



RESEARCH PAPER

Growing Strategic Alliance between India and USA: Implications on Pakistan

¹Muhammad Kabeer Khan* ²Rifat Rafeeq ³Dr. Muhammad Imran Ashraf

1. PhD Scholar, Department of Political Science, GC University, Faisalabad, Pakistan
2. Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Women University, Multan, Pakistan
3. Assistant Professor, Department of IR, National Defence University Islamabad, Pakistan

***Corresponding Author** kb2khan@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This research aims at critically analyzing the growing Indo-US strategic alliance and consequences for Pakistan. This study explores background factors of today's Indo-US strategic alliance that by the time when United States emerged as a sole super power of the world, how New Delhi rearranged her diplomatic policies regarding foreign relationship and so on shifted her policy of non-alignment into the start of new era of strategic development with USA and other concerning states. USA also welcomed India whole heartedly as USA got a firm stage to drive the policies of South Asia in the form of India as strongest partner of 21st century. This qualitative study is based on content analysis of relevant documents, speeches and government reports. Further, through detailed content analysis this study finds out that to keep check on economic development of China and strong alliance of China with Pakistan, India proves as a major check base for USA due to growing strategic alliance. As fruitful results, India is on the way of strong armament by the assistance of USA and consequently Pakistan is facing negative implications in this regard. The study proposes a way forward for Pakistan to deal with this challenge by adopting a pragmatic foreign policy approach.

Keywords: Nuclear Supplier Group, International Atomic Energy Agency, LEMOA, United Nation Security Council, Non-Proliferation Treaty

Introduction

Relations between world's democracies, especially between the largest democracy and the oldest democracy is transformed from confrontation to cooperation according to recent scenario of politics but the pages of the history also disclose that both democracies because of international factors and changing political scenario remained at distance from each other. After World War 2 United states of America emerged as champion of free world and announced democracy as way of US political moves. On the other hand Britain also declared end of its colonial rule in subcontinent and India won her freedom. India adopted secularism as foundation of her constitution and non-alignment as basic principle of her foreign policy because of its internal changes and ups and downs. As mentioned by Nehru "External affairs would follow internal affairs" (Aggarwal, Mamta)

The largest democracies because of some certain reasons never enjoyed a full cooperation neither they engaged in a major conflict. According to Tellis "India and USA had not a good form of relationship during the 50 years: however both states shared democratic values while on the other hand, did not share a common geopolitical worldview." (Tellis, 2015)

The observations from history convinces that both states India and America were not very close strategically as they are now in present but the fact is that both states never took a step to harm the strategic plans of each other .

The roots of Indian mutual relationship with United States traced back to pre-independence period. President Roosevelt was moving force to analyze Indian freedom struggle behind the appointment of Cripps mission plan 1941. But the Quit India movement proved itself the turning point of American Foreign policy towards India. America had to choose between the India, upcoming market and Britain, the key ally of America.

Nuclear Arms Race in South Asia

The nuclear issue in South Asia is fictional by the nuclear triangular approach implanted by China, India and Pakistan. The thrust for Nuclear weapons start in South Asia when China launched its first nuclear test in 1964. By following this gesture India showed abrupt approach toward nuclearization and finally after 10 years India also did its first nuclear explosion in 1974. This gesture of India weakened the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty NPT system in the area. Indian Nuclear tests casted the chain reaction in the region as Pakistan also provoked by this nuclear build up and start effort to get nuclearize. And after 13 years Pakistan also got the crown of a nuclear state and reached the state to match Indian Nuclear strength.

By the end of cold war the improvement in relations started between India and USA and trade of arms on small scale also start among them. This arm race in South Asia was annoying prospect for the US policy in the region. USA highlights the instituting of a NPT regime in South Asia to make a clear check on the nuclear activities of India and Pakistan. USA forced both states to join NPT but got the denial by both India and Pakistan (Perera, 2017)

21st century reveals the clear picture of international strategic order that a super power, USA, start showing her tilt toward the emerging biggest democracy of South Asia. Bush administration start developing the strategic ties with India as India got the nuclear capability and after the successful nuclear test of India in 1998 USA was in serious concern to bring India on the safeguard rules of NPT.

