing on security harm has expanded against American and hostile to government assessments, which is additionally far reaching infringement of the nation's regional sway. In the meantime, India-China competition and India's danger recognition in regards to the Chinese development in the Indian Ocean and its reinforcing vital ties with Pakistan are extra calculates provincial security progression. Despite India's significant commitment to long haul adjustment in Afghanistan (US\$750 million and has sworn an extra US\$450 million in August 2008), the United States is hesitant to connect with India truly on Afghan arrangement, referring to Pakistan's sensitivities.

Additionally, Jammu and Kashmir, wracked by cross-fringe fear based oppression for over two decades will keep on remaining the genuine test for Indo-US counter-psychological warfare participation, given that the United States see verges on irregularity on this issue (D'Souza, 2006).

Pakistan and India are traditional foes and their issues are becoming more complicated with the passage of each day from the birth of India and Pakistan. Kashmir issue had been the bone of contention between these two states. Pakistan is making its military strong only to counter threat from India. From its inception, Pakistan has only increased its military capabilities to counter such a strong enemy which is no other than India. Pakistan has no such hostility with any other country as is with India. India has many hegemonic ambitions in the region. Rising China is a potential threat to India. India has also traditional animosities with China and other nations in the region. If India becomes a powerful country with the cooperation of United States, then it becomes a greater threat to the existence of Pakistan in the region. Pakistan is a poor country, but still has managed a big army to counter India. If India becomes stronger than Pakistan, Pakistan will need to spend more on defence and military, which is not possible at the present scenario. Pakistan is already a weak economy and facing illiberal democracy, then how can this country compete with a powerful India in many other aspects.

Pakistan's development will be at stake because it will need more military spending to counter an economic and military giant like India, which is backed by a civil US. Pakistan is afraid of this deal because in the history civil technology was used for the destructive purposes. Pakistan will have no options only to make strong military ties with China. Pakistan is currently depending on China on many fields and this dependency will be increased in the future to counter India and US.

Pak-US Relations

Pakistan and United States relations had seen many ups and downs in the history. Pakistan started strong ties with US and contained communism just after a few years of its inception. Pakistan always tried to please US only to counter Indian hegemony in the region. US had not been a good friend of China as far as Indo-Pak animosity is concerned. In 1965, US betrayed Ayub Khan and in 1971, US did not help Pakistan while Pakistan was passing through a critical juncture of its history. US, Indo cooperation in the post 9/11 clearly manifests that US cannot secure Pakistan against India because this time US is more tilted towards India. The Alternate option after US is China to Pakistan and Pakistan started increasing its cooperation with China. The Pak-China cooperation in many fields is detested by the US because China had been a potential threat to the hegemony of US in all over the world. The Pak-US relations will be disturbed when India comes very near to the US. Pakistan will face many Problems when its ties with US are becoming weak because Pakistan is a weak economy. Pakistan will face a lot of problems while dealing with the IMF and Asian Development Bank (ADB) because these institutions are the tools of United States to employ hegemony in the world (Fair, 2012).

Indo-Pak Relations

India and Pakistan are challenging nations of South Asia. Absence of trust is one of the main key elements between the two nations influencing respective relations since they got to be distinctly free in 1947. The key component which has be impede amongst Pakistan and India relations is the Kashmir question. The Kashmir has been at the focal point of the contention since Independence, and could go about as a flashpoint for both the nations whenever. As of now, India requests the issue to be settled through respective arrangements to which both nations have consented. Another variable which has turned out to be similarly applicable in the two-sided relations is the post 9/11 situation of Terrorism. Cases of these are the 2001 assault on the parliament in New Delhi and the

Mumbai assault in 2008 both professedly did by activists situated in Pakistan. Then again, Pakistani members raised the issue of India professedly revolt insurrection in Baluchistan, Pakistan's fretful area where separatists are battling the Pakistani state.

The year 2016 saw some serious challenges in the relations of Pakistan and India. India is currently ready to fight a full-fledged war with Pakistan. India has threatened to nullify the grand treaty of Indus Water. First time in the history of Indo-Pak relation such a divergence has been seen. This reaction is a direct outcome of the New Cold War, which is being fought between China and Pakistan. Pakistan has increased its relations with China through CPEC and India has further magnified its relations with United States. India is trying to sabotage CPEC by using different tactics, sometime it poses objections by calling CPEC illegal because it passes through a controversial region of Kashmir, but Pakistan fully owns Gilgit-Baltistan and it has the right to build roads in this region. US –India relations have worsened Pak-India relations further and it shows some alarming signs of a great war now a day.

