

Abstract of Ph.D Thesis

Name of the Scholar: **S.R.T.P.SUGUNAKARARAJU**

Department : **Political Science, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi.**

Topic : **The Role of the United States of America in India-Pakistan
Relations: A Study of the Post- Cold War Phase**

Supervisor : **Prof. Mohd. Mujtaba Khan**

India-Pakistan relations have always remained a matter of concern and continuous discourse among scholars, political leaders as well as the general public. The role of the United States, in India-Pakistan relationship has become even more interesting, especially in the post cold war global political situation. The disintegration of Soviet Union resulted in the political, economic, military and technological domination of the US globally. This thesis basically explores the role of the US in India-Pakistan relationship in the post cold war global environment with reference to strategic, security, economic, political dimensions.

The origins of India-Pakistan conflict have been traced to many sources. Some mainstream perspectives sought to explain the Indo-Pak rivalry in terms of a 'paired-minority conflict' or an 'enduring rivalry' based on the psychological perceptions and behavior of the major groups or crowds involved in the conflict or rivalry. Many conflicts and particularly the India-Pakistan conflict for the most part are a result also of the deeds of their erstwhile colonial masters

The national ideologies, national interests and their respective attitudes toward the world politics coupled with the dynamics of global politics have determined Indian and Pakistani foreign policies towards each other. In line with its foreign policy posture of non-alignment, India has followed the approach of bilateralism towards its disputes with Pakistan. However, a subtle and qualitative shift occurred in India's foreign policy in the post- cold war era and it entered into a 'strategic partnership' with the US. Pakistan's India policies have largely been shaped by both the domestic political compulsions as well as the external factors. The basic determinant of Pakistan's India policies is its perception of threat to its survival and security from India. Pakistan's India policy has largely been determined by the Kashmir factor.

During the cold war era, the doctrine of "containment of communism", advocated by George Kennan, was the crux of the American foreign policy globally as well as in South Asia. The US, therefore brought Pakistan into its military alliance framework. And it suited Pakistani leadership's strategy of involving the US in the affairs of South Asia to neutralize India.

The Shimla accord established the principle of bilateralism in the settlement of India-Pakistan disputes and prohibited use of force as an instrument of resolving the bilateral issues. In the post cold war era, Pakistan assumed the 'Major-Non- NATO Ally' of the US in view of latter's 'war on terror' and other strategic objectives especially in Afghanistan.

In the wake of overt nuclearisation, some analysts argued that nuclear deterrence has been put in place between Pakistan and India which prevents full-scale conventional war and ensures peace and stability. The argument of this study, however, is that this nuclear deterrence is unstable and risk and accident prone, besides leading to nuclear arms race. The ability of nuclear deterrence to prevent conventional wars, especially 'limited wars' and conventional arms race is seriously doubtful. The nuclear weapons could not stop the Kargil war and Indo-Pak crisis situations with nuclear possibilities.

The US wants to forge 'strategic partnership' with India as the latter not only provides a huge market for the trade and investment of the US and its Allies but is also willing to be co-opted into America's larger global political and economic strategy. Pakistan was always politically willing, both during and after the cold war, to welcome the USA. American role in South Asia has, however, proved detrimental to the cause of Indo-Pakistan peace and harmony. India's shift from non-aligned and independent foreign policy to one of alignment with America has been a significant development. Pakistan now feels that India's alliance and nuclear deal with the US would adversely change balance of power in South Asia.

One of the arguments of this study is that India and Pakistan's rigid and conflicting positions on Kashmir have only worsened their bilateral relations. The American policy on Kashmir has vacillated according to its global foreign policy interests. From the beginning of the Kashmir conflict in 1947 to till the time 1972 Shimla accord the US supported the UN resolutions on Kashmir including the call for plebiscite (which was also Pakistan's position on Kashmir). The US position since Shimla Agreement has been to support any settlement the Indians and Pakistanis were able to work out.

Another major stumbling-block in the normalization of India-Pakistan relations is Pakistan's strategy of sponsoring terrorism in Kashmir. The curtailment of democratic rights and denial of autonomy to the Kashmiris has ultimately resulted in alienation and disenchantment among the Kashmiri people in India. Pakistan took advantage of this. Pakistan on its part accuses India of fomenting trouble in Pakistan, especially in Baluchistan.

This study contends that America's 'war on terror' had larger strategic goals including encirclement of China. India and Pakistan had entered into an intense competition to benefit from the shifts in American policy, which followed the September 11 attacks.

It is argued in this study that it is not an economic rationale which explains the low level of Indo-Pak trade and economic cooperation but, on the contrary, politically driven trade policies of Pakistan towards India and vested interests of MNCs operating in Pakistan that have been a major impediment in the improvement of Indo-Pak trade and economic cooperation.

. The Track Two peace efforts undertaken by civil society outside the structure of government have not so far produced significant results. This thesis argues that in the resolution of protracted and heavily militarized conflicts like the Indo-Pak one it is the state (political elites of India and Pakistan) which should play politically more active part by demonstrating political will than the civil society initiatives.