End of 20th century witnessed the serious nuclear rise in the South Asian region. That rise becomes a threat when two historical rivals of South Asia, India and Pakistan, sparked with nuclear arms race and showed the capability of ruining the region at a glance. So that USA as super power jumped into the episodes of continue nuclear threat because of two reasons.

- Continued hostility between two freshly nuclear powers.
- Chinese interest in the region of South Asia.

India-USA Strategic ties

2005 was the year when USA started its civilian cooperation with India. The Indian Prime Minister Man Mohan Singh paid visit to USA in 2005 and he ended up with Indian isolation by entering into a new phase of strategic partnership with USA.

They entered into an agreement with USA on civilian Nuclear Energy Cooperation. Initially USA was annoyed with the nuclear activities of India but during this visit US referred India as "Responsible state with advanced nuclear technology"

Basically this civilian cooperation stated in 2004 when both states India and USA extended mutual civilian cooperation along with dual use of Technology. The main motive of US was to strengthen India concerning energy security and this motive was clearly seen in the form of historic deal between India and USA.(Weiss, 2007)

Civil Nuclear Agreement (2005)

The congress of USA gave last endorsement to ascension encouraging atomic participation between the United States and India on October 2008. This arrangement took as a turning point in the terms between India and USA and acquaints another viewpoint with universal restraint endeavors. For a very first time it was disclosed on July 18, 2005 by US president Bush and PM of India Man Mohan Singh presented in the joint proclamation, the arrangement lifts a ban on atomic exchange with India which was applied to India by last three decades from USA. It gives help provided by USA to Indian programs related to nonmilitary personnel atomic vitality program, and grows participation of India and USA in vitality and satellite innovation. Be that as it may, pundits in the United States say the arrangement on a very basic level turns around a large portion of a century of U.S. restraint endeavors, undermines endeavors to anticipate states like Iran and North Korea from procuring atomic weapons, and conceivably adds to an atomic weapons contest in Asia.

The India-US atomic arrangement has been anticipated as a defining moment in the relationship between the two nations. The arrangement has been the subject of exceptional civil argument and dialog among key specialists, mainstream researchers and the mass open of both the US and India. It flagged the end to the separation of the Indian atomic industry. Maybe it is additionally an acknowledgment of India as a dependable state with cutting edge atomic innovation. The premise of the India-US understanding is the true acknowledgment of India's atomic military system. With the death of the Hyde Act in December 2006, one would likewise need to investigate the degree to which the Act goes amiss from the "letter" and "soul" of the July 18 Joint Statement. (Ganaie, 2015)

India's atomic projects have been characterized by two opposing strengths: the nation's unfathomable aspirations and its constrained uranium saves. Its aspirations have driven New Delhi to set up a critical nonmilitary personnel atomic endeavor, to decline to sign the atomic Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), and to create and test atomic weapons. Its restricted uranium holds, then again, have unmistakably moderated India's atomic vitality improvement, in all probability hampered its atomic weapons program, and interlaced the two endeavors to a high degree. After personal analysis the main extracted feature of findings are:

- There is no doubt left that the deal is the product of common interests as India wants to raise in the region and the US wishes to counter Chinese influence in the region. So the deal paved the way for counter alliance against China mainly.
- The deal is rather discriminatory as the US did not care about the rules even set by it, and the US also did not care about the consequences and opposition of other countries. India did not meet even the half requirement for acquiring such deal but the US had made it possible only in discriminatory way.
- The deal triggered nuclear race in the Indian region as it sparked a wave of fear among the neighboring countries of India. So other countries have been making effort to compete India in nuclear race.
- Deal has also resulted in the reactionary alliances as China has moved towards Pakistan to treat in the similar way as India was treated by USA. Further, North Korea and Iran also made some obvious alliance with Russia and China in the response of the deal.