Arms Race in the South Asia

South Asia will be the main ground of arms race because India and Pakistan are the main countries in the region. India and US will perform many joint exercises in the south Asian sea and Pakistan-China will check the exercises of US, India in the Indian sea. This scenario will create a cold war scenario in the Indian ocean which is the most significant premeditated point of the world. China will perform a huge trade through this ocean and it will be a great tension for New Delhi and Washington.

Containment of China

Containment of China in Asia is a coward goal of US. China is building capacity to be a greatest challenger to US in the present century. The Economic rise of China and its military might, along with advancement in every arena of life has threatened the men of broad vision in Washington.

The Indian strategy is to block the Beijing trade from the Malacca Strait, India is famous in the Indian ocean security and the presence of India is important for the United State. The creating Indo-US relationship is viewed as a remote strategy accomplishment for the Obama regime. The Washington sees India as a critical piece of its re-adjust to Asia and as a stabilizer to China. The two nations are concluding different assertions that would make it feasible for their militaries to collaborate even more nearly in the future. Under one such agreement, an American organization will assemble six atomic reactors in India (Tellis, 2015).

Military Expenditure of Pakistan

Pakistan is a poor country with a weak economy; it will increase its military expenditure to compete with India, which will weaken the economy of Pakistan further. Pakistan will seek military assistance from China and India will receive military assistance from US. Pakistan has voiced its worry over developing vital ties amongst India and the United States (US), a day after the two nations consented to various arrangements for security participation amid Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to the United State (Ahmed, January 2011).

Enhancement of India's Nuclear Arsenal

The strategic partnership may permit to improve India to enhance its nuclear technology dual use through transfer technology, vague separation plan, inadequacy of IAEA jurisdiction and freeing up the domestic uranium for military purposes. The atomic participation understanding is considered as the "Precious stone "for the key organization between the two nations. As indicated

by a report by Council of foreign relations, India is expecting that it would empower India's ability to upgrade the amount of its atomic Armory.

Keeping in view the historical backdrop of India's genuineness about the non-preoccupation of civil military innovation towards weapon purposes, the NSG was made in light of the Indian abuse of nuclear deal for directing the 1974 atomic tests.

The Indo-US cooperation on various areas of technologies has serious concerns for Pakistan. because most of the technologies has a dual use features. Apparently, it seems that both countries are cooperating in the civilian purposes but the cooperation in dual-use advance technologies has the potential to contribute in India's defence capabilities. Although United States has assured the India to not use the civilian technology for the nuclear purposes. The American technology transfer towards the India created doubt in the mind of the public that these could be used in the future for nuclear purposes as it happened in the history. India is a nuclear weapon state and it is trying to develop more weapons. United States again gave the freedom to increase her nuclear capabilities.

The United states has adapted atomic technology exchange without any atomic tests; an occasion of rupturing this condition US may cross out the understanding, however no measure have been taken in such manner in India's concurrence with other NSG nations. Safeguard by IAEA even can't stop the exchange of innovation accommodate common purposes towards weapon improvement because of the equivocally pronounced division. India has kept critical atomic establishments out of the compass of worldwide IAEA that would permit India to proceed with her key weapon programs alongside civil nuclear technology atomic innovation from outside support. In this situation, it is clear to recommendation that the atomic collaboration would give a chance to India to enhancing the quality and amount of her atomic Armory through the exchange of atomic technology.

India's Missile and Surveillance Capability in Space Cooperation

Space cooperation shall be conducive to India's surveillance, inspection and missile development capability. The space cooperation under the strategic partnership has two major implications for Pakistan security.

First, it will contribute to the Indian missile development program through polar space launch vehicles and other space-rocket technology. Indian missile development can be assisted in achieving accuracy, enhancing cargo capacity, enabling multiple warheads, and assuring consistency. The collaboration amongst India and United states, particularly on atomic and space field, may expand the indiscretion in the routine and non-customary adjustment of force amongst India and Pakistan.

Second space cooperation will not only be helpful to Indian missile development program but India will also contribute to enhance the surveillance and reconnaissance capabilities of Indian military through satellite development programme. India can use the satellite images for military intelligence purposes, which will enable Indian military to detect the troop deployment of Pakistani forces as well as exact location of targets within Pakistan (Liang, 2016).

Induction of Advance Weapons System

The Indo-US defence cooperation under the strategic partnership may provide India with an opportunity tribute to erode the strategic equilibrium, destabilizing nuclear deterrence, and triggering arms-race in the region to advance her weapon system.