Reservations on Deal

The following reservations have been made by the South Asian states on the India-US nuclear deal:

- The arrangement expands India's capacity to create atomic arms. The supply of US atomic fuel to India, under the arrangement as it is as of now organized, would permit India to occupy its very own greater amount uranium assets to essentially grow generation of atomic weapons by making Plutonium. The arrangement also does not bound India to sign the CTBT (Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty), which can stop India for making and testing atomic weapons. (Kumaar, 2012).
- The arrangement could start a weapons contest in South Asia. US inclusion in East and South Asia highlights strategies of specifically supporting or contradicting atomic exercises that firmly influences the locales' key equalizations. For instance, the strategic location of India is the real charm for USA to expand her hobbies in the Asia by making bases for it. (Iskandar, 2007).
- It additionally contradicts the resolution number 1172 of UN passed in 1998, which is an open alarm for both states India and Pakistan to promptly to stop their atomic weapon improvement programs, any further generation of fissile material for atomic weapons, materials or innovation that could in any capacity help programs in India or Pakistan for atomic weapons or fit for conveying such weapons, and invites national strategies embraced and proclaimed in this admiration. (Mehmood, 2006)
- The purpose of NPT was to restrict the nuclear countries to go in further armaments of nuclear weapons. One of NPT article clearly says that the atomic weapons exist should not be further assist by any means. The violation in such cases would lead the other countries to shake the world wide principles for nuclear weapons and they can even assist or share their nuclear technology to other states in this regard. This is the concerning point for USA because numerous nations including North Korea, Libya, Iran, and Iraq have tricked while being signatories of the NPT.

Pakistan's Response to India-USA Nuclear Deal

Pakistan's essential security objective has dependably been to guarantee Pakistan's regional uprightness against an existential risk from its expansive eastern neighbor. On the off chance that this danger is aggravated in light of the India-USA vital organization and gets to be hard to oversee, Pakistan could be constrained to practice every single accessible alternative including a conceivable vital partnership with other enormous powers, for example, Russia and China. Pakistan has circled a letter to the Board individuals from International Atomic Energy Agency communicating worry that if the protections ascension looked for by India is endorsed by the IAEA. It will prompt expanded Indian access to atomic fuel and might add to a restored atomic weapons contest in the middle of India and Pakistan. Pakistan seeks after the procedure of tenable prevention in both traditional and flighty fields as per the danger it might see. Pakistan has measured the methodology of least guarded discouragement and is refining its prevention level of power at whatever point lopsidedness is made in the district, Pakistan needs to adjust it out as per its technique of least deterrence.

Pakistan takes after a procedure of least discouragement in both traditional and atomic fields as per the danger it sees, at whatever point key equalization is exasperates in the local, Pakistan tries to adjust it as per its technique of least prevention. What's more, Pakistan additionally endeavors to strong second strike ability through the quantitative increment in conveyance frameworks and warheads, or through an ocean based capacity.

Strategic ties in Obama administration

President Obama prioritizes the bilateral ties with India on very cordial grounds. After holding office US official policies got very warm height for the India as the strategic partnership began between them. As a realist leader, President Obama main motive is to secure the national interests of USA by every possible means. Even the choice of US friends and enemies is also a matter of concern for a US leader. Priorities as the head of USA changed according to the time and position as initially in the era of President George W. Bush, Obama was not in the favor of immense strategic ties between India and USA. But later on he moved his policies for creating strong bilateral ties with India. Now the words on the papers say that for US president the partnership among India and USA is supposed to be the defining partnership of 21st century.

The first and effective promise of President Obama was to show America's vibrant interests to securing strong and progressive defense ties with USA. Over the past years the World is also witnessed about the closer ties among India and USA as a dramatic shift of their Foreign policy. The range of conduction of military exercises also upgrades by last some years. In the year 2016 the militaries of both states hold massive exercises on multilateral and bilateral basis. Malabar exercises held during 2015.

Defense relationship of any country also measure by the sales of arms and weapons among the two states. India is now considered as a big market of arms for United States after Saudi Arabia. From the year 2011 to 2014 the total sales of arms increased up to \$13.9 billion. Another agreement of defense and arms transfer signed between India and USA in 2015 of worth three billion dollar. Both countries also making efforts to work on finding joint ventures on defense cooperation as well as other developmental projects. Low value ventures regarding Mobile electric hybrid and other plans of research and development along with next generation productive suits.

India and USA also work together on the project of logistic Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA) for conduction of transferring bilateral facilities under strategic and defense sector. US established Rapid Reaction Cell of India in the defense department of USA, Pentagon, for creating atmosphere of one to one defense collaboration among them. (John, 2016).

On the other hand PM Modi after taking charge of India also showed positive gestures of partnership with India and started efforts to create friendly but strong ties with USA.

His efforts of begin a good friend of USA is seen via the window of visits that he conducted to USA. On the other day Obama was the first head of state of USA who paid visit to India on the annual Republic Day in 2015.

Modi abrupt decision after gaining power in India was to enhance military modernization and to improve the defense sector. Modi also aware of the fact that all the progressive alliances and cooperation regarding military, defense and armament cannot be attain by aggressive and forceful ways. That's why he opted the tactical means of diplomacy and alliance on strategic grounds with USA because he came as the leader of India who came with the foremost ambition of powerful India. The "Making in India" project was also the initiative taken by Modi government. The purpose of this initiative was to mark India on the highest strategic and defense superiority to gain the powerful status in the regional politics on one hand and to isolating the Pakistan on the other. For this purpose massive security talks held between India and USA to upgrade the motives of each other. (Brunnstrom, 2016).

Reasons behind US tilt towards India

The growing tilt of United States toward India is not a total story of cooperation rather there are some USA interests found in India and to accomplish those interests United States have to pay serious concerns to India in both Economical and strategically grounds.

One of the principle reasons to engage in strong ties with India is India's Strong economic growth and mounting capabilities in business sphere. India is growing in such a way that she could be the best options for United States in the form of investment partner. Information and technology industry of India is rank top of the map in 21st century. Moreover, the middle class of India is growing up to 300 million people which are playing a role of Back bone in the industrial sector of India and a clear attraction for United States businessman. (George, 2016)

If people to people contact is observe among India and United States then it's seen that the Indian community living in United States is supposed to be very strong domestically by playing role in political activities of United States. They had strong influence in the domestic politics of USA by influencing administration and congress in India's favor and they are considered as the wealthiest immigrants in United States. The growing strategic importance of Indian Ocean is also pushing the United States to keep check on the growing links of oil Rich Gulf States to the energy markets in East Asia.

If the geo political perspective of Indian Ocean is seen then it's clearly observed that Indian Ocean is the medium to connect the Washington's strategies with Asia Pacific region. These two strategies were not bounded initially during the cold war but after that USA planned the need for another strategy connecting the Europe with Asia. The need for this strategy felt by mounting potential threats coming from Russia and China to United States. In this regard India is considered as the much helpful states to face these threats. (Chatta, 2016)

The United States is much concerned with India due to its strategic position as well. India is the border state to china and to keep an eye on the Chinese activities via India it was the essential for USA to enhance the close ties with India for taking balancing position in the region. In this regard India proved a helpful state to United States because of her border clashes and historical rivalry with china. For USA the main regional players are Russia, China and India. And for discomfoting the Sino-Russia-India triangle it is important for USA to hold strong string of ties with India.

Implications on Pakistan

From the day one, when India opened up its partnership with United States the matter is getting suspicious for Pakistan The matter of the fact that India and Pakistan are the born rival states of South Asia. The friend of one may considered as the suspicious entity for the other. Though United States of America was the very first power that aligned with Pakistan after Pakistan came into being. But there was always a relation of hide and seek on some of the policies of these two states. Trust deficit was also there and then Talibanization and Terrorism raised in Pakistan made the situation very clear that USA would shift her policies to another state of South Asia.