The strategic partnership assists the huge technology along with the technology transfer to the India but it also offers huge supplicated conventional arm sale that include supersonic fighter jets, is likely to widen the prevailing conventional sophisticated missiles and other major military equipment. The presence of the convention weapons could further erode the relationship between

India and Pakistan. Zafar Nawaz Jaspal in his article stated that, the Indo-US strategic relationship, despite the strategic partnership between Pakistan and the United states, could increase the indiscretion in the balance of power between India and Pakistan which might lower the nuclear edge between the aggressive neighbours. (Jaspal Z. N., 2007).

Giving some disturbing ramifications of Indo-US bargain, an extraordinary report of US board on foreign relations highlights that India has not acknowledged any lawful commitment against atomic testing. Nuclear testing by India empowers it to practice atomic weapons with much bigger dangerous power than those as of now in the Indian arms stock that would permit vital changes in Indian atomic procedure. This give India a chance to target Chinese or Pakistani atomic destinations that were already sheltered. Therefore, Beijing and Islamabad to grow new weapons themselves or to change technologies for utilizing atomic arms.

In terms of the agreement on defence cooperation between these two states Sajjad Shoukat wrote” one of the alarming implication is that Obamas careless approach to enhance Indian defence is likely to initiate a new, but dangerous arms race between India and Pakistan’s strategic relationship.

Emergence of India as a Regional Hegemon

Indian hegemonic designs in South Asia are expected to be contented due to its strategic relationship with United States. This relationship between India and US play vital negative implications on minor states in the region and Pakistan shall be the primary target in this respect. Addressing the major foreign policy goals of India, Teresita C. Schaffer notes: “India is determined to be secure in its region and want to remain the primary arbiter of South Asia security. US is currently seen as a potential support in this regard except differences over Pakistan” (Schaffer, 2009) .

The strategic partnership with US offers India with a chance to use its augmented influence with the US. The US influence on Pakistan in its favour regarding multiple unsettled clashes between India and Pakistan. An analysis by Fareed Zakariya suggest: India needs America because India's immediate security is completely reliant on preserving a stable relationship with Pakistan; Pakistan – India useful discussor and India could gain a very power full ally. America is a who also has enormous influence over Pakistan. (Zakaria, 2011).

Indo- US cooperation's aim at making India a regional Hegemon, which is disastrous for Pakistan. US has made India Hegemon in Afghanistan and now US want to make it the leader of Asia. Historically, India has never accepted the existence of Pakistan as a sovereign nation, but she considered it a haven for terrorists and extremist. India will try to threaten Pakistan when it becomes so called Hegemon of the region.

United States has signed many deals with India to make it a regional Hegemon in the Asia, as it has been made a Hegemon in Afghanistan. For US, India is the only strong economy in the east which can be a better option to cooperate with. US has many interests in South Asia, where it needs a strong India to perform all her actions.

5.2 Conclusion

Pakistan has some traditional animosities with India. Pakistan has fought almost three major wars with India. From the first day of its independence India never accepted the existence of Pakistan and tried her level best to sabotage Pakistan through different tactics. Historically, Pakistan allied with US and prepared a huge military only to counter the hegemony of India in the South Asia. Pakistan kept a strong military only to counter Indian aggression. On the other hand, India remained neutral during the Cold War and never favoured US in the Cold War, but still US has not given a favour to Pakistan in its fight against India. US always declared Pakistan as her most

allied ally in the history, but the nuclear cooperation of US with the traditional foe of Pakistan like India in 2005 clearly shows the Machiavellian attitude of US in her foreign relations. US is favouring the traditional enemy of Pakistan to fulfil her own secret ambitions in the South Asia. The US –India relations after 9/11 shows the reality of New Cold War, which has been started amongst the United States and China. US-Indo relations in Post 9/11 gave chance to Pakistan to further strengthen its strategic relationship with China.

The strategic deal between US and India has created the differences in the relations among the States. US was a good ally of Pakistan in the Cold War period. In Post 9/11, the strategic shift towards India and its new policy changes created doubt for Pakistan think tank. India and Pakistan relations instead of dealing issue like Kashmir have once again focusing on the military expenditures. India wants to become regional power and Pakistan is preparing herself for nuclear capability. This scenario creates Arm race in South Asia. Pakistan is already in certain crisis and upon that the nuclear deal has uploaded more drastic situation to deal with.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

India's vital position in South Asia, its strategic position between Western Asia and Southeast Asia and its appearance as an economic power give it an influential place in global politics. USA as super power enjoys its hegemonic status in the world.

In the era of the Cold War, India and the United States did not enjoy good relations due to their disagreement on both global and regional issues. At the regional level, the United States formed alliance with Pakistan through CEATO and SENTO. The US aid to Pakistan during Soviet intervention in the 1980s and US cautious policy on Kashmir distanced India from US in the Cold War. US Cold War priorities and India's tilt towards USSR were the reasons that the two largest democracies of the world estranged from each other.

The Post-Cold War period saw a quantitative change in the Indo-US ties. The termination of the Cold War showed a new era in international politics where by a unipolar world dominated by the US appeared to engage with the sole superpower. The United States also sought to engage with India. This resulted in gradual conjunction of interests of both India and the United States. Both countries started their friendship during Clinton administration, became strategic partners in the Bush Era and also continued this partnership in the Obama's administration.

India is rapidly growing economically and competing successfully in world trade market. According to International monetary fund report, India is a vast market which is being explored by the world's major economies for their own interest and benefits. Though Russia and India are enjoying long and strong historical relations but during recent years, USA is showing great interest

in Indian economy. Former US President Barak Obama's friendly visit to India clearly shows that they have developed trust to work on economic and security matters.

The Incident of 9/11 dominated the world through destructions all over the world. In the Post 9/11 scenario, the war on terror made Pakistan a key US ally in the region. The geostrategic transformation after 9/11 completely changed the political scenario of this region, for instance, the economic rise in China and India compelled US to change its foreign policies. US then shook hands with India due to convergence of interests.

The level of Indo-US cooperation has steadily increased in Bush administration and major agreements have been signed to enhance their cooperation in economic and defense areas. Recent harmony of interest between India and the US is a result of a change in the regional settings and policy modified by the US towards South Asia. The economic, strategic and diplomatic support by the US to India played a crucial role in the determining regional security of South Asia.

In addition to that, the new relation between US and India benefits India in such a way that, United States has started supporting India to acquire a permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council and India's entry into the Nuclear supplier group that was strongly opposed by China and Pakistan. Moreover, US has conducted additional military exercises with the India than any other nation. US and India kept their military exercises in the Indian ocean to secure their Sea lane. According to analysts, such military exercises of two (USA and India) allies can be threat to China.

The India- United States strategic partnership has proven the fact that there can neither be permanent friends nor permanent enemies in case of interstate relations. States can adopt their policies in the pursuit of their perceived national interest. Events and developments in the last

decade in the region substantiate the argument such as, India's success to get Ballistic Missile Defense System from USA, India's conventional arms build-up, enhancement of India's fissile stocks, discriminatory NSG waiver to India, specific IAEA safeguards, Indo-US 123 nuclear agreement, Indian proactive role in Afghanistan, and US pledge to make exertions for India's membership for permanent seat of UN security council and other export control regimes.

Indo-US nuclear agreement has badly undermine the NPT by rewarding India with nuclear assistance despite its refusal to sign the treaty. This will also encourage other nuclear supplier countries to provide nuclear technologies and materials to potential proliferators. Similarly, the Indo-US Civilian Nuclear Agreement can enable India to use the Uranium to make nuclear weapons and this can as result be threat to Pakistan's security. Pakistani political analysts think that USA remained bias when it comes to Nuclear Agreement because US refused to have agreement with Pakistan even though the two countries have been good allies since the beginning.

India and USA are strategic partner while US relation with Pakistan has been primarily in the content of war on terrorism. Pakistan has serious concerns over Indo-US relationship because US is trying to make India a regional Hegemon. Now, Pakistan needed China's assistance against the rivals for that, last year Pak-Chinese military exercises took place. Thus, the US relationship with Pakistan is conditional and depends on situations that benefits USA. Secondly, Pakistan is facing major challenges regarding its security. To coup with the security issues, Pakistan should adopt following measures:

- Pakistan should strengthen its own nuclear capacity rather than depending on other countries for nuclear technology.

- Pakistan should take China into confidence, and jointly work out on strategies to counter Indian moves.
- As Pakistan is an agricultural country so, it should use modern technology to increase exports to stabilize itself economically.
- It is said that friends can be changed but neighbors cannot be changed. Pakistan should establish peaceful relationships with neighbors especially with Iran and Afghanistan through peaceful dialogues.
- Pakistan should have successful peace talks with non-state actors and use them as a deterrent force.
- Pakistani and Indian professionals should engage their citizens in programs such as Aman ki Asha to promote peace and friendship. This as result will promote peace and stability in South Asia.
- To bring back the peace and stability in the region, Pakistan and India should restart the trade, as Pakistan considered India as its Favorite partner in trade.
- Resolution of Kashmir dispute obviously is an ultimate solution to bring peace in the region. Both the countries should unanimously take decisions to resolve the issue.
- One of the solution for Pakistan is, to spend more on technology and education because an educated society itself is a deterrent force.

- True democracy can also strengthen the government and when a country is prosperous and stable internally then it can fight against foreign forces. So, democracy in its true sense needs to be ensured.

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