Pakistan as a neighboring state is the one who is supposed to be affected the most by the selfish policies of India. Nuclear defense programs of India assisted by Washington is said to be more harmful for the deterrence abilities of Pakistan as well the factor of balance of power of Pakistan also affected by this bond of defense alignment between India and USA. Following are the expected implications casted on Pakistan via the strategic bond of India and USA:

- As India is on the ambitions to become an Asian power and for this purpose India associated all her strategic moves to USA. By gaining massive assistance in missile and mature strategic abilities, indirectly the nuclear deterrence value is getting low in the region. Newly advanced weapons by India is making tough for Pakistan to sustain the level of deterrence in the region. Fear is that this thing may lead to the false armament among the regional states.
- It is very evident that the response of India-USA strategic collaboration is seen in the form of closeness in diplomatic and developmental projects of Pakistan and China. The mounting desires of India for getting maximum nuclear stockpiles is creating disturbance in the nuclear policies of Islamabad and Beijing. Both Pakistan and China consider their nuclear sites unsafe due to Indian motives behind the assistance of USA. (Jain, 2016)
- From the very early times, India always showed her determinations for holding a strong and powerful position in the region of South Asia. By gaining this position India wants to be a hegemony state to cast a role of a powerful state to suppress the other countries of the region by suppressing them through her expansionist desires. By holding the hand of alignment of a super power USA, India almost got the title of a hegemony state of South Asia. And this crown of India is said to be an alarming bell for the other states of South Asia specifically Pakistan.
- As far as the immunities from NSG rules are concerned, there are strong ambiguities in the matter of usage of nuclear capabilities of India that whether India is bound to use its nuclear abilities for civilian and energy purpose or it would shift it to military purpose. The margin line between the nuclear reactor used as arms and ammunition and the reactor used for civilian purpose is very vague. According to many analysts, it is very easy for Indian administration to switch the mode of reactors used for civilian purpose to the reactors used by arm forces. (Saleem, 2017)
- The major flaw of Indian Nuclear development is there is no assurance that India would not diverge its nuclear capability for military purpose. India is fully on the arrangements that by any time India will be able to transfer its nuclear technology into Military purpose technology. As a result a man power assisted with advanced American nuclear technology is a clear threat for Pakistan.
- The interesting fact about NSG is that the group of nuclear supplier was formed to make some restrictions on the nuclear power of India after the Indian Nuclear tests in 1974. Right after when USA needed a strategic partner in the form of India the Indian Nuclear reactors got exemption from the strict rules and regulations of NSG. Now the assumption is that India will use her nuclear technology for military purpose through some secret ways.
- The exceptional behavior of USA to India in providing such an immense strategic support is leading to the competition of arms and strategic weapon in South Asia. As Pakistan is also seeking for same support and other small states of the region also want false armaments to make a level of deterrence against India. This situation is creating situation of arms race and creating instability among India and Pakistan.
- USA once put forward some conditions and restrictions regarding the transfer of nuclear technology with the help of nuclear tests. But afterward for India, USA breaches the agreement and uplifts this condition under the provided rules of NSG. The matter of alarm is that USA is aside after breaching the condition but the small states left with the threat that the nuclear tests carried out by India may get create problem for the regional states specifically Pakistan.
- One of the prominent negative implications of Indian nuclear and arms advancement on Pakistan is that Pakistan have to increase her defense budget which is already at its edge of range due to massive spending in war on terror and elimination of terrorist activities around the state. For assuring the level of deterrence with India, it is

compulsive for Pakistan to make huge spending on defense activities to create the atmosphere of balance of power with India.

- During Obama's tenure, the range of strategic and defense agreements of India and USA was at its peak. Obama also provide exceptional uplifts on nuclear and arms manner in the form of deals and agreements. On the massive visits of Obama to India, one of the analysts is of the view that the alarming implication on Pakistan casted by Obama is in the form of massive defense support to India which will ultimately initiate a strong arms race between India and Pakistan.
- One of the drastic implications on Pakistan is that USA authorization to stand on the side of India for the permanent seat in UNSC. If in case India would be able to get power of permanent member of UNSC, then it would create a lot of problems for Pakistan by hitting and exploiting the matter of Pakistan's interests via power of Veto. By now, the only hope to the resolution of Kashmir issue is the available UNSC resolution regarding Kashmir issue. If India becomes member of UNSC then India will drive the resolutions of UNSC according to her interests and that would be very scary situation for Pakistan.

Conclusion

On the basis of analyzed contents of documents, leaders' speeches of states like India, Pakistan, US and China this study concludes that the most important feature of international politics is carrying out the states to state relation on bilateral or multilateral basis. But the problem starts when states pursue their relationship on the basis of selfish policies. This approach creates problem in international politics and then alliances forms in this regard. India and USA are now on the grounds of very firm partnership which is even beyond some rules and regulations. USA was prepared for making the stage of new alliance policy in South Asia in the form of India. But on the other hand, Pakistan was getting year after year strategic and diplomatic shocks right after the start of 21st century.

The event of 9/11, drone attacks, Mumbai attacks, and other suspicious events marked the strains on the repute of Pakistan on international level. That was the time when USA starts making strong dealings with India regardless of the fact that India and Pakistan are the rival neighboring states and nuclear powers as well. Any wrong move by India under the command of USA can create problems for the whole region of South Asia. USA starts perusing her interests by providing exceptional behavior and relaxation to India. The things are not over here. USA makes a strong deal with India named as India-USA civil nuclear deal. Under the shelter of this deal, India was exempted to follow all the rules provided by nuclear supplier group as well as also got relaxation from IAEA safeguards. That was the critical matter seen in the international politics. From that event, India and United states are on the ground of enhancing and making strong strategic partnership in the region.

On the other hand Pakistan is facing false implications of all the strategic and cordial activities going on between India and USA. The special treatment to India by USA is creating disturbance in the matters of neighboring states India and Pakistan. By providing relaxations in the nuclear perspective of India the situation is getting worse for the regional security. The other states also demanded the same behavior to USA in the matter of nuclear facilities. The conduction of nuclear exercises and exchange of arms and weapon trade is shaking the level of deterrence between India and Pakistan. The other states of south Asian region also showed their concern regarding balance of power in the region. The main threat for the regional states including Pakistan is that the Indian ambitions to become a hegemony state of the region are now going to be accomplishing under the provided umbrella of USA. The hegemonic desires of India will create the problems for the remaining states of the region.

References

- Aggarwal, (2006). *Jawaharlal Nehru's Foreign Policy*. History discussion. Oxford
- Brunnstrom, D. (2016). *Obama, Modi vow to boost strategic ties, create model for world*. Reuters.
- Chatta, A. (2016, November). US-India defence pact to impact Pakistan, China. *Dawn Papers*
- Ganaie, M. A. (2015). *India, US & the Nuclear Deal: A Critical Study* . ESS Publications Daryagan New Delhi, India
- George, V. K. (2016, August). India, US sign military logistics pact. *Hindu Times*.
- Iskandar, M. B. (2007). Issues of Nuclear deal 2005. *ABD journal*, 3(i), 45-101.
- Jain, B. (2016). *India-US Relations in the Age of Uncertainty: An Uneasy Courtship*. New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.
- John, K. S. (2016). Obama Administration tilt toward India. *The South Asian Studies* , 4 (ii) 159-188.
- Kumaar, S. (2012). *INDO – US Nuclear Deal and 123 Agreements* . International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications
- Mehmood, A. s. (2006). *Indo-US Civilian Nuclear Agreement*. Arjun New Dehli
- Perera, S. (2017). *South Asian nuclear arms race accelerates amid India-Pakistan standoff*. World Socialist Web Site.
- Saleem, M. (2017). *Indo-US Strategic Nuclear Deal and its Regional Implications*. CSS forum.
- Tellis, A. J. (2015). *Unity in difference- overcoming the US- India divide*. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment of international peace.
- Weiss, L. (2007). *U.S.-India Nuclear Cooperation*. The non-proliferation review, 429-